

THE INDEX

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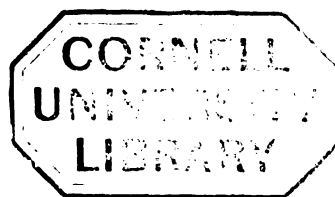


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CURRENT TOPICS.

THE report of a Democratic Convention recently held in Indiana says, "The chaplain prayed God to 'nurture the grand old Democratic party,' and at once the convention broke out into cheers and stamping of feet."

SAYS the Ottawa (Ont.) *Free Press*: "It is useless to argue with a woman," we are told; but a woman, at the examination in moral sciences at Cambridge, in competition with males, was the only candidate who attained a place in the first class. The subject was Logic and Political Economy."

A FRIEND writes from New York: "The United States Cremation Company has just purchased eighteen and one-fifth city lots (twenty-five by one hundred) in Newtown, just outside of Brooklyn, and will proceed at once to erect a brick building and most improved Siemens furnace. Mr. Caswell tells me the stock is about all taken."

PAPERS like the *Daily Herald* of this city that oppose Blaine because he does not represent "purity in politics," and at the same time encourage slugging exhibitions and dog fights by printing detailed accounts of them in their news columns, furnish grounds for suspicion as to their sincerity. How can there be "purity in politics," unless there is purity in the people, which is certainly not promoted by disgusting descriptions of brutal sports in leading daily papers?

COL. HIGGINSON says, in the *Woman's Journal*, that he is "always a little anxious when friends of woman suffrage lay much stress upon the probable effect on woman's wages of the triumph of this cause." He mentions the steady rise in the wages of women servants who have no votes, and adds: "The moral is that women have held their own, and even made great gains in domestic wages, without suffrage; and that we must look mainly to the laws of demand and supply to regulate their wages in future. The possession of the ballot may affect them indirectly, but not closely. What employers pay is the laborer, not the voter."

DR. MONROE of the *Iron-Clad Age*, who has a decided aversion to tobacco, attended a political gathering recently at Indianapolis, and "was driven to the open street for respirable air" three times by

tobacco smoke, the last time "in a dazed condition." His experience leads him to remark: "A man may not rightfully poison the air that another is compelled to breathe. The smoker should go to the woods or the woodshed or behind the barn." He asks: "Will men never become so kind and considerate for the comfort of their fellows as to forego smoking in public places? Shall we never have a race of gentlemen with too much delicacy and taste to gratify their appetites to the annoyance of their associates?"

DURING the struggle in Norway between the king and the oppressed people, the State Church has stood by the king, and accomplished some good at least in opening the eyes of multitudes to the heartlessness and unscrupulousness of the established religion. The *Springfield Republican* mentions that "the liberal elements, in their revolt against State religion and an irresponsible king, have gone over altogether too generally to infidelity," and thinks this a "sad result." Just what it means by "infidelity" does not appear. Some regard Unitarianism and the "Concord philosophy" as infidelity. There is no danger of too much infidelity in Norway, if by it is meant disbelief in the theological dogmas of the Church which professes to be interested in the salvation of the people in another world, but uses its influence to oppress them in this.

IN deference to the yet strong popular belief in theology and reverence for the profession of its expounders, theologians, even in this so-called age of science, are generally selected as figure-heads for our colleges. The reports of two or three of the baccalaureates by New England college presidents this year, in no way distinguishable from ordinary orthodox sermons, make one wonder how long institutions of learning in which are taught current science and philosophy, in which the professors and students are largely free thinkers, will continue through baccalaureate sermons to lend their influence to perpetuate belief in unsupported theological dogmas. We hope that the day is not far distant when men renowned for their scientific knowledge rather than "zeal for Christ" will be at the head of our colleges, and that the presidents will deem it a part of their duty to present in their baccalaureates the scientific and philosophic thought of the day rather than the superstitions which have descended from past semi-civilized ages.

THE Chicago *Inter-Ocean* is warming up to the work of the campaign. The action of some of the Yale College professors in expressing dissatisfaction with the nominees and portions of the platform of the Republican Convention held in Chicago causes the *Inter-Ocean* to let loose on Yale in the following amusing style: "Yale College therefore occupies toward the rest of the country the attitude of an organized slander-mill, whose business it is to teach to youth as the demonstrated and ultimate fact in political science that the American people are all fools, that American statesmanship is a hollow sham largely tinged

with knavery, and that American history consists wholly of the record of disasters inflicted upon a nation of charlatans for having ever ventured to break away from dependence upon English ideas and commodities. All at once the Republican party, having hit several other classes of numbskulls over the scone with a club in a way that has settled them and laid them out stiff, at last turns around like a bated lion upon the little tribe of pigmy professors that have been annoying it, and strikes them a blow such as only comes from a lion's paw when his heavy-maned majesty of the desert and the plain means business. Of course, little Yale College yelps back, and between one set of frantic kiwis and the next it gathers coherence enough to say that the American lion is not pure; that the whole American people is corrupt, or it would not have struck out so, like a cyclone, with its fore paw." Where is Yale College now?

MR. LABOUCHERE has written a letter to Stuart Cumberland, "the mind-reader," as follows: "You yesterday succeeded in pointing out an article in this room which I had thought of. Your explanation of thought-reading—so called—was very interesting. As I had always supposed it to be, it is the perception of a thought in the mind of a subject by watching carefully its effect upon his muscles. In order to succeed, it is of course necessary for the operator to have trained himself to note these physical indications. I am glad that you are engaged in dispelling the nonsense which surrounded the experiments, and that you are proving that you can equal the mystic powers of the quacks who have hitherto made money out of fools, while, at the same time, you are able to give a natural and reasonable explanation of what you perform." Can Mr. Cumberland by watching the muscles distinguish between the effects produced by the thought of, say, two different chairs, vases, inkstands, papers, books, or other objects, which the subject is accustomed to seeing in rooms? Mr. Labouchère says that Cumberland succeeded in pointing out an article he had thought of. We are left in doubt whether this was done in more than one case, which would not be conclusive, or whether it was done after one or more failures, and was anything more than a happy guess. With opportunities to test several "mind-readers," we have never yet seen a person put to the proof who was able to perceive a thought without some expression on the part of the thinker. We can understand that in some cases, especially with children, the effect upon the muscles might indicate to a careful observer the thought of the subject; but we doubt whether Mr. Cumberland has powers of discrimination enabling him generally to point out objects thought of from the effects of the thought on the muscles. We are aware that multitudes are ready to tell of mind-reading feats they have witnessed; but those who have had an opportunity to test these general statements know that they have little, if any, value for the investigator who insists on careful scrutiny and verification in such matters.

NOBLE LIVES.

The Index has already given a lengthy notice of Mrs. Hallowell's *Life and Letters of James and Lucretia Mott*. But the book has suggested to us some special reflections which we wish to incorporate in this article. We cannot indeed linger too long upon literary work of this sort, nor can public attention be too often called to such lives as were those whose portraiture is here drawn.

It is, for instance, especially good to read such a book as this in these days, when the evil side of human life is forcing itself so much upon public attention. The daily newspapers of late have been surcharged with the record of man's misdoings,—with the rascalities of the business world, the downfall of trusted characters, the ravages of intemperance, the outrages of diabolical passion, the worse than beastly spectacle of prize fights between man and man, the corruption in politics, the wranglings and jealousies among public men, who, nursing their own selfish ambitions, are constantly putting in jeopardy the public good. To turn from this picture, which almost daily is forced in some shape upon our eyes, to the scenes of life which Mrs. Hallowell has admirably depicted in this volume, is to renew our faltering faith in human nature and the possible salvation of the American republic. Here is described the life of two persons who, for three-quarters of a century, were devoted above all things else to truth, virtue, and humanity; who were ready for any sacrifice of self-interest, of pecuniary prospects, of social ties and pleasures, of the world's good opinion even, if so only they could keep a conscience void of offence, an unsullied integrity, and a heart quick to feel and help another's woe. And the book not only brings before us the exceptionally strong characters of one man and one woman, but it opens for us a glimpse into many other homes besides theirs, and passes before our view more or less clearly the characters of other men and women who by family tie or philanthropic work became associated with them. A section of life is here presented not often opened to the public gaze, and it is a section of American society wherein the best hopes of our country are stayed. In such homes and characters—and they are not solitary—are the virtues that furnish the antidote for the threatened national and social ills of modern days.

Again, this book has freshly impressed us with the general truth of the wholesomeness of good biography as a mental diet. It were to be wished particularly that young persons were more drawn to such reading. Having personally always found biographies among the most interesting of books, we cannot understand the distaste which many people have for them. And when, as in this case, the story is compact and well told and full of incident, and is, withal, the picture of characters of special nobleness, it seems to us to have the elements of fascination, as well as the merit of bringing the reader into a pure and stimulating moral atmosphere. As one could not be in the company of such persons as James and Lucretia Mott without feeling the influence of their integrity and purity, so the contact with their characters gained through this memorial volume is morally inspiring and invigorating. It can but strengthen the reader's moral ideal and quicken his better purposes. It shows him the sublime possibilities of human life when consecrated to duty. These lofty, almost ideal, characters were actually embodied in visible, tangible form. They were a veritable fact. The life itself, just as it was lived from day to day, is daguerreotyped on the page.

We have nothing to say against good works of fiction. Many of them are the most truthful of

books, and there are characters drawn entirely by the faculty of imagination that will stand by the side of the historical page as masterly delineations of human nature. But none the less do we believe—believe, indeed, all the more because of our regard for the great masters of fiction—that there is to-day a good deal more of fiction-writing and of fiction-reading than is good for people. Not to speak of the sensational type of fiction, there are too many modern novels that deal with a kind of social life which, however fascinating, is certainly not elevating to those who move in it, and cannot be elevating to those who read about it. And a large proportion of these novels are saturated with demoralizing views of marriage and the relation of the sexes. Such novels enervate and waste the intellectual faculties, and taint the heart with moral poison. Would that more acquaintance with such biographies as this of Mr. and Mrs. Mott, more acquaintance with such bravely faithful and upright lives, might diminish the demand for this unwholesome type of fiction.

And, again, it is encouraging to know what this joint biography also teaches, that saintly lives are not obsolete; that they have not become wholly a matter of ecclesiastical tradition, whose chief use is now to give names to churches and hospitals, but that they have a real existence in modern communities. In the past, however, the Church has often made its saints of small materials. Some of the persons it has canonized, both men and women, were worthy of the honor. But many of the ecclesiastical saints were declared such because of their unnatural and purely technical services of devotion,—for living in seclusion from their fellow-men, for scourging and torturing their flesh, for acts of superstitious ecstasy, and for entirely imaginary and fictitious benefits to humanity. The more irrational and unnatural and unhuman they were, the more saintly did they seem to the Christian mind of their times. But there are, we venture to affirm, as genuine saints living to-day as ever lived in the world. They do not retire from the world: they live in it to make it better. They do not deem it a duty to deny and crucify the deepest instincts and affections of the human heart, but they sanctify these to noble ends of human good. They are priests and priestesses in the home, faithfully serving in all its ministrations of mutual love and obligation. They may be found even in politics and in the business world,—the rare few who have no other thought than to stand for honesty, honor, and right, let schemes of expediency, policy, and private profit come out as they will. They are at work for the world's good,—not ostentatiously, but easily and quietly as their natural habit. The cause that they know not they search out. The ear that hears them blesses them, and the eye that sees them bears witness to their virtue. They are eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, help to the poor and the needy, a resistance before the path of the wicked, and the blessing of him that was ready to perish comes upon them,—such are the evidences of the saints and their doings in the modern world. And, by this token, James and Lucretia Mott might rightfully wear the name: only, no name could give them fairer honor than the plain untitled Quaker names they always wore.

And, finally, no work of fiction could be brought to a happier conclusion than was the life of this faithful pair. It is reassuring to our confidence in the good instincts of humanity to know that, though they were compelled by conscience to walk for the great part of their lives an unpopular way which brought upon them great opprobrium, such moral faithfulness did not fail at last to win the regard and reverence even of the world that had

once condemned. They had passed through the ordeal of many trials. They had been made to feel the bitterness of sectarian strife and division, and had been subjected to the spirit of persecution even in their own peaceful sect. They had faced mobs and had their meetings broken up by violence in the anti-slavery struggle. Their Philadelphia home was well known to be one of the sheltering-places of fugitive slaves, and more than once was threatened with destruction. But the days of this evil passion passed by. With the outbreak of the rebellion and the downfall of slavery, a veil was lifted from many eyes, and heart looked into heart as never before. The prophets whom the people had stoned the people were now ready to crown. Garrison went to his grave covered with public honors, buried from a church and eulogized from a pulpit where, fifteen years before, he would not have been permitted to open his lips. A few months ago, Boston's citizens of all classes and parties filed through Faneuil Hall to do reverence to Wendell Phillips in his coffin. And, like many others, James and Lucretia Mott outlived the odium and the bitterness of the exciting struggles through which they had passed. Their last years were full of happiness and peace. Evidences of regard and gratitude poured in upon them from all quarters. And, when they died, the whole community gave judgment as with one voice, "Here was the fine greatness of noble character."

WM. J. POTTER.

WHO ARE THE FITTEST?

Weeds would be fitter than flowers to grow in our gardens, if it were not for the gardener. Mere strength of mind and body is not the only element of human fitness, for society keeps at work weeding out those men and women who will not comply with the conditions of general welfare. The people fittest for survival are those who are, not only the strongest, but also the most obedient to the moral laws. Courts and prisons are among the tools by which the most unfit are weeded out. Thus, society chooses who is fit to have more room to grow and who is to be plucked up. Looking at present condition alone, there is nobody so unfit to survive as a baby. Leave it to itself, and it would perish. But babies are not left to perish; for society looks ahead, as a gardener does, and thinks of what is to be. Beneath the baby's present unfitness there may slumber capacities and powers which some day will place it among the fittest. So the baby has a chance to show what sort of a man or woman it is going to make. Thus, we take account of the future as well as of the present, and of moral conduct as well as of natural gifts, in deciding who are the fittest.

And, from this point of view, it is plain that the future welfare of our race demands that its fittest members have every possible opportunity to flourish, and also to propagate themselves in succeeding generations. To check the development of the fit, in order to delay the disappearance of the unfit, would be a grievous wrong. Hence, the justice of Prof. Sumner's advice not to be led by our pity for the degraded and dangerous classes into giving them what would be useful to the industrious, intelligent, and virtuous. The difficulty of the case lies partly in the fact that a man who is entirely without pity for any other man, however vicious, does not himself come up fully to the moral standard of fitness for survival, and partly in the fact that it is very hard to tell whether any human being has fallen too low to be beyond recovery. What we do individually for any one ought certainly to be regulated by our

faith in his capacity for developing fitness for survival. For instance, when a drunken man asks me for money, it is my plain duty to refuse, as I could not easily do worse with the amount, and might, in many ways, use it more beneficially. What society ought to do with the habitual drunkard is another question; but whatever it gives him should be in such a shape as will be most likely, not only to check his intemperance, but to hinder his having children to inherit it. So, again, it may be our duty as a community to give every criminal a chance to reform; but honest and industrious people have a plain right to insist that the criminal, so long as he remains unreformed, shall be prevented from committing or propagating crime. Paupers who are willing to improve may claim help from society, but those who prefer to live in idleness and degradation ought not to be assisted in handing down their type of character to future generations. We cannot leave them to starve, but we need not help them to fatten in pampered idleness; and we should not suffer them to increase and multiply. The greatest kindness to paupers and criminals does not consist in helping them to remain what they are. And whatever we do to improve their condition ought to be done with due reference to the fact that there are other members of society who are already improving themselves surely and rapidly, and who could use far more advantages than they get. Charity to the unfit may be good, but better far is justice to the fittest.

F. M. HOLLAND.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

We have come to the beginning of a genuinely scientific epoch in the history of education in the United States. The chaos of ambitious enterprise, good impulse, misdirected energy, inflation and crotchety denominational benevolences is being succeeded by definite inquiry, strict method, genuine scholarship and impatience of waste. Critical students of pedagogy have appeared among us; our larger colleges are full of men whom long experience in the European universities has cured of pride, and given higher standards; every department of our education is having sharp questions put to it; and the whole system, from the primary school to the university, is undergoing notable changes.

Of all the questions, none is more important certainly, than the question of the university. And no American scholar could address himself to the question, whose word would be likely to get more respectful attention, or to deserve it, than Prof. Burgess, whose little pamphlet upon "The American University" is just published by Messrs. Ginn & Heath. It is the work of Prof. Burgess, more than any other one thing, perhaps, which has given Columbia College its recent *renaissance*. The school of history and politics, which he has there organized, is probably doing the best work which is being done in history and politics at any of our American colleges. And this whole important work has been carried on with that combined breadth and accuracy which it is so essential to have combined here. The Columbia historical men become inspired with a dread and impatience alike of the massing of facts, uncontrolled by general principles and directed to no convictions, and of that perhaps worse thing, "philosophy of history," with no solid and reliable study of the facts of history at the bottom. Empty schematizing and blind statisticizing have both been well avoided. Warp and woof have both been well looked after, and there seems to be the "requisite wholeness of good tissue" in the result. This gen-

uine university success has been achieved by Prof. Burgess; and this achievement gives importance to whatever he may have to say about the organization and character of the American University.

He asks three questions: When shall the American University be? Where shall it be? What shall it be? His answers may be put into the three words: 1. "Now." 2. "Boston." 3. "German."

Prof. Burgess is a thorough-going advocate of the German system. "We can do no better," he says, with respect to methods of university instruction, "than follow, in the main, the German example, and should not be repelled from it by the indiscriminate charge of slavish imitation." He says substantially the same in discussing the subject of the organization of the Faculties, the system of discipline, and the relations of the Faculties to the corporation, or the government. Do as the Germans do,—not because it is German, but because it is best. "The Germans have come to the solution of the question of these relations first, simply because they are further along in the development of the true university than any other nationality."

Only in one essential particular would Prof. Burgess have the American University differ from the German in its organization. A permanent presidency is no part of the German system. A rector is chosen annually by the professors from among themselves, and a dean for each Faculty. For the American University, a president seems, to Prof. Burgess, indispensable, at least until the university is fully developed. "That necessity," he says, "springs out of the fact that the American University must be a private institution, resting upon voluntary contribution for its support. To meet this condition successfully in our American society, the university must have a permanent representative before the public,—a man who shall not only be a great scholar and a sound pedagogue, but who shall be possessed of social position, dignity of manner, and business tact, of energy, enthusiasm, and the power to inspire,—in other words, a man who can direct the surplus of great incomes into the university treasury, and give wisest counsel to the trustees in its expenditure. Moreover, in the earlier periods of the foundation and growth of the university, a president, great in scholarship and in the knowledge of educational systems, keen in discrimination and sound in his judgment and estimation of men, is the best means which a board of trustees can employ for the original constitution of the Faculties."

That the university in America, unlike Germany, must be a private institution, seems to be a foregone conclusion with Prof. Burgess. "I think we may safely assume at the outset," he says, "that the university will not now thrive here as an institution of the State. The rapidly shifting policies in legislation and the rapidly rotating *personnel* of administration render the government, either of the nation or Commonwealth, utterly unfit to direct the development of the higher education. Moreover, there is nothing which would offer to the universal demagogism of American politics so capital a point of attack as the appropriations necessary to the support of the university. . . . The American University must be a private institution, supported by private donations, and directed by an association of private persons. . . . It cannot be otherwise so long as the politic which has reigned here for a good half-century continues, and there is little prospect discoverable at this moment that it will ever cease." Here of course ground is entered where two or three subjects of controversy are at once suggested; but, although we are of those who take a more hopeful view of American politics than Prof. Bur-

gess expresses in these and other words, he is probably right in the main as to the better fortune of the American University now in substantial freedom from State control.

Prof. Burgess' Germanism appears again in his strong plea for the gymnasium. The American college, in its present form, he hopes to see become an extinct species. "I am unable to divine," he says, "what is to be ultimately the position of colleges which cannot become universities, and which will not be gymnasia. I cannot see what reason they will have to exist. It will be largely a waste of capital to maintain them, and largely a waste of time to attend them." He holds that the reformation of our system of secondary education will take the direction of an addition of two or three years to the courses of the academies and high schools, making a continuous curriculum of seven to nine years, giving the pupil a good knowledge of the languages, pure mathematics to the calculus, and the elements of the natural sciences, history, and literature. There should be such institutions in every large town, and graduates should advance directly from these to the university.

"The student should enter the university only after he has become prepared, through the variety, quantity, and quality of his discipline and knowledge, to specialize in *any* and *every* direction." The prime function of the gymnasium is discipline. "The prime function of the university is the discovery of *new* truth, the *increase* of knowledge in every direction." "Although the university should instruct as well as discover and conserve, yet its means and its energies should not be expended upon the mere *pratique* of its subjects. In theology, for instance, it should not be held to teach forms and rubrics, better learned at the reading-desk of some church." "It is possible," says Prof. Burgess, on another page, "to have a theological school which is no *university Faculty* of theology at all. In fact, most of the theological schools in the United States are not, and for the simple reason that there is no philosophical Faculty connected with them to furnish the broad basis of psychology, logic, history, literature, and philology, upon which all development and progress in theology must rest. The mere acquirement of creeds and ritual is not university theology." Prof. Burgess laments the lack of breadth and depth in so many of our American students, and the narrow manner in which so many govern all their studies by prudential and "practical" considerations, with no care for knowledge and scholarship for their own sakes. "It is disheartening," he says, "to a true lover of learning to hear the talk in which the graduates of colleges generally indulge concerning the uselessness of any study for them which does not connect itself *directly* with the practice of some profession. They will enter the law department or the medical department or the theological department of a university; but they will limit their studies to what they call the practical side of their profession,—i.e., they will eschew carefully the cognate and auxiliary studies in what the Germans call the Faculty of philosophy,—studies which lift their professions out of the condition of a mere technique into the position of a true science. They are therefore not university students in the true sense, but undergraduates of technical schools."

Prof. Burgess thinks that this is true of the mass of our college graduates. But it is not true of all. He dwells upon the wisdom and energy of large numbers who are now laying broad foundations, and the true scholastic zeal and spirit which is now so evident in many American quarters. He dwells upon the significance of the fact that

our colleges furnish annually several hundreds of students to the universities of Germany. This is one of the important facts which warrant us to believe that the time for a true university in America is now. The time for a university is "when there exists in the nation the surplus of wealth to support it, the body of scholars to form its Faculties, and the body of students qualified by previous training and acquirements to profit by university work." We possess such a body of students; American scholarship has proved itself, and we possess the material whereof to make university professors; and "the home of the greatest universities of the world, Germany, is poor in comparison with the United States."

Where? The American University must be "at or near a centre of wealth and culture." Such a centre is important for a university anywhere, because of the aid of its museums, libraries, hospitals, and varied life. Where private donation is the source of university support, it is almost necessary that the university be located near a centre of wealth. "Some individuals will indeed be found who are willing to bestow aid upon far-off enterprises, but the greatness of the amount necessary to found and maintain a university can hardly be secured without the incentive of local pride."

There is at least one centre in the United States which seems to Prof. Burgess to fulfil all requirements. That centre is Boston; and the page in which the New York professor descants upon the history, traditions, and social conditions which have created the general culture and consolidated public spirit of Boston will be pleasurable reading for the proud Bostonian. "Whether we have more than one such community," he says, "remains yet to be seen. We have other cities in which riches abound to a higher degree even than in Boston; but the reign of excessive individualism and the elaboration of private luxury have thus far largely negated the conditions for the development of a cultured community and a cultured public spirit. Where the rich man considers that he must have his palace in the city, his villa in the country, and his cottage by the sea, his steam-yacht, his coach and four and his private car, in order to be comfortable, little will remain from the largest income for the higher education of the community or the nation."

This scourging is evidently meant for New York. Or is Prof. Burgess not here beckoning to New York over Boston's shoulders, trying to provoke her to generous emulation? There is certainly much to warrant the belief that there will grow up about Columbia College, in due time, such a university as will satisfy Prof. Burgess' definition and demand. And, with Johns Hopkins University before us,—the one institution in the country where genuine university methods obtain, an institution which is rooting and extending itself with remarkable wisdom, and achieving remarkable results,—it is scarcely in order to speak of the organization of the American University as altogether a thing of the future, as Prof. Burgess seems to do. The spectacle of the really wonderful work—for wonderful it is—which is already being done by this young Baltimore university should do more than even Prof. Burgess' word to stimulate Boston to build up, in Harvard, a university commensurate with the present demands of the highest American scholarship and with the true greatness of the American commonwealth. Prof. Burgess is to be thanked for a word so simple, so pointed, and so suggestive. It would be well if the various interests of the higher education in America were in the hands of men so broad, so serious, and so competent.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

"THE BOOK OF THE BEGINNINGS."

After Dr. Newton last fall was requested by his bishop to discontinue his Sunday afternoon lectures, in consequence of the publicity given them and the excitement produced among his more orthodox brethren by the views advanced in regard to the Bible, it will be remembered that the lectures ceased. In the preface to *The Book of the Beginnings*, recently published, the author says, "For me there was but one path open,—respectful obedience. But the singular position in which I was thus put made it seem due, alike to my people and myself, that the public should be enabled to judge of the real nature of the lectures, which had called forth such a very unusual, if not unprecedented, episcopal interruption of a presbyter in the course of his parochial ministrations. Neither deference to my bishop nor the sincerest desire for peace can make it right that I and the people who have so loyally upheld me in good report and in evil report should rest under the misconstructions which have been placed upon the teachings of All Souls' pulpit."

In this work, which has been prepared for the press under great disadvantages, Dr. Newton has presented with force and clearness his views as to the character and history of the Pentateuch, and indicated his method of studying and interpreting the Bible. The distinguishing feature of the Pentateuch, he says, is that "it is not so much a history of the political or social life of the people as of their religious life." It gives "the origins of Israel as understood by the Israelites themselves." They ascribed their laws to Jehovah as other peoples claimed theirs came from the gods. The interference of Jehovah in Hebrew affairs was nothing exceptional, for this is common to the story of all early races. Discrepancies such as that Abraham on account of his age, being one hundred years of age, could not believe a son should be born to him and yet forty years later had six sons by Keturah, are thus explained in the language of Bleek: "The most probable solution is that the author of the book adopted early records wholly or in part into his work, retaining partially or entirely their original form and character, without any general attempt to connect them organically or to blend them into one whole."

The Pentateuch is disclosed by its internal structure to be, like all early histories, a composite work, welding together separate writings, "a woven tissue, three of whose strands we can fairly well pick out." The tradition which assigns the Pentateuch to Moses lacks solidity. The work as a whole appears anonymously. Dr. Newton asks, "Is it conceivable that the Divine Being who, as the narrative runs, himself gave the law here embodied to Moses on Sinai, and who was himself the chief actor in the history here given, should have left the record of his action to the authority of anonymity?" To the statement that Christ received the Pentateuch as from Moses, our author replies, "without raising any question as to the absolute accuracy of the reports of Christ's language," that Christ must have spoken down "to the level of his hearers," talked "in the current terms of the day," "accommodating his thought and language to the conceptions of his hearers." Furthermore, not "in any view of Christ are we bound to believe that he [Christ] necessarily knew that there was little ground for the tradition in which he had been nurtured. The highest thought of Christ's nature possible does not deny that he shared the limitations of his age in matters of mere knowl-

**The Book of the Beginnings. A Study of Genesis, with an Introduction of Genesis. By R. Heber Newton, Rector of All Souls' Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. 1884. pp. 311.*

edge." At best, Moses could have produced only one of the strands in this composite work, of which proof is lacking, or have been an editor of other men's compositions, which "looks very improbable."

Dr. Newton shows that the Pentateuch grew with the growth of the Hebrew people, "by accumulations which we can peel off and assign approximately to their several ages." It has marks of story-tellers and poets, and contains ancient legends and nature-myths "disguised unwittingly as history, whose beauty we may freely enjoy without being beguiled into mistaking fancy for fact, poetry for prose, the drapery for the historic forms beneath it." It is evident that the author has no belief in any of the alleged miracles of the Pentateuch; and yet he touches this subject with caution, which his position probably requires. "No dogmatic denial of miracle is here made. Those who can receive these stories as in all details literal history are free to do so, and those who suspect their historical exactness are equally free thus to judge where Providence has been pleased to leave these matters to the unauthenticated testimony of anonymous books composed so many centuries after the events described."

The great historic fact, the kernel of the story, —namely, the reality of Moses and of the mission on which he was sent of God,—remains, certified as it is "by the traditions of Israel, with some corroboration from the traditions of Egypt." Our author, we judge, believes Moses was sent of God in much the same sense that he would say that Luther and Washington were sent of God. The books of the Pentateuch "were not miraculously communicated to the minds of the writers either by direct dictation from God or by any modification of such a theory of inspiration as the ingenuity of Jewish and Christian rabbins has devised." Yet to the Hebrew came "a new and higher thought of Him whom they ignorantly worshipped," and this thought was a revelation. Nurtured "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," in the philosophy of Egyptian priests, led by Providence in "the world-old school of Spirit, the wilderness," brooding through years in the mountains of Arabia, while watching his flocks, over the problem of being till the "common bush grew 'afire with God,'" Moses came to perceive what was centuries beyond the grasp of the Hebrew people,—the truth of the unity and spirituality and righteousness of God. But since, as Dr. Newton does not fail to mention, Moses must "have been initiated into the secret philosophy of the learned priesthood, which behind the outward symbolism of an apparently idolatrous system veiled profound conceptions of the unity, the spirituality, and righteousness of the Divine Being," it is not necessary to suppose that Moses derived his thought, which became a revelation to the Hebrews, from any other than purely natural sources. It would be easy to show that Dr. Newton's criticism of the Pentateuch, in which he presents some of the results of the best Biblical scholarship, cuts away the whole foundation of supernatural Christianity; but our only object here is to give some idea of the views presented in the book and the author's method of treating his subject.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The following is an extract from an editorial in the *Catholic Examiner* :—

The Boston *Index*, which is an exceedingly able liberal journal, copies our paragraphs in reference to the recent decision of State Superintendent Ruggles that religion must be excluded from the class rooms, and says, "Evidently, the *Examiner* desires the public schools to be neither 'Protestant' nor 'Godless,' but

Catholic." Our liberal contemporary is right. The *Examiner* would have the schools "neither 'Protestant' nor 'Godless,' but Catholic." It would have them so; for it sees—as all must see who are not blind—that both "Protestant" and "Godless" schools are lacking in very essential qualities. . . . The *Index* seems to think that we would have Catholicity taught in the public schools, to the exclusion of all other beliefs. Such is not the case. We insist that it is necessary that religious instruction should be given to the children, and some of the ablest men of our time are of the same opinion. But we cannot allow that it shall be strictly Protestant, and we do not ask that it shall be exclusively Catholic. It is quite possible to allow both.

Our Catholic contemporary says that we are right, that it would have the schools Catholic, and yet it would not exclude from them "other beliefs." It cannot allow that the religious instruction shall be "strictly Protestant," and does not ask that it be "exclusively Catholic." It would admit both Catholic and Protestant instruction in the schools. Would it also agree to the instruction of children of Hebrew parents in the Hebrew religion, of children of Buddhist in Buddhism, of children of Spiritualists in Spiritualism, of children of Theists, Pantheists, Materialists, and Atheists in the religion or philosophy of these different classes respectively? Since the public schools are supported by all classes of believers and unbelievers, should the children of any class be compelled to receive religious instruction against the wishes of their parents or guardians? Why not let the public schools be devoted wholly to secular education, the importance of which is acknowledged by all? And then, if theological instruction is deemed important by some, let those who desire it sustain theological schools under their private direction and at their own expense, to counteract the injurious influence their children may receive from studying arithmetic, geography, and grammar without at the same time hearing anything about Jesus or his virgin mother, heaven, hell, or purgatory.

ALTHOUGH the *Truth-seeker*, under its present editorial management, has improved greatly, much to the satisfaction of all who wish to see the character of the liberal press in this country elevated, it still too often mistakes personalities for proofs and violence of assertion for vigor of thought. But we refer to this paper now only to copy the following extract from one of its editorials in last week's issue. It says: "Mr. Underwood at Syracuse stultified Mr. Underwood at Philadelphia. If the gentleman honestly thinks he was mistaken in 1876, he has not said so; yet respect for his subsequent attitude to the League would seem to demand such a declaration." We certainly do not think we were "mistaken in 1876" in introducing and supporting the resolutions which were adopted in regard to indecent publications. Our "attitude to the League" has never been inconsistent with those resolutions. We are willing to stand by the position affirmed in those resolutions to day. There never has been a time since 1876 when we were unwilling to defend that position. The resolutions were expressly worded to avoid objections which had prevented the adoption of a resolution introduced by Mr. S. P. Andrews. The objections to Mr. Andrews' resolution did not impress us very forcibly at the time; and we voted for it, but were much better satisfied with the resolutions which were adopted. In the light afforded by eight years' investigation and discussion of the subject, we now see that the action of the Congress in regard to Mr. Andrews' resolution was wise; and we are well satisfied with the position declared in the resolutions that were adopted,

—resolutions that we wrote, Mr. Abbot approved, and the Congress passed, if we mistake not, almost unanimously.

ADHERENTS of the late Chunder Sen, those of the Darbar party, not content with keeping vacant the pulpit which he occupied, have devised other modes of honoring him. "The *Alok*, the organ of Mr. Mozoomdar's party, informs us," says the *Indian Messenger*, "that, in their singing and preaching peregrinations over the town, our friends now carry with them the carpet-seat on which their late minister used to sit, and place it before them while singing or preaching in any place. The *Dharmatava*, the organ of the Darbar party, defends such proceedings by arguments like the following: Those objects which are specially connected with him do, by psychological laws, materially help to diffuse the influence of his life. The *vedi* and the prayer-seat of Acharyadeva especially bear this influence, hence their importance (lit., glory,—*gaurab*). What respect is paid to the sandals of saintly men! Ignorant people even worship them in some places. Who can touch those sandals with their feet? Who is there whose heart does not tremble in sitting on the seat charged with the influence of great men!" (*Dharmatava*, 1st and 16th Baisakh, article on *Our Doctrine of Resurrection*.)"

THERE is an error in the common saying that we ought to speak only good of the dead. We should say only good of any one, living or dead, unless we are compelled in the fulfilment of a real duty to say what is bad. But, whether it be good or bad, we should speak the truth, and nothing but the truth; and the fact that the subject of our words is dead does not alter our obligation to tell the truth. That the dead cannot defend themselves from the consequences of our utterances should render every chivalrous person scrupulously careful to avoid unjust or unkind speech concerning them, but it may become a public duty to hold up the past wickedness of a dead man to a justly earned contempt. A great deal of weak sentiment is afloat among men; and the old and oft-quoted Latin maxim which bids us speak only good of the dead serves a good purpose as a caution, yet none the less illustrates moral feebleness rather than either force or true charity.—*The Congregationalist*.

THE following is from an editorial in the *Presbyterian*, which does "not rejoice in defections from the Scriptural system of theology," but is "glad when the positions which men take are clearly unveiled, and their place in the contending hosts clearly defined": "Mr. Beecher has reached the same point in his serious doctrinal defection that is occupied by the Unitarian organ. In the sermon lately preached before the students of Cornell University, he is reported to have said: 'Christ's work was not to restore a fallen and lost race. There was not any fall. When he speaks of men being lost, it is the figure of a shepherd whose sheep have wandered. His mission was to raise and carry forward the ignorant, the sinful, the wretched. Neither did he come to suffer in man's place. The doctrine of original sin and that Christ suffered in man's place is a monstrosity.'"

"T. B. W." in *Man* quotes a paragraph from *The Index*, and adds: "We are glad to see *The Index* join in the protest against abandoning the word 'religion' to the theologians. The *Radical Review* has also come to the front nobly in refusing to give up this word, and in recognizing the 'Religion of Humanity' in its broadest

sense as the flower of civilization and progress. There is no other word that will express the higher integration or synthesis of science and humanity, which are the successors of the theological ideas. Fundamentally, religion means social union and obligation: the God idea was merely the incident. The religions of Confucius and Buddha had not even that incident. The old word has good meaning and metal in it. Stamp it anew, and send it down the ages again."

EDITH SIMCOX, in a letter printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the rights of woman, observes: "Signs show, surely, that the workers are with us. As Mr. Conway points out, the thinkers were with us long ago. It is a curious question, What, then, can block the way? And, in truth, it is to be feared that the strength of the opposition comes from the ranks—alas! still too numerous—of those who do not work very hard and of those who do not think very profoundly."

WITH the professional party follower, everything that succeeds is success. With the citizen, whose only interest in parties is to secure decent politics and good government, much that succeeds is worse than a failure. . . . Why should any man vote the way he does not think, if a better alternative is offered to him? Should not an honest man's vote represent a principle rather than a prejudice and conviction rather than cowardice?—*Boston Herald*.

ANTEUS. For *The Index*.

O Earth! dear Earth! one touch of thy quick life!
My wings are faithless now,
My weary breast is saddened with the strife;
But thou,
Strong mother, still art bountiful and sure.
The blood thrills once again;
My pinions' trailed plumes once again are pure.
Ah, vain

The wish to float forever near the cloud!
That life alone is blest
Which serves alike the lowly and the proud.
No quest

Among the stars, no dauntless spirit-cruise,
The earthly can forego.
No strength is nobly strong that will not choose
To know

And share, anon, the burden and the grief
Of souls that cannot rise,
Or on their chained lives shed some joy or brief
Surprise!

H. T. CLARK.
FLORENCE, MASS.

THE STREAM OF LIFE. For *The Index*.

The viewless stream of consciousness,
Of thought and will and feeling
So long reflecting night and day,
Beyond their sphere is stealing,—
From mystic fount on heights of youth
Long years ago 'twas springing,
And mountain steep and piny gorge
Were with its loud glee ringing.

Dull clouds of woe, sun-gleams of joy,
Have gloomed, have glassed its flowing,—
Through headlong youth, through manhood stern,
Without a pause 'twas going:
At length, it nears the engulfing sea,
Outside of life dim heaving,
And stillier grows its current as
Its wonted banks 'tis leaving.

B. W. B.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 3, 1884.

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

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

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For The Index.

Utopias, Arcadias, and Ideal Commonwealths.

BY WILLIAM S. KENNEDY.

Mr. Jowett, in his introduction to Plato's *Republic*, speaks of the remarkable philosophical breadth and religious tolerance of Sir Thomas More, as shown in his account of the religion of the Utopians,—a breadth of mind remarkable, he asserts, in such a man as More, who was a Roman Catholic of pre-Reformation times. I had never before heard of such a trait in Sir Thomas, although, as a reader of history, I had admired the sweetness of his disposition and the integrity of his character as manifested in the Anne Boleyn case. I have recently looked up the passages referred to by Mr. Jowett, and do by no means find in them or in any other portion of the *Utopia* any unusual philosophical breadth, as judged by the standards of our times at least (and such I understand to be the standard employed by Mr. Jowett in this particular case), but, on the contrary, just such religious narrowness and bigotry in the mind of the English chancellor as was to be expected from one who, like the good and loyal Catholic that he was, "spared," as Rapin says, "no pains to utterly destroy those who embraced the Reformation." More makes his Utopians worship one supreme God, called Mithras. He expresses regret that, on their showing eagerness to embrace Christianity, there were none of his company qualified to administer to them any sacrament except baptism. The sum total of his toleration consists in his making his Utopians sufferers of various religions. But they are entirely intolerant of no religion, their founder Utopus having made "a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls die with our bodies, or that the world is governed by chance, without a wise, overruling Providence; for they

all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life; and they now look on those who think otherwise as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul, and reckon it no better than a beast's. Thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth, [this would apply *verbatim* to the Bradlaugh case: has English opinion, then, remained stationary for three hundred years?] since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs; for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims either to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases." Comment on such toleration as this is unnecessary. One would think that More need not have taken the precaution to publish his book abroad and in the Latin tongue, if this were all the heresy he had to utter. Yet, in an age in which toleration was unknown, it was a good deal to speak in favor of sufferance of different sects. "There is nothing," says More, "in which they [his Utopians] are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any religion." There is covered satire in this remark, too, that "their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few."

But we may more properly glance at a few of the interesting features of the *Utopia* in its place in a roughly chronological series. Utopias may be classified into the potential and the actual, or utopias of the pen and of the plough, of the closet and the field,—the latter being the various Fourieristic communities established as experiments in various parts of the world in recent times. To these I shall merely allude later, confining my attention chiefly to the written idealisms of authors, without dwelling on the universal tendency of men to idealize some happy spot,—the various heavens of religious dreamers, fairy lands, Islands of the Blest, and Armida's islands, islands of Calypso, Circe, and the Phæaciens, and "island-valley of Avilion,"

"Where falls not hail or rain or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly,"

Coming to Utopias proper (the etymology is *eu* and *τόπος*, the excellent country), it is to be noted that the prototype of them all is that of Plato, as set forth in the *Republic* and in the *Timæus*. Plato, the sublime dreamer and thinker, anticipated many of the reforms which the world is still slowly making,—such as the equality of the sexes. But his—the first—Utopia is full of the extravagances which nearly all succeeding ones have embodied,—such as communal marriage, community of property, and banishment of the poets as a pestiferous set. Plato's work contains a Utopia within a Utopia,—namely, the often-referred-to Island of Atlantis, situated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and being the home of the descendants of Atlas, son of Poseidon. The priests of Egypt related how that, nine thousand years before Plato's time, the Athenians repelled an attack of the Atlanteans, who were then a mighty people. Shortly afterward, their island sank beneath the ocean. Poseidon had encircled the central hill of the island with alternate strips of sea and land. These his descendants cut through by

canals. The docks were filled with triremes, and the hum of commerce filled the air. By irrigation, two harvests were obtained a year. There were many elephants on the island, and there were fragrant herbs and grasses, fruits, nuts, and essences. "All these that sacred island brought forth fair and wondrous in infinite abundance."

The next Utopia in order of time is the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, an historical romance of the life of Cyrus, composed much on the plan of Fénelon's *Télémaque*. Cicero's *De Republica* is an imitation of Plato. St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* is a feeble idealism, a controversial work written to prove that the destruction of the Roman Empire was due to the corruption of Paganism, and not to the rise of Christianity. A more able work is Dante's *De Monarchia*, written in 1313, and published, I believe, in this century. It is in Latin, and, I think, has not been rendered into any modern tongue. It is a theological utopia, a rhapsodic dream of another Roman Empire, deriving its authority (like the papacy) immediately from God. It is an embodiment of Dante's Ghibellinism or Imperialism, and is garnished with quotations from Livy, Cicero, Virgil, Augustine, and other writers,—on the whole, a wearisome treatise to us. In the first of his three books,—that *De Necessitate Monarchiae*,—Dante tries to establish the proposition that a just monarchy would insure universal peace; and in times of peace alone, he says, can men fulfil the end of their being, which is intellectual activity. The second book treats of the way in which the Roman people rightly assume the function of Empire, and the third shows how the office of monarch or emperor depends immediately upon God.

More's *Utopia*, published in 1516, is called in an old edition "a frutefull, pleasaunt, and wittie worke, of the best state of a public weale." It is the predecessor or suggester of nearly a dozen similar treatises, some of them famous. The book purports to be based upon the conversations of a tan-faced traveller named Raphael Hythlodæ, whom More met in Antwerp, and who is said to have been a companion of Vespuccius in his voyages. Hythlodæ's island of the Utopians seems to be located somewhere in the Southern Pacific, as was afterwards the new Atlantis of Lord Bacon. The island is made to be two hundred miles in diameter, and to contain fifty-four cities. More systematizes things to death in his imaginary commonwealth: there is community of property,—no locks or thieves,—universal industry, and general content,—a kind of tame, Dutchy happiness. But it is a wooden life the Utopians live. Their clothes are all alike. They have no vices; every act of their lives is regulated by government; they make their chamber utensils of gold, and their table-service of glass and earth to avoid stimulating cupidity. "The chief and almost the only business of the Syphogrants [magistrates] is to take care that no man may live idle." Their pleasures are systematized; their cities all alike; the families counted; markets free. Good points are that they have no lawyers, and detest war and hunting. Once, ambassadors from a foreign nation came to the country of the plain-dressed Utopians. They were covered with jewels and gorgeous vestments. But among the Utopians these are the badges of slaves and the playthings of children. As the foreigners passed along the street, says More, "you might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their playthings, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, 'See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child.' While their mothers very innocently replied, 'Hold your peace; this, I believe, is one of the ambassador's fools.'"

Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, written in Latin, in 1624, is a fiction unfinished by its author, and on the whole most richly and massively conceived. It begins abruptly without introduction, as follows: "We sailed from Peru (where we had continued by the space of one whole year) for China and Japan by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more." Then the wind came about, and after some days of sailing toward the north they made land and a fair harbor, "being the port of a fair city; not great indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea." And "straightways we saw divers of the people, with bastons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land; yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off by signs that they made." But presently "there made forth to us a small boat, with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who came aboard our ship without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment (somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing tables, but otherwise soft and flexible), and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish, these words: 'Land ye not, none of you; and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you. Meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy.' This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards, and by them a cross." When it was learned that the strangers were Christians, and not pirates, they were permitted to land and make a lengthened stay on the island, being comfortably quarantined in the "Strangers' House," which had a rich revenue, no stranger having landed on the island for thirty-seven years before. It appeared from the narrations of the wise men and dignitaries of this highly civilized island that about three thousand years ago the art of navigation was more highly developed than at the time of Bacon's writing. It was the era of Atlantis and of the Aztec and Peruvian civilizations; and these mighty powers made war, they said, upon their island (called by them Bensalem). About nineteen hundred years ago, the island was ruled by a wise king named Salomona, who had a "large heart-inscrutable for good." He formed laws interdicting the entrance of strangers, "doubting novelties and commixtures of manners," yet sending out every twelve years two ships with scholars and explorers to take account of the best customs of foreign nations. "And thus," said the narrator, "you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, not for silks, not for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was *Light*. To have *light* (I say) of the growth of all parts of the world." What a noble conception! It was the king just mentioned who founded the great national college of discoverers called Salomon's House. Bacon has developed this pet idea of his very minutely. It is certainly a remarkable ideal, and perhaps not impossible of fulfilment in general plan at some future time. He sets forth the new Atlantis to be a realm in which the richest, wisest, and most highly honored men are scholars and investigators of nature. Salomon's (or Solomon's) college is described as the very "eye of the kingdom," a

mighty and wealthy academy of research. In the words of one of the fathers or fellows of the college, "the end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things (et motuum, ac virtutum interiorum in Natura); and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible."

The preparations and instruments are these: enormously deep caves in mountain and plain for the coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies; the production of artificial metals, the imitation of mines, and the curing of certain diseases; high towers for meteorological observations, some of them half a mile high (an anticipation of our signal stations); great lakes, salt and fresh, and artificial fountains; spacious houses for the imitation and demonstration of snow, hail, rain, thunders, lightnings; health-chambers and baths; gardens and orchards for experiments in grafting and inoculation; parks of beasts and birds for vivisection and experiments in cross propagations and commixtures of species; brew-houses, bake-houses, wineries, dispensatories, manufactories, optical and acoustical laboratories. The House publishes its inventions from time to time in divers cities, and has galleries for the exhibition of its new inventions. How majestic this great school, and how superior in development of the idea to Swift's snarling satire of learned men in his account of Laputa!

An idea of the honor paid to the "Fathers" of Bacon's Academy may be gained from his description of one of them: "And as we were thus in conference there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew: whereupon he turned to me and said, 'You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste.' The next morning he came to me again, joyful as it seemed, and said: 'There is word come to the governor of the city that one of the Fathers of Salomon's House will be here this day seven-night. We have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry.' I thanked him, and told him I was most glad of the news. The day being come, he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth with wide sleeves and a cape. His undergarment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same, and a sindon, or tipstaff, of the same about his neck. He had gloves that were curious, and set with stone, and shoes of peach-colored velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish Montera, and his locks curled below it decently: they were of color brown. His beard was cut round. He was carried in a rich chariot without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered, and two footmen on each side in the like attire." His chariot was resplendent with precious stones, covered with cloth of gold, and having upon it a sun and a cherub of gold. Fifty attendants preceded the chariot, and behind it came a great procession. "He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence." Perhaps the day will come when this majestic picture will be realized, and foolish humanity will wait for blessing upon its great men of science—its Humboldts, its Darwins, and its Agassizs—rather than upon its bitter and phantasmal priests and its savage conquerors of the sword and the loom.

Bacon's description of the introduction of Christianity to the New Atlantis is a pretty piece of

imagination: "About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour," says an inhabitant of his new Atlantis, "it came to pass that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island), within night (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile into the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder, rising from the sea a great way up toward heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered together apace upon the sands to wonder, and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound and could go no further; yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer: so the boats stood all as in a theatre beholding this light as an heavenly sign." One more holy than the rest put up a prayer to God, and was permitted to approach softly and in silence. "But, ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light brake up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, and not wet at all with water, though it swam. And in the fore end of it, which was toward him, grew a small green branch of palm." When the devout man took the ark into the boat, it opened of itself and disclosed the books of the Old and the New Testament, and a letter of greeting from St. Bartholomew. It is to be noted the idea of the pillar of light was taken by Bacon from Plato,—the Vision of Er, I believe.

An interesting episode of the "Atlantis" is the account of the Feast of the Family made at the charge of the State, by any man who "shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old." The family being all assembled, the patriarch comes forth after divine service, and seats himself under a canopy composed of white shining ivy, and silk wrought by a daughter of the family. Then came two heralds, one bearing a parchment roll or king's charter, "containing gift of revenue and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honor granted to the Father of the Family," and the other carrying in his hand a cluster of grapes with a long foot or stalk, both grapes and stalk of gold. This the father delivers to one of his sons as a mark of honor, and the son is henceforth called "The Son of the Vine," and bears the cluster before his father when he goes in public. After the feast is over, the father blesses each child and gives to each a jewel in the form of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in front of their turban or hat.

The seventeenth century produced a number of social romances. The *Argenis* of John Barclay, published under the title of *The Loves of Polyarchus and Argenis*, is a novel and a political allegory combined, which was much admired by Cowper and Coleridge and by Cardinal Richelieu, but is now a huge fossil more unreadable than the works of the Fathers. The same is true of James Harrington's *Oceana*, a huge megatherium of a book (probably not read by ten men during the past two hundred years). It gives its author's ideal of a republican form of government. *Oceana* is England. The work reflects severely upon Cromwell's administration (it was published in 1656), and had difficulty in getting to the light. It paints an ideal commonwealth squarely opposed to that of Dante, Hobbes, and Carlyle.

In 1639, Tommaso Campanella, Italian philoso-

pher, published his *Civitas Solis*. It is accessible in Italian and perhaps in English. It is a cold abstract work imitated from Plato, advocating state control of population and universal military training. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between *Il Gran Maestro* of the Hospitallers and a Genoese admiral. The latter gives the Grand Master an account of the city of the sun, which he had visited during his travels. It lies directly under the equator (hence its name), and is strongly fortified. The chief magistrate—*sommo regitore*—is a priest named Hoh. He has under him three captains called Sapienza, Potenza, and Amore. By the educational system of the people, the boys learn as much in a year as our boys learn in ten or fifteen. There is at the close a good deal of metaphysics about final and secondary causes, etc. The short Utopia of Gaspar Gozzi—*Storia del Reame degli Orsi* (1768)—is, in one edition, bound up with Campanella's work.

To Swift's immortal *Gulliver* it is only necessary to refer. Laputa, Houyhnhnm-land, Lilliput, and Brobdingnag are all contrasted savagely with England, and pointed to as models in their several peculiar features.

The *Rasselas* of Dr. Johnson differs characteristically from all other works of the kind, being designed to show, not how happy we should all be if things were only well adjusted, but that in such case we should be perfectly miserable. His prince, in the beautiful vale of the kingdom of Amhara, "where all the diversities of the world were brought together, the blessings of nature were collected, and its evils extracted and excluded," was still miserable and restless. By his travels, he learns, it is true, the unsatisfactory and transitory nature of the pleasures of the great world; but he also learns that happiness is nowhere to be attained on this earth, not even in a Utopian valley. This is the kind of gloomy Calvinistic philosophy that we might expect from the Fleet Street leviathan; but it is not a profound philosophy, nor consonant with the lessons of universal progress, as derived from the vast intellectual field of our day.

The account of that sweet little paradise—the island home of Paul and Virginia—was written, says Saint-Pierre, "in order to blend with the beauty of tropical nature the moral beauty of a small society." But a more awedly ideal sketch is the same author's fragment, *Arcadia*, bound up with his *Studies of Nature*. Admirers of Rousseau know well the friendship of Saint-Pierre and the author of *Emilius*. In the long and meandering preface to his *Arcadia*, Saint-Pierre dwells with weak egotism on the friendship, and tells how he and Rousseau concocted the *Arcadia* in their walks in the Bois de Boulogne and elsewhere. Saint-Pierre, stimulated by Rousseau, worked for four years collecting materials for a sketch of a Utopia which he was to locate on the banks of the Amazon. But he became dissatisfied with the thing. It didn't look probable or romantic enough (he had all sorts of visionary refugees there, collected out of modern Europe): "so," says he, "I relinquished my political vessel, though I had labored upon her for several years with unwearied perseverance. Like the canoe of Robinson Crusoe, I left her in the forest where I had moulded her, for want of power to put her in motion, and to carry her along the tide of human opinions." He finally settled on *Arcadia* as the scene of his Utopia, and, after collecting out of Virgil, Pausanias, Plutarch, and Xenophon all the finest descriptions and traditions of the land, began his work. The plan was to represent in *Arcadia* a state of nature, and to contrast it with Gaul and Egypt, countries of barbarism and corruption severally. The scene opens on the side of Mt. Lyceum, fronting the Gulf

of Messina. While the shepherd Tirtaeus is watching his flocks and looking out upon the olive-colored waves, already whitened with foam by the freshening breeze, he is accosted by two travellers, Cephas and Amasis, who inquire the way to Argos. They are invited home for the night by the shepherd, whose little cottage stands by the rivulet Achelous, near where an old fallen willow, covered with convolvulus, serves as a bridge. The house is covered with thatch; and vines, loaded with purple and fiery clusters, hang upon its walls. On one side, an ivy partly covers an outside staircase. The simple-hearted, affectionate daughter of the shepherd sets supper for the guests, while they are conversing. The meal consists of cabbages, bacon, wheaten bread, a pot filled with wine, a cream cheese, fresh eggs, and some of the second figs of the year, white and violet-colored. At the sight of some household relics brought out for the guests, she is reminded of her dead mother, and bursts into uncontrollable grief. After supper, the strangers relate their travels, and so the fragment closes. It is a pretty idyllic picture, and it is a pity its author did not complete it.

I have not left myself room to speak of Mr. E. E. Hale's social Utopia, *Sybaris*, where, e.g., the courts rule that at the end of eleven minutes every visiting guest must rise and offer to go. Only allusion can at present be made to the ideal commonwealths depicted in Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*, Defoe's vigorous *Essay on Projects*, John Bellers' quaint booklet, *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry of all Useful Trades and Husbandry*, the "colledge" being a kind of Fourieristic *Phalanstère*, Brook Farm, and technological institute combined (reminds you of Ruskin's St. George's Guild), and only reference can be made to the modern Frenchman Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* (a socialistic work), to old Dr. Francis Godwin's funny work, *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonzales to the World in the Moon*, by the several *Ganzas*, or large *Geese*, London, 1768, or to Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire Comique des Etats et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil* (daring, Pope-defying, free-thinking, Mirabeau-like, soldier author Bergerac, whose books, it is thought, have been suppressed and secretly bought up by Rome, so that they have been rare in libraries).

Then there is Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance*, the experiments at Brook Farm and at Condé-sur-Vesgre (Fourier's), the schemes of Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, and Ruskin in his *Time and Tide*, and the sixty-nine and more communistic communities actually existing in the United States at the present time, not to mention those in other countries. Perhaps opportunity may offer at some future time for examination of the rarer foreign works just mentioned.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MORMON QUESTION.

Editors of The Index:—

I have been much interested in the discussions on the Mormon question, now being treated so freely and in such a fair, generous spirit in the columns of *The Index*. Here allow me to say that, for dignity, impartiality, and the largest liberty of opinion, *The Index* seems to me to be without a rival among contemporary journals. It is curious to observe the different opinions regarding the institution of Mormonism in its influence on the condition of its adherents. They remind me of the conflicting statements as to the happiness and contentment of the slaves made by visitors to the South before the war. For instance, from what different stand-points, and consequently forming what different deductions, do "H. H.," in her article, "The Bee Hive," in the *Century* for May, and Kate Field, in her letters to the *Boston Herald*, look at the state of things in Utah!

"We see only what we have the gift of seeing." Mr. Kimball's letter in *The Index* of May 1 must be a convincing proof, to a candid, unprejudiced mind, with all its array of well-authenticated facts, of the moral, educational, and industrial success, taking no cognizance of polygamy, of the Mormon experiment in Utah. According to Mr. Curtis and Mr. Holland, as stated in their articles, "The Mormon Question from a New Standpoint" and "Mormon Girls," it appears that not more "than one-tenth of the Mormons themselves have more than one wife." It would seem, then, that the practice of polygamy is fast disappearing in consequence of the example of the Gentiles among them, and the silent influence of many potent ideas from which they will in vain try to shut themselves off: as well attempt to exclude the sunlight and the air.

If they ask the protection of government for polygamy, and require every citizen of Utah to practise it, then it would be the duty of all to remonstrate against her admission as a State into the Union. We know too well that the *spirit* of monogamy is openly violated by many men of high position in all our cities and towns; but, let a petition asking that legal sanction shall be granted to such connections be presented to any legislature, what would be the result? Imagine the commotion it would produce, the remonstrances that would be poured into the legislative halls. One more strong argument would then be added to those already existing in favor of "Woman Suffrage."

Only when woman is dominated by a fanatical, superstitious religion will she consent to be one of a "plurality of wives." If the one whom she has chosen to be hers only proves unfaithful, she will, with womanly fortitude and heroism, if she cannot win him back to allegiance, endure as best she can the agony and doubt. If she has children, in loving and caring for them, she will enjoy the happiness which only mothers can. But to know that she has only the tenth part of a husband, that his fatherly love and protection are spread over twenty-five or more children besides her own,—where is the refined, intelligent woman who will willingly consent to such a life?

That the Mormons have been misrepresented and treated with illiberality is without doubt true.

Let the modern ideas of life, illuminated by science, shine into the recesses of fanaticism and religious bigotry; and slowly, but surely, they will see the impossibility of such an institution as polygamy existing in this era of light and progress. Persecution will only strengthen them in their belief. It is time that, in this age of enlightenment, the lesson of the uselessness of fighting errors with any weapons but those truths sustained by scientific facts should have been well learned.

The influence which the family circle—the husband, the wife, and the children—exert on society is the one unanswerable argument in favor of monogamy. It is, if what it *should be* and what it *is* in thousands of happy families to be found in every village, town, and city of this country, the "saving remnant" which forms the central germ, the nidus from which spring up, from seed there planted, the trees from whose fruit we can alone look for the ultimate triumph of science over superstition and falsehood. Families of this character established in Utah will soon make their influence felt. Before the advancing tide of civilization by them increased and expanded, this institution, like all others founded on ignorance and fanaticism, will disappear.

R. F. B.

THE REAL POINTS AT ISSUE ON THE MORMON QUESTION.

Editors of The Index:—

I find in *The Index* of May 22 a long letter from Mr. Kimball in reply to Mr. Potter, with the above title. Having been a resident of Utah for sixteen years, I consider myself acquainted by actual observation both with theoretical and practical Mormonism. Mr. Kimball goes over considerable ground, and thinks he makes some points against Mr. Potter's arguments; but he, like most other writers on Mormonism, misses the real points at issue, and puts theories for facts; and, if these conflict, it is so much the worse for the facts.

Mormonism as a system proposes to introduce a new order of things, which is to take control of all the relations of life socially, religiously, and politi-

cally; and, after an experiment of fifty years, it has proven itself a dismal failure, being both opposed to nature and the universal experience of mankind. I wish in this comment to confine my remarks to three or four of the main points sought to be made by Mr. Kimball.

First, I consider that Mr. Potter's point, "that the Mormons are a picked community," is well taken, and Mr. Kimball's reply does not cover the ground. Mormonism picks up religious, God-fearing people in the Old World, who are true and steadfast to their convictions, and are honest in the main. Their missionaries instruct their converts to obey the laws of the country where they live, to live above the law in fact; but tell them, When you come to America, you can do as you please: you can break the laws of America, and claim protection under the plea that your religion requires you so to do. This is the gravamen of the charge against Mormonism, it is the spirit of the system. The spirit of its founder has come down to the present time, the spirit of disloyalty to the government and opposition to the law. It has ever defied the laws of this country. Mr. Kimball does not draw any line between the Mormon people and the Mormon system. It is the utter insincerity and duplicity of the system which is the trouble all the time.

Secondly, the point made by Mr. Kimball that the majority of the crime in Salt Lake City is committed by Gentiles is easily explained. The bad reputation of the Mormons has attracted there a reckless and vicious class of persons, who imagine they can do as they please; but they are speedily clinched by the Mormon police, and made to pay dearly for their offences. I affirm, that the offences of prostitution and gambling in that city are tolerated for no other purpose than to bring revenue into the police courts; and the periodical hearings and finings have been a systematic source of revenue to Mormon officials. If Mr. Kimball calls for facts, I can produce my proofs. This has been going on for a period of thirty years.

Thirdly, Mr. Kimball objects to slavery and polygamy being designated the "twin relics of barbarism." I affirm that nothing could be more appropriate: the position taken that polygamy is a voluntary act and slavery compulsory is a distinction without a difference. I affirm that polygamy among the Mormons is always morally, and has been in too many cases physically, compulsory. Does one woman voluntarily allow another woman to steal her husband's affections away from her? Not naturally. A man sets his affections on another woman, and lecherous priests assist him to violate the sanctity of his home, and to trample on the affections of his faithful wife. The "Revelation on Polygamy" says that, if a woman refuses to minister to a man's wishes in this respect, "she shall be destroyed." Many a woman in Utah has been destroyed for this reason.

But what does a man have to give up to obtain the wretched privilege of being a polygamist? Everything that makes him a man. Can a man stand up before a priest or a justice, and say I am willing to take these two women to be my wives, and the women say we are willing to take this man to be our husband? Not by any means. He has to obtain the permission of several grades of the priesthood, and to pass through the endowment house, where he takes a series of cast-iron obligations of the most awful nature, the breach of which involves the death penalty in three different forms,—namely, the throat to be cut, the heart to be taken out, and to be disembowelled! and he wears on his garments ever afterwards the perpetual reminder of these obligations. This is no empty form, the penalty has been enacted in numerous instances. He is the bond slave of the priesthood from henceforth, and death alone can free him. Is this the kind of freedom Mr. Kimball would like to enjoy? There is no freedom, there can be no freedom in Mormon polygamy, either for man or woman.

Fourthly, about woman suffrage in Utah. This is the largest Sodomite apple of the whole outrageous swindle. It is hardly possible for a person acquainted with the facts in the case to write with any degree of patience about female suffrage in Utah. I unhesitatingly affirm that nine-tenths of the women of Utah are as ignorant of the meaning of female suffrage, as understood in the East, as are the wives of the cannibals in the Fiji Islands. All that they understand by it is the right to vote to sustain the priesthood. The ballots are put into their hands, and they vote for the

men indicated, without ever dreaming of the meaning of the act in its true sense. Sustain the men appointed to rule by the priesthood is the first and last lesson of Mormonism; and this lesson is clinched by the cast-iron obligations of the endowment house. The right of female suffrage in Utah is simply a mockery, adding insult to injury. The Mormon wife has no rights she can call her own. The right of dower is taken away by law, and every other right that belongs to woman in other parts of the land. She is a helpless, submissive slave, and has no law to protect her. She is far worse off than monogamous wives who have nothing but the law to protect them. Mormon wives have no law to protect them or stand between them and the will of their husbands. It is eternal submission on their part. Their right of voting is a farce, a delusion, and a snare; yet Eastern people, in their ignorance, swallow it down as if it was a reality.

Mr. Kimball says, Instruct the Mormon people, and do not persecute them; but he does not draw the line between the Mormon people and the Mormon system. The one is worthy of sympathy, the other utterly unworthy of it, for this reason: it is rule or ruin with it. It has no sympathy, it can have no sympathy, with free institutions. It is a "theocracy" ruling by divine right, and its existence is a perpetual menace to the government of the United States. The limits of forbearance have almost been reached; and it is fast becoming (as with slavery) a question whether political suicide should be committed, or whether the twin relic of barbarism, "polygamy," and the system which sustains it, should be eradicated,—peaceably if possible, forcibly if needs be. It is a dangerous fungous growth. It uses the forms of the Constitution to stifle liberty and make men slaves, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. If Mr. Kimball knew exactly what he was defending, I think he would be the last man to apologize for a system that has broken more hearts and blasted more lives in the last fifty years than the world has any idea of.

Respectfully yours, A. WARD.

DENVER, COL.

"THIS mistake [the action of the League in regard to postal laws of 1873] is being perceived by Messrs. Wakeman and Leland, the President and Secretary of the National Liberal League; and they consequently advocate a return to First Principles. They have expressed their willingness to co-operate in the reorganization of the National Liberal League on the platform of 1876. Fearing that their personalities might give offence, they have relinquished all claim to serve in an official capacity. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of Messrs. Wakeman and Leland. They have taken the first step toward reconciling the foolishly hostile camps of Liberalism: let the next step be made by Mr. Underwood and his friends."

In reply to this extract, taken from an editorial in the *Radical Review*, which contains expressions altogether too complimentary to us, we have this to say: We still adhere to the preference expressed in these columns some weeks ago for an organization of Liberals, if an attempt to effect one is to be made, formed independently of and without reference to any of the existing organizations. Such a course would measurably relieve the effort of disadvantages liable to result from complications and antagonisms which otherwise, we fear, would be entailed upon the proposed new organization, and endanger success. The name of the Liberal League, by reason of the policy which it is now proposed to abandon, has become offensive to many Liberals; and this objection would not be easily overcome. Furthermore, an attempt to organize or reorganize Liberals in the midst of an exciting Presidential campaign would be attended with great difficulties. These are a few of the objections which occur to us, and which we state, not captiously, but for the thoughtful consideration of those who are in favor of reorganizing the National Liberal League this fall upon its former basis when under the presidency of Mr. Abbot. At the same time, if the proposition now made shall be carried out in good faith, in the reorganization and in the administration of the League, it will in our opinion be entitled to the support of the Liberals of the country, and will certainly have ours. We do not believe in allowing past errors or individual antagonisms to interfere with the interests of important reforms; and, as we have never had any personal ambitions in connection with the movement the National Liberal League was formed to promote, we shall be content to remain in the humble

position to which the leaders of the League are now willing to retire, and to aid, as best we can, such officers (and none others) as will, if elected, command the respect and confidence of honorable and fair-minded men and women who believe in the principles of State secularization. What other "step" need we take?

BOOK NOTICES.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN EUROPE. A Series of Original Essays. Edited by Theodore Stanton, M.A. With an Introduction by Frances Power Cobbe. New York: George P. Putnam's Sons. pp. 478. Price \$3.50.

It speaks volumes for the righteousness of the cause which Elizabeth Cady Stanton has pleaded so long, and for which she has done so much, that so valuable an addition as this to the knowledge of what has been done for the advancement of women in Europe should come from the hands of a man, and that man her son.

Although the book, as a whole, is the result of the combined thought and labor of many brains and many hands, the idea and most of the labor were Mr. Stanton's; for, though he secured, according to his first intention, from each country (except Portugal) "the collaboration of one or more women who, in connection with a literary training, had participated either actively or in spirit in some phase of the women's movement," yet the translations from six different languages in which the contributions were originally written, the condensations of many of them, and the proof-reading of all, together with the valuable brief biographies of the various writers, the copious foot-notes, much of the long chapter devoted to France, and the arrangement of the whole into as orderly grouping as was, under this method, attainable, was the work of one who modestly styles himself "the editor." Information—much of it new to American workers in this reform—is given as to the status of women in the European countries, which are treated of in the following order: England, Germany, Holland, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece. Of these, most space is devoted to England and France. In these and some other countries, more than one writer has contributed information in regard to the several phases of the woman's movement, such as the suffrage, the educational, the medical, the industrial, the legal, the philanthropic, and the moral advancement of the sex.

This volume is a very suggestive one even to those already familiar with the work done in the same fields in this country; and it will be found deeply interesting also to those who care only for a wider knowledge of foreign laws, ways, and methods. It is peculiarly suggestive in the possibilities shown to be within the scope of work already done for women; in the hints given to the ardent spirits who look longingly and work courageously for woman's complete enfranchisement. There is an inspiring *reveille* strain running through its pages, which quickens the ardor of those who earnestly desire to hasten on the good work being done, showing as it does the possibilities for greater accomplishment in the broad field of opportunity now opening for women. The most indifferent reader cannot fail of noting the folly of any attempt at resisting a reform so wide-spread and deep-rooted as the women's movement is here shown to be. It is part and parcel of the progressional spirit of the day, and in one form or another is being agitated in every civilized part of the globe; and among its most cheering and encouraging features is the part taken in it by thinking and conscientious men of acknowledged worth, ability, and genius.

It will surprise many readers to learn of the political privileges already shared by women in countries which we have been accustomed to think of as being far behind our own in the liberty granted its people. When we find how uniform in all countries has been the opposition to thorough scientific education for the mothers and daughters of all races, we can no longer wonder at the absence of any prominence among women in discovery, invention, or art, when we find what obstacles outside of sex have been everywhere placed in the way to bar woman's right to be taught the sciences necessary for achieving such prominence. Russia, although in many respects lagging behind other nations in progressive movement, is yet (though action in this matter is of recent origin) somewhat in

advance of most countries in the educational privileges accorded its women in the practical sciences.

Mr. Stanton's book will be found of great advantage, not only to the workers in the cause of which it treats as introducing them to many hitherto unknown fellow-workers, and furnishing them necessary knowledge for that work in the array of tabulated statistics and of facts corroborative of their claims, but also to the general reader from its historical analytic aid in the study of the development in different countries of national characteristics.

For a work intended for popular use and information, this is decided in its freedom from orthodox religious bias and in its indorsement of free thought. It is appropriately dedicated to the author's "many collaborators, and above all to Marguerite Berry," his wife, "whose participation has not been limited to a single chapter, but extends throughout every page of the volume."

THE CONSOLATIONS OF SCIENCE; or, Contributions from Science to the Hope of Immortality and Kindred Themes. By Jacob Straub. With an Introduction by Hiram W. Thomas, D.D. Chicago: The College Book Co. 1884. pp. 435. Price \$2.00.

The author of the above work claims that the essential self is released by death from sensuous relations with this world and "becomes an inhabitant of another aspect or world by being sensuously adjusted thereto." Intercourse between the two worlds, he says, although difficult and rare, is still a fact, in proof of which appeal is made to mesmerism and Spiritualism. A chapter is devoted to "An Approximate Analysis of Real Life in the Land Immortal." The changes that may be and those that may not be realized in the next world are discussed very learnedly, and the author evidently thinks in accordance with the canons of science. His thought is not always well defined, and is so attenuated that whole chapters are given to what could be easily condensed into as many pages. The style lacks, not only conciseness, but directness and clearness, and often leaves the reader in doubt as to the author's meaning. The failure of the work to justify the title and the headings of the chapters is so marked that it must disappoint the careful reader who takes it up with the hope of any scientific contribution to the discussion of the old question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" But the spirit of the work is good, and we only regret that the same cannot be said of its logic.

THE MORMON QUESTION. Address by James W. Stillman, delivered in Boston, Feb. 12, 1884. Boston: J. P. Mendum. pp. 40.

Mr. Stillman takes the ground that the Constitution of the United States does not confer upon Congress any authority whatever to legislate for the Territories without their consent; indeed, that, if a Territory insists upon declaring its own independence, it is justified in so doing, and there is no constitutional authority by which the United States can compel its submission; for the Constitution, as asserted in its preamble, was established "for the United States of America," and not for contiguous territory owned by the government! On this technical ground, it is argued that Congress has no right to interfere with polygamy. The clause of Article IV. of the Constitution, which says, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," it is claimed, applies only to property, and gives no authority to legislate for the people. This construction, Mr. Stillman says, has been sustained by Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglass, Matt H. Carpenter, Lysander Spooner, and Alfred E. Giles! Senator Carpenter held that the power to legislate for the Territories arises from the clause of the Constitution which declares the power of Congress to admit new States; but, according to this view, the people of Utah are under the jurisdiction of the United States government, and this view Mr. Stillman dissents from. Our expounder of the Constitution quotes Chief Justice Waite, "It is certainly now too late to doubt the power of Congress to govern the Territories," and remarks, "It may be too late for Judge Waite, but it is not too late for me." Even granting the right of Congress to legislate for the Territories, Mr. Stillman denies that it can disturb the institution of polygamy, for the

reason that it is no crime. "If one man and two women choose to live together," he asks, "if it is a voluntary compact or agreement between the three, how are the rights of other persons infringed, I want to know?" But, even admitting the right of Congress to legislate for the Territories, and admitting that polygamy is "the blackest crime," it is still denied that Congress has "the power to abolish or punish it." The statute now in force is declared unconstitutional. Mr. Stillman's argument to show that Congress has no constitutional or rightful authority over the people of Utah seems to us mere special pleading. He says he believes in monogamy, "that every man has his natural mate and every woman has her natural mate; there is a law higher than the law of the State, the law of mutual affinity; that, when that law is discovered and observed, it supersedes all other laws; and that any attempt on the part of the State to regulate the sexual relations of men and women is an unwarrantable infringement on the personal liberty of the individual." After reading this declaration, we are not surprised that Mr. Stillman is opposed to legislation by Congress regarding polygamy; for it is clear as daylight that he is opposed to any laws by the general government or by the States in regard to the relations of the sexes, his notion being that men and women should be at liberty to live together in such relations as they choose, be they monogamic, polygamic, or polyandric, assuming new relations at pleasure without any regulation whatever by the State. There seems to be no pressing demand for argument against views of this sort.

NOTES OF A THREE MONTHS' TOUR IN AMERICA. By Ethel Leach. Great Yarmouth (England): The Mercury Publishing Co. 1883. pp. 66.

Mrs. Leach, who visited this country with Mr. Holyoake and his daughter, has given the English public a very readable description of things seen and places visited while she was here. A few sentences from her account will give an idea of the high opinion she has of the American people: "Nowhere is woman treated with greater respect than in America. This respect exhibits itself in the smallest circumstance. The moment she enters a public carriage, the men at once rise and offer her the best place; and this is done in the most unobtrusive manner. Only once throughout my entire visit and travels did I see a gentleman remain sitting in a carriage when a lady was standing; and it struck me as so unusual that I drew the attention of my friend to it, who said he could not be an American. . . . It would be impossible to see a man taking a walk with his hands in his pockets and his wife beside him carrying the baby or pushing the perambulator. . . . An American's love of freedom and respect for the freedom of others are not less remarkable in his home. There is an entire absence of the overbearing manner in which men are accustomed to speak of and to their wives in England. . . . I believe, as a whole, the American people are as well educated and have as much intelligence and manliness of character as any nation. Indeed, the thing that most impresses you is intelligence. A look of animation pervades the whole population. . . . In a country village, I once remarked upon the quantity of weeds I saw growing, and that I had never seen so many before, when I received for reply, 'I guess you haven't room for weeds in England.' This was undoubtedly the truth, but it had never occurred to me. Mr. Herbert Spencer, at a reception given him in New York, deprecated the hurry of the Americans. Mr. Holyoake said in answer that 'Mr. Spencer would be in a hurry, if he remained there six months.' An enlightened people in a new world where almost every one has facilities for making his fortune, it is not to be wondered at that the pursuit of wealth has been the leading impulse. . . . In its schools, America is incomparably at the head of civilization. . . . The rural schools are in great contrast to our own. We teach our agricultural children little less than the three R's. In the United States, they are taught, besides geography and history,—which are included in our programme,—geometry, algebra, physiology, chemistry, and natural history, the object being, not to transform them into pedants, but to develop their intelligence. 'What a pity,' said a grave Scotchman, in the beginning of this century, 'to teach the beautiful science of geometry to weavers and cobblers.' Here nothing is too

good or too high for any one tall and good enough to get hold of it. No wonder that, as Theodore Parker says, 'The best thought of France and Germany finds a readier welcome here than in our parent land.' Mrs. Leach says she spent considerable time in the public schools of America; and, in praise of them, she is enthusiastic.

IN MEMORIAM: KATE NEWELL DOGGETT.

In Havana, Cuba, on March 13, 1884, died Kate Newell Doggett, leaving the world the poorer in that so brave a soul has taken its departure from among the children of men. Mrs. Doggett was born in Charlotte, Vt., in 1827. Her early life, through no fault of her own, was very sad; and, in 1855, she came out to Chicago as a teacher. The following year, she was married to Mr. William E. Doggett, a wealthy and intelligent merchant of that city. Until the death of Mr. Doggett, in March, 1876, their life was an ideal one, with wealth, friends, cultivated tastes, and perfect love to unite them. Mr. and Mrs. Doggett were peculiarly united to each other. He was generous, brave, and patient; she was impulsive, enthusiastic, and sympathetic. A truly noble friendship existed between them. No institution for learning, art, or science in their young city appealed to them in vain. Their sympathy was ever active; and their purse open to assist in establishing everything tending to the elevation of the people, whether morally, socially, or physically. To their home came not only the celebrated and the learned, but also the homeless and the stranger. Their hospitality was gracious and open-handed, and it was incessant. The health of both Mr. and Mrs. Doggett suffered by the inconsiderate demands made on their time, strength, and hospitality.

Mrs. Doggett was a constant student, and spoke and wrote with fluency the French, German, and Italian languages. Her translation of Charles Blanc's *Grammar of Painting* is remarkable for its lucid English and faithfulness to the original. She was proficient in the study of botany, no one in the West being better acquainted with the flora of that region. She taught classes in botany for some time at the Chicago University, besides the free classes in foreign languages, which met regularly at her house.

Mrs. Doggett was a thorough American, possessing as she did in an eminent degree the old New England virtues of patriotism, fearlessness, and morality. Her love for this country was intense. There was nothing she enjoyed so much as speaking of its prosperity and prophesying its future greatness. Not that she ignored either its mistakes or dangers, but her efforts were always directed toward reform. She had but little sympathy with the large class of Americans who condemn the existing state of affairs, but make no effort to better it.

Mrs. Doggett had so high a standard of life for herself and for her sex that any frivolity or inconsistency in what a woman said or did really saddened her. Her sympathy with any one in trouble or misjudged by superficial people was very keen, especially if the sufferer were a woman. She once said: "It is useless to tell me not to take the wrongs and trials of my sisters so to heart. I never hear of a woman being wronged but that I feel as if she were my own daughter."

Her views on religious questions were extremely radical; and she possessed the courage of her convictions, always bearing testimony, whenever she thought the occasion called for it, to what she considered the truth. Mrs. Doggett was an idealist. Her standard of morals, of honesty, of justice, of purity, was unattainable in this work-a-day world. She was satisfied with nothing short of the naked truth: the smallest sham was abominable to her either in politics, morals, or religion. Even when speaking of herself, a subject which to most people admits of great latitude, she always spoke the exact truth. From first to last, through fair or dark days, she loved justice and open-dealing, and abhorred sham and falsehood. Her life was too busy in well-doing for her to leave behind any great amount of literary work. Of her, it may truly be said, "that she did their errands, entered into the sacrifices with them, was a link in the divine chain." But, alas! by bitter sorrow during the last years of her life, she could feel neither "the joy nor life of it."

ELLEN M. HEWSTIN.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

A FEATURE of the Fourth at Paris was the presentation of the Bartholdi statue of Liberty, Minister Morton accepting the gift in the name of the President and people of the United States.

DR. KOCH, who is at the head of the Cholera Commission of Berlin, after a careful examination of the disease in France, pronounces it of the Asiatic type, and says that, having a centre like Toulon, it is sure to spread in every direction.

LORD ST. LEONARDS, for an indecent assault upon a servant girl, has received a sentence of "seven weeks in Newgate, the sentence to date from the time of conviction." The conviction having occurred two months ago, the sentence is only nominal. A common offender would have been sent to prison for three years for the offence.

DR. WILLIAM A. HAMMOND says that the performances of Lula Hurst, the young woman from Georgia who moves heavy objects against the efforts of several strong men to press them down, are due largely to the influence of suggestion in the minds of the men, and to uncommon muscular strength. Before attempting to explain what occurs in her presence, it will be well to ascertain definitely just what does take place. Dr. Hammond is something of a theorizer, and is liable to adjust his facts to his theories rather than his theories to his facts.

PROF. A. S. HILL in the *Christian Register* says: "It is nobody's interest to expose a preacher's sophistry or to puncture his rhetoric. He may go on committing the same faults, whether in argument or in grammar, Sunday after Sunday, and incense will still rise from sewing-circles and vestry tea-parties. If criticisms are made, he is the last

person to hear of them; for the hard-headed deacon who roughly tells the truth about a sermon he has just heard exists, I fancy, chiefly in novels. In a theological seminary, as in college, a student may breathe an air charged with as much criticism as is good for him; but, when he enters the ministry, the chances are that he will receive no serious criticism unless, and until, he is so fortunate as to marry a woman who has the sense to see his weak points and the courage to point them out to him."

IN the last article in *Harper's* on the deaf and dumb schools of Kendall Green, at Washington, occurs an anecdote which affords an instance of anthropomorphism so simple and transparent as to be possible only when some of the ordinary avenues of knowledge are closed: "The pupil was telling the familiar story of George Washington and the cherry tree, and wrote out the conclusion on the blackboard thus: 'He took his hatchet in his left hand, and told his father he did it.' 'Why did he take his hatchet in his left hand?' asked the teacher, surprised at the expression; and the answer came promptly, 'Because he had to use his right hand to tell his father.'"

"A NOTABLE change in public opinion concerning Sunday observance," says the *Boston Transcript*, "is reported from Swansea, England. The town council has decided that bands should be permitted to play in the public parks on Sundays. This may not appear at all remarkable, but the reasons alleged for this course will show what there is exceptional about it. According to the religious census, 'two-thirds of the population of the borough went to no place of worship on the Sabbath,' and it was therefore clearly necessary that 'something should be done for them.' Once upon a time, when a spiritual destitution was demonstrated, a town would build a church, and make the tax-payers foot the bills. The story from Swansea indicates a very decided revolution in the way of looking at things."

LI HUNG CHANG, who is the viceroy of North China, has obtained the consent of the government to build a railroad from Tien-tsin to Peking, between which two points the telegraph is already in operation. There are populous districts in the interior of China, easy access to which from the coast would be of great advantage to the Empire and to other nations; and, as the *Springfield Republican* observes, "the fact that one railroad is to be constructed is an indication of remarkable progress, for the superstitions of the people have stood like a Chinese wall against the more important phases of Western material civilization. A working example, in the shape of a railroad train with all its conveniences, will do more to break down superstitious prejudices than any amount of lecturing or theorizing. The Chinese reason very slowly, but they have keen perceptive faculties."

THE *New Haven News* has this to say in defence of the divine right of bolting: "A party may become corrupt, may fall under the sway of bad leaders, may adopt a theory repugnant to the

citizen's views of sound public policy. If a man fails to bolt then, he becomes a bad citizen; he sacrifices national ends to party ends; he has violated, not merely the freeman's oath, but the sacred obligation that it prescribes; he has merged his citizenship in the prejudices, the frenzies, the distorted fealties of the partisan. If men never bolted, we might as well give one party or the other a permanent lease of power, or decide elections by the census. In plainer words, the term 'bolting,' which men use so derisively, means at bottom the highest form of citizenship. It implies that change of feeling and consequent change of votes which guarantees reform, progress, and civic liberty itself."

THERE are thousands of people in this country, upon whom have been conferred honorary college degrees, who are in no way entitled to them; and this fact makes the degrees almost worthless. As the *New York Evening Post* says: "Every honor in this country, where there is no such thing as hereditary honor, ought to mean as nearly as possible what it professes to mean on its face. Degrees which imply on their face the possession of some kind of learning, when given to any one, no matter how meritorious on other grounds, who has no learning at all, are a sham; and there is, or ought to be, no place in American colleges for sham. Calling a man a doctor of laws because he has been elected governor or president ought with us to be as absurd as calling him a doctor of medicine or music or divinity or a great chemist. The absurdity is, of course, all the greater when the honor is bestowed on a man who makes sport of university education, and professes to believe that a man is better without it."

THERE was a bull-fight at Dodge City, Kansas, on the Fourth. Four thousand people were in attendance. There were four bulls, only one of which wanted to fight, and five matadores, only one of whom had the courage to fight or was hurt,—a fact sufficient to raise a doubt as to the reality of "distributive justice" in the world, and to suggest the possibility of another state of being to enable the bulls to get even with the human brutes who, for mere sport, speared, lassoed, and tormented them. The *Springfield Republican*, which gives a sarcastic account of this affair, refers to it as "the first bull-fight in the United States," and thinks that now, the "thing having been tried, and a taste for that sort of thing acquired, we may expect another paragraph to our already long column of sports." We believe that such cruel and demoralizing "sports" should be prohibited in every community. It is not only the right but the duty of civilization to put a check upon barbarism. The *Republican* is in error in thinking the Dodge City affair "the first bull-fight in the United States." We witnessed one at Visalia, Cal., some eight or nine years ago, when, we remember distinctly, all our sympathies were with the brutes that were tormented by half-a-dozen Mexicans, whose effeminacy and cowardice would, in the arenas of pagan Rome, have excited derision and contempt.

THE CHURCH'S SIN AND CLERICAL UNFAIRNESS IN PALLIATING IT.

No historical fact is better substantiated than that the American churches and clergy in general, in the great anti-slavery contest, took sides against the cause of the abolitionists. Whoever questions the fact has only to go back to read the contemporary newspapers of the time, or to look into such literature of the controversy as *The Church and Slavery*, by the Presbyterian Rev. Albert Barnes, or J. G. Birney's *The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery*. It is a case, too, where the exceptions distinctly and logically prove the rule; for those clergymen who identified themselves with the abolition cause lost denominational popularity and influence in consequence, were subjected to opposition and persecution, and very generally lost their pulpits. A large proportion of the original abolitionists were born and bred in evangelical churches. A very considerable number of their prominent speakers and lecturers had been ministers in evangelical pulpits or had been educated for such ministry; yet hardly one of them was able to remain in good standing with his denomination. In the course of time, the treatment which they and their cause received from the churches led them, generally, to a change in their theological views. They became liberal. But it was not this change in their views which caused them to be cast off by their churches. They were ecclesiastically ostracized before that, and because of their espousing abolitionism. This faithlessness, indeed, of the Christian Church on the greatest moral issue that has been presented to mankind in the present age has been one of the chief causes of modern scepticism in America with regard to the old theologies.

Of this guilt of the American churches in the matter of American slavery, Samuel J. May, one of the earliest converts made by Garrison and one of the fairest and most sweet-tempered of men, in his *Recollections of our Anti-slavery Conflict*, published in 1869, said: "It cannot be denied that the most formidable opposition we had to contend against was that which was made by the ministers and churches and ecclesiastical authorities. When the true history of the anti-slavery conflict shall be fully written, and the sayings and doings of preachers, theological professors, editors of religious periodicals, and of Presbyteries, Associations, Conferences, and General Assemblies shall be spread before the people in the light of our enlarged liberty, no one will fail to see that, practically, the worst enemies of truth, righteousness, and humanity were of those who professed to be the friends and followers of Christ. . . . Mr. Garrison's disappointment and astonishment were unspeakable, when he found how blind and deaf and dumb the preachers of the gospel were, in view of the unparalleled iniquity of our nation and the inestimable wrongs that were allowed to be inflicted upon millions of the people. . . . They were afraid to obey the Divine Law, and bowed rather to the commandments of men. They respected a compromise more than a principle, and trusted to that which seemed politic rather than to that which was self-evidently right." This is the testimony of one who was thoroughly conversant with the anti-slavery struggle from its beginning, and knew from experience whereof he spoke. He was himself a minister of the Unitarian denomination; and a part of the evidence he brings forward consists of accounts of the conflicts into which he was led with associations and ministers of even that generally more liberal communion, because of his abolition views.

There is no escape from the conclusion, for any

one who studies the facts, that this opinion of Mr. May, as above expressed, will be the verdict of history. Yet, naturally, the churches feel, in the new light that has come, that a heavy historical burden of guilt is thus placed upon them. At the critical hour, they were weighed in the balance, and their righteousness was found wanting. And prominent representatives of the churches have consequently made attempts, in the last few years, to explain away or conceal the bad record. The fact that, after twenty-five years of struggle, the anti-slavery reform began to take effect in a changed public sentiment, and the Free Soil and Republican parties came into politics, and the Northern conscience was profoundly stirred on the Kansas-Nebraska issue, and that then the clergy and churches began to give a better account of themselves,—this fact has been used by several apologists as a convenient cloak for covering up the previous delinquency. But, now, the venerable Doctor Austin Phelps, of Andover, comes to the defence of the Church's record with a new line of argument, or rather with the revival of a very old argument in new fashion. He makes a violent assault on the teaching and character of the abolitionists, and in a style that reminds one of the attacks made upon them in the pro-slavery press of forty years ago. The style and spirit are the same, though many of the specific charges made in Dr. Phelps' assault are such anachronisms that they could not possibly have been made then. He charges them, for instance, with being "more hostile to Christianity than to tyranny," with "maligning the name of Jesus," with teaching that "sanguinary revolutions and reigns of terror" are the necessary means to social reform, with being "destructives who would break up society itself to get rid of its abuses"; and he declares that they offered a platform at their meetings, not merely for the discussion of the slavery question, but to fanatics and cranks of all sorts to propound their various theories,—to "socialists," to "expound the inhumanity of property in land"; to "laborers on a strike," to "denounce the despotism of capital"; to "beardless boys," to "expose the blunders of Moses"; to "divorced women," to "talk of the tyranny of the marriage laws," etc. No unprejudiced person, who has any knowledge of the anti-slavery meetings, either through his recollection or his reading of them, can follow through this list of charges, made against the abolitionists by Prof. Phelps, without feeling that old age and a failing memory must be their only excuse. Yet he is allowed six columns in the *Congregationalist* for this elaborate senility.

But another thing involved in this matter reminds us of the old days of the pro-slavery press, with its gross unfairness and injustice. Mr. Oliver Johnson, who is one of the few survivors of the old guard of abolitionists, and knows thoroughly the whole history of the anti-slavery movement, wrote to the *Congregationalist* to say that he proposed to reply to Dr. Phelps' article, and naturally wished that the reply might appear in the same journal. To this, Dr. Dexter, the *Congregationalist* editor, answered that, if Prof. Phelps had made any misstatements of fact,—which he (the editor) did not believe,—the *Congregationalist* would be open "for any simple and brief correction of such misstatements"; but it would not be open for any "argument" in reply to Dr. Phelps, since, the editor added, "our intent is to disseminate what we believe to be truth, and not to edit a debating society." Narrow as these conditions were, Mr. Johnson accepted them, and sent an article which would have occupied less than two columns of the *Congregationalist's* space, and which confined itself to correcting the grossest of Dr.

Phelps' "misstatements of fact." As the long article of the latter was full of such "misstatements" throughout, even this space did not suffice for a correction of all of them. But the editor declined to print Mr. Johnson's reply, deliberately breaking his promise on the plea that this was "precisely that argument on the other side" which he could not publish! Sometimes, it is true, "a simple correction of misstatements" makes the most effective kind of argument; and it must be admitted that Mr. Johnson's article, which was printed in the *Boston Commonwealth* of June 28, was precisely an "argument" of that kind.

It is evident that, so long as Mr. Johnson survives, it will not be an easy thing for professors of theology and doctors of divinity to pursue the practice of amending history so as unjustly to befoul the abolitionists for the sake of cleansing the skirts of the American Church from the guilty blots of its complicity with slavery. Though they may have influential religious journals at their disposal and resort to the old pro-slavery tactics of hearing but one side, their efforts will be in vain. The Church on this subject has made its own history. It is already in print in its own language; and neither the special, unvarnished pleading of Dr. Phelps nor the arrogant unfairness of Dr. Dexter can whitewash the page.

WM. J. POTTER.

NOTES OF THE FIELD.

During some of the weeks of the last spring, I visited several towns in the West, extending my trip as far as Colorado, and quite lately I have spent a little time in Eastern Pennsylvania. Possibly, some of the things I have had occasion to note in these visits may be of interest to the readers of *The Index*.

There is hardly occasion to speak of the West in the large. There has been a deal said of it, and perhaps people are tired of hearing the statements thrown out in a somewhat loose and generalizing way. Certainly there are all the differences throughout the West that you find in the various communities in the East; and man is much alike, is essentially one, the world over. As a rule, it may be said, perhaps, that there is greater readiness to hear in the West than in the East. There is less tenacity of old prejudices, more readiness to yield to the progressive spirit, and so more hope held out of willing improvement here than elsewhere. But as yet there is little disposition to do anything actively; rather a disinclination to enter any organization, however simple, and unite for effort either to carry the better thought to others or to embody it more successfully and fruitfully in the individual and social life. The little that is being done in associate work is being accomplished apparently by the more liberal of the Unitarians. These are alert and active; and the societies they are planting in the new communities are, I am confident, in many instances, perhaps most indeed, on the broad basis of complete spiritual freedom.

Col. Ingersoll draws throngs, unnumbered thousands, wherever he goes. In Denver, where he spoke by invitation of leading citizens not long since, the large Opera House, I was told, was not sufficient to contain the multitudes that were eager to hear; and the same is to be said, I suppose, of every town in the West that he visits. This shows what a large ungathered congregation there is for him who can command its ear,—people that for most part are not spoken to by any of the religious organizations, whether orthodox or liberal. I wish that what the Colonel has and says might fruit in something more positive and tangible,—such mag-

nificent opportunity and such eloquent, witty, stirring utterance,—that it might show effect in making Liberalism more concentrated, articulate, and felt. But I suppose this is neither in his disposition nor in the line of his genius. Some other one must come, who will yet mass, organize this great force of outlying, unvoiced sentiment, and make it to tell in society for needed protest and reform.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead, whom I saw and had opportunity once to hear in Denver, finds, in goodly number, appreciative listeners for his thorough research and choice, quickening thought. His lectures upon the Puritans are eminently worthy to be heard in every town and hamlet through the land. They would do, they are doing, valuable work in enlightening and emancipating the public mind. Prof. John Fiske has been drawing large audiences in St. Louis, and I presume in other cities as well, to attend upon his extended courses on American history. More and more the public mind, and especially in the Western States, seems ripening for the reception of the enlarged thought of the time. Talmage, I was told, not long since in Omaha, drew but a moderate audience to hear him. Ingersoll, shortly after, was greeted with the Opera House packed.

In Greeley, Col., I found a large, flourishing society of Liberals, as broad in its basis apparently as the freest expression of universal religion would require. It is under the ministration of Rev. Mr. Gibbs, an excellent gentleman, whom I had met once before in the East. In the society, largely, as I am informed, the agnostic element obtains. I found here brainy, strong men, men of great and invincible force, toiling in their manual work, engaged, most of them, out on the prairie with their agriculture and stock-tending, yet tireless in spirit, never too weary at night for the best reading, for social converse, for the debate of the lyceum or a lecture,—eager, alert ever for what is of most worth in thought and culture. They have fully the courage of their opinions, are outspoken, aggressive, protestant, and so missionaries perpetually of the new faith in their community.

This town was to me one of the most interesting of all that I visited. Founded, as it is known, at the instance and through the influences of the *New York Tribune* and in memory of the exalted name of Horace Greeley, it was settled at the beginning by a people quite above the ordinary grade of intelligence and character. It bears the stamp of these first settlers, an impress that can probably never be effaced. No intoxicating drinks are permitted to be sold within the limits of the town, there are no saloons or dram-shops anywhere to be seen, no drinkers or idlers: it is an intelligent, industrious, enterprising, and every way prosperous community. It is an exception, an oasis in the desert. From all the region round about, the town is sought for superior educational advantages in schools and the finer elements of social life. With such sobriety, freedom, and wakeful, progressive spirit, liberal ideas cannot but strike root and grow. With opportunity, fair, free field for all, there will be survival of the fittest.

In Denver also, I found a very attractive circle of friends. The Liberals whom I met are persons of pronounced convictions, of positive character, and are felt as a potent force in the community. It would be pleasant to tell of one I found there,—well known in the community and most esteemed by those who know him best,—an industrious, hard-working artisan, to be seen every day and every hour of the day upon the bench with hammer and lap stone and awl, who is, in the broad, one of the most intelligent, clear-sighted, and upstanding Liberals I have ever seen. In his well-ap-

pointed library, you will note numbers of books among the standard works in Biological Science, Molecular Physics, General History of Civilization, of Culture, etc.; and these have been, not only carefully read, but well appropriated. Busy as our friend is with the manual labors for daily bread, he has found time ever to enrich, enlarge, and adorn the mind, time also to devote himself with a generous self-sacrifice to enterprises aiming—whether by lectures, lyceums, or what not—to instruct and to elevate those about him. It does the heart good to find here and there souls of such dedication and such quenchless, tireless energy.

I should like to speak of other places,—of Boulder, a town of but some four thousand people, where I found a large congregation freshly gathered to hear Mr. Van Ness, a young man late from Cambridge, and full of the scientific impulse of the time,—of Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, etc.; but the limits I must keep to here forbid.

In Pennsylvania, early in the present month, we attended—there were two of us this time, the lady being of the party—the yearly meeting of the Progressive Friends. This was held, in all, nearly four days; and the attendance throughout was good. Col. Higginson disappointed us, being unable by reason of ill health to be present; and the loss throughout was deeply felt. But we were supplied with a good array of speakers,—Revs. J. H. Clifford, C. C. Hussey, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, and others.

Mrs. Cheney deeply interested and enriched us all by a compact, lucid statement of the character and claims of art. The theme was in a degree new, and especially *here*. Most in this neighborhood, although long since freed from the dogmatic limitations of the sect, are directly of Quaker antecedents and rearing, and have inherited, and bear still in greater or less degree, whether consciously or unconsciously, the impression of that early training, which, as is well known, in the jealousy of the Quakers against idolatry and the fashions of this wicked world, was severely abstemious of any regard for the æsthetic or anything savoring of beauty in form. Indeed, the education of us all under Protestant régime has been defective in that respect, especially in reference to aught that may speak to the taste or imagination on the walls of churches or in the forms of worship. We have therefore much to learn: even the Catholic Church has lessons of value to teach us.

To find such a source of enrichment brought before us as is furnished in the grand products of art in ancient times and in modern, to learn of the office of this missionary to the mind, what education, enlargement, and exaltation through the symbolism here afforded, was doubtless a surprise to some: its presentation through the tongue of such an interpreter was a boon to all. Nothing given upon this platform for many a day has had a deeper, finer effect. It opened new views with reference to education, to methods of public teaching, the use and the mission of the expressive language of type and figure, which will not fail to bear their generous fruit.

On the whole, this meeting, with whatever drawbacks through the disappointments,—for Mr. Hinckley as well as Mr. Higginson had been expected,—was felt in spirit and interest to be equal to its predecessors. Its platform is broad, its aims catholic and universal. It should fulfil from year to year a larger and a larger service. Its constituency is gathered from wide area in Central and Eastern Pennsylvania, from Delaware and New Jersey; and it may and should be a centre of radiation for most wholesome and life-giving influences through the whole land. It has

before it an unlimited future, if it shall hold courageous and faithful to its own recognized ideal.

In Philadelphia, I was told that initial steps had been taken, looking to the establishment of an Ethical Society. There are already three liberal organizations here of Unitarian connection, all well served by ministers of exalted ability and worth. But the city is large; and there must be abundant room, doubtless, for a new society and of this type. In St. Louis, as I was informed when there, not long since, the condition is ready and waiting for such a movement. There are the people at hand, and the means to sustain it. What is wanting is the one that can lead the march, one able to speak the decisive and animating word.

The ethical movement is, to my thought, somewhat partial and incomplete in its idea, defective in important particulars, and must have supplementing before it can stand fully for the needs of the soul. But it is a beginning, and a beginning at a most essential point, in new departure. These societies as they are stand, as I believe, for the nearest approximation that we see anywhere thus far to what is to be the Church of the future. They are to be viewed, springing up as they do now in our leading cities, as one among the very significant signs of our time, and to be greeted with most cordial good-will and god-speed. We have right to draw from them omens of fresh encouragement and renewed hope.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

THE MODERN INQUISITION.

I.

No evolutionist looks for any radical change in a perceptible period. Though infinite variety is the universal rule, and the same phenomenon, in all its minutiae, is never repeated, there is, nevertheless, a continuity which enables the accurate observer to predict with tolerable certainty an anticipated result. But for this, science would be impossible. This rule holds good in the moral as well as in the material world.

The Romish Inquisition will probably never again dominate the world with its all-pervading terror. But they who suppose that the inquisitorial spirit has passed away, that no form of that baleful vitality is now in existence, exhibit an unfortunate lack of sagacity. The great Protestant schism and the innumerable minor schisms in the protesting body, whose culmination is free thought, have secured for the harassed and harried human race at least comparative and temporary immunity from the persecutions of the fiends whose peculiar business it has been to worry and torture those innocent people against whom no other crime could be alleged than that they would not join in the effort to destroy the human intellect and eradicate conscience from the mind of men.

Nothing in the human character is more remarkable than the persistent infatuation which leads to the belief that abstention from any given devilry necessarily implies conversion from that diabolism. The recent displays of fiendish violence in Virginia and Mississippi are cases in point. Those who are gifted with but a moderate endowment of that quality which constituted the leading trait in the character of the celebrated Mr. Gradgrind must be unpleasantly startled by the facts of the case. Theory serves two quite distinct purposes. With some, it is an instrument for the discovery of truth: with inferior minds, it is a never-failing means of confirming them in error.

Popery has had its fangs drawn and its claws cut; and its legitimate successor, Calvinism, can no longer, on the shores of the Lake of Geneva,

burn alive by slow fire, with the additional luxury of green wood, the noblest of the human race, whom its keen-scented bloodhounds have hunted down, nor gloat over the sight of an innocent girl strangled by the rising tide of Solway Firth in obedience to its fiendish order, nor even summarily expel from its jurisdiction, with an emphatic warning never to return, the uninformed seamen whom its zealous spies have detected in the crime of absenting themselves from the only true worship on "the Lord's day." Nor can the greatly lauded Pilgrim Fathers, as they once did, after a short breathing-time, to enable them to recover from the persecutions they themselves had suffered, re-establish and infuse a genuine activity into their own peculiar form of the inquisition. All these things have, for the present at least, passed away. But the law of heredity holds good here as well as elsewhere. Whatever may have been the remote beginning of the poisonous aiantus (which also is called a Tree of Heaven), the successive generations of that noxious vegetable faithfully reproduce the disgusting qualities of their progenitors. The copperheaded viper, a peculiar product of our own soil, generates only copperheaded vipers; and theological inquisition into religious beliefs perpetuates theological inquisition into religious beliefs.

When Col. Ingersoll, a few years ago, was engaged to deliver one of his characteristic lectures in the capital of Pennsylvania, the teachers in the public schools in that city were distinctly informed that any one whom the pious spies of the parsons detected in attendance at the lecture would certainly lose his place. Many who were desirous of listening to the great heretic were thereby deterred from going to hear him. The modern inquisitor cannot burn alive nor drown his victim "for Christ's sake" (for that, stated in its nakedness, is his professed motive), so he merely does his best to starve him to death. The spirit is the same; and, but for the brave and heroic hearts who are determined that these things shall no longer be, the older and simpler methods would be resumed. Those who think otherwise are deluding themselves. The resumption of the summary methods would, of course, be gradual; but those methods would be resumed.

Mr. Abbot, and others who agree with him, may be altogether right in believing that this question can be finally settled only through a great religious war. I presume that even he does not look for this result in the very near future. But there are strong grounds for his fears. The great central power, the mainspring of this inquisitorial movement, is undoubtedly the Romish Church, the wealthiest, the best equipped, and the most powerful organization in the world. She lies, like an enormous devilfish, in the gloomy and sunless deeps, and draws in, to batten on them, all the unwary who venture within the reach of her long, flexible, and slimy tentacles. She has a hold, more or less firm, of the leading evangelical Protestant churches; she has long had a most dangerous and fatal control of the Democratic party of this country, and is slowly, but surely, drawing into her embrace the Republican party. I am quite aware that all this is hooted at; but, though Gradgrind was narrow, his love of "fax" was a valuable and is, in all such cases as this, an indispensable quality. Throughout our civil war, she kept mayors notoriously disloyal in at least two of our larger Pennsylvanian cities; and, but for her, we should not now be disgraced with a copperhead governor in Pennsylvania. And she has, at last, reached the Presidency of the United States, and induced the present incumbent of that office to interfere in the internal affairs of a youthful foreign

government which is engaged in a deadly struggle with powerful and subtle enemies, in behalf of a body of men who are as thoroughly inimical to that government as those who, throughout the Slaveholders' Rebellion, kept up "the fire in the rear" were to the government of this country. And Mr. Arthur, if one may judge by his behavior, regards it as a compliment to be congratulated publicly for this violation of international courtesy by the papal representative in this country, speaking in behalf of the whole body of prelates. Here is a very bold step forward, which will, however, doubtless be passed by with the usual indifference and apathy, or even assurances from "Liberals" that alarm, in view of these acts, is characteristic of those minds only which are lacking in philosophical comprehension, and that calm serenity which is the prerogative of great intellects. But for the Irish vote, this most unbecoming interference would never have occurred.

The *Pennsylvania School Journal*, the official organ of the State schools, long since tacitly took the ground that the Christians of any given neighborhood had a perfect right to institute an inquisition into the Orthodoxy of an applicant for the place of teacher, and, if he was found to be wanting in what Lessing calls "the great duty of believing," to reject his application without more ado. This same official organ gave to the teachers, school-boards, and patrons of the public schools, from which classes are drawn the great body of its subscribers, a highly eulogistic notice of that pseudo-scientific hash which may, perhaps, without irreverence, be called the Cook-Book, and also gave currency against an emphatic protest to an anonymous paragraph which the readers of *The Index* will remember, purporting to define Carlyle's attitude toward Darwin, and which was greedily and extensively copied by the half-penny editors who are glad to play second fiddle to the twopenny parsons. The acting editor was warned that, as this anonymous paragraph came from whence none knew, it was probably (as it finally proved to be) only another example of that very common lying for Christ's sake, in which many orthodox people freely indulge. When Mrs. Lecky's authoritative exposure of the forgery appeared in the *London Times*, the editor was advised of the fact; and his informant urged him, inasmuch as he had given currency to the slander, to give equal publicity to the correction. This he positively refused to do, saying, "If Carlyle didn't say what was attributed to him, he ought to have done so." The exaggeration, suppression, misrepresentation, and downright and deliberate falsehood to which many of these people will resort is something quite startling to the unregenerate mind.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

THE MICROMEGAS OF VOLTAIRE.

Voltaire's horse-laugh extravaganza, *Micromegas*, is a delicious satire upon pretentious humanity. He makes the earth base and ridiculous by contrasting it with society as it exists on a planet of the star Sirius, which he thereby makes his ideal land. It seems to me the *Micromegas*, would, if translated, be almost as popular as *Peter Schlemihl*, *Gulliver*, one of the *Hausmärchen* or Poe's *Hans Pfaall*.

"In one of the planets," begins Voltaire, "which revolve about the star Sirius, there was a young man *de beaucoup d'esprit*, whom I had the honor to know on the occasion of the last voyage he made to this little ant-hill of an earth. He was named Micromegas [little-great], a name very appropriate to all great persons." Micromegas was one hundred and twenty thousand feet in height. On emerging from childhood, when he was about four

hundred and fifty years old, "he dissected many of those minute insects which are only one hundred feet in diameter," a size too small for the ordinary microscopes of that planet to detect. He wrote a book about his insects, which brought down on him the wrath of the *muphti* of his country, and was banished. He was perfectly well acquainted with the laws of gravitation and the attracting and repelling forces, and made use of his knowledge so well that, setting out on his travels with his servants and baggage, he passed from globe to globe as easily as a bird glides from bough to bough. Arriving in Saturn, he made the acquaintance of the secretary of the Saturnian Academy. This little gentleman was only six thousand feet high, and contrasted with the Sirian as a very small poodle would with his master. It is understood that, in the person of the Saturnian secretary, Voltaire satirized Fontenelle, member of the French Academy. The Sirian and his dwarf (as Voltaire calls him)—namely, the secretary—hold many conversations, in which the Syrian expresses his pity for the fellow-citizens of the other.

"How many senses have you in this planet?" demands the Sirian. "Only seventy-two," says the dwarf. "We have a thousand in our world," says the other; "and we are continually filled with vague unhappiness and envy of those living on other planets who we feel sure have more."

Thereupon, the Sirian lays bare the root of all Utopia-dreaming. "I have travelled a little," he says, "in various worlds; and I have never yet seen any one who did not have more desires than true wants, and more wants than gratification." The matter of ages next coming up, it appears that the Saturnians live fifteen thousand years, and the Sirians ten million five hundred thousand. Presently, the two friends set out on an ethereal voyage together, taking with them a goodly number of mathematical instruments. Leaping to Saturn's ring, they thence voyaged from moon to moon. A comet passing by, they leap aboard with all their domestics and mathematical instruments. Passing by the moons of Jupiter, they arrive at Mars. Some years ago, on the discovery of the moons of Mars, I published a note calling attention to the anticipation of the "find" by Voltaire in this romance. But I then trusted to information at second hand (an old magazine). It is true, as I now see, that Voltaire speaks of the existence of these moons; but what he states is satirically said, I believe, in teasing ridicule of men of science.*

Our ethereal travellers fear that the planets of Mars would be too small to afford them a bed apiece, so they go on until they reach the earth, landing on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea on the 5th of July, 1737. After eating for lunch two small mountains of provisions placed before them by their attendants, they take a little walk over Europe to see the country. The Sirian, being about twenty-two miles high, could have walked around the globe in thirty-six hours; but they did not go far. They scratched their feet against the mountains as they walked, and then got to disputing as to whether the earth was inhabited, Voltaire hitting off the follies of the scientists all the while in the solemn nonsense uttered by the dwarf in the way of reasoning. In the heat of the dispute, the diamond necklace of Micromegas broke, and the diamonds were scattered over the ground.

As the Saturnian was picking up some of them,

*"Je sais bien," he exclaims, "que le père Castel écrivait, et même assez plaisamment, contre l'existence de ces deux lunes; mais je m'en rapporte à ceux qui raisonnent par analogie. Ces bons philosophes la savent combien il serait difficile que Mars, qui est si loin du soleil, se passât à moins de deux lunes." "I agree with those who reason by analogy," Voltaire would say ironically. "If the earth has one moon, our good philosophers know very well that Mars, who is so far from the sun, could not get along without two at least."

weighing each about four hundred pounds, he happened to notice that they made with their facets excellent microscopes. They take the hint, and, applying them to the eye, discover first a whale, which Micromegas takes up carefully and lays on his thumb-nail. Then they speculate as to whether the animal can reason. Presently, they espy, by the aid of the microscope, a vessel on the sea. It is filled with arctic explorers,—scientific philosophers who had been making a voyage to the North Pole. The Sirian takes up the vessel, and holds it in the hollow of his hand. The passengers think they have been caught by a hurricane and thrown upon some kind of a rock. The sailors throw over barrels and jump after them into the water which still lies in the hollow of the giant's hand. The philosophers take their instruments, and climb down upon the fingers of the hand. Micromegas felt a tickling in his index finger. It was an iron-shod staff which one of them had sunk into his flesh to the depth of a foot. He was unable to see anything, even with the glass, but concluded that some sort of atomic animal had come out of the ship, invisible to his eye. At length, to his ecstatic joy, he was able to see the mites. He shouted with pleasure, and placed a microscope in the hands of his friend. "I see them!" they cried both together. "Don't you see them here raising themselves to the deck, and there lowering themselves?" and their hands trembled with excitement.

After a while, the Sirian clipped his thumb-nail, and made a speaking-trumpet of the paring. This ear-trumpet covered the whole ship, and made the hum of its insect-men audible. The Sirian took the dwarf on his knee, held the vessel on his thumb-nail, and then said, in a very low voice, so as not to kill them with the noise:—

"Invisible insects, whom the hand of the Creator has been pleased to bring forth in the depths of the infinitely small, I thank him for what he has deigned to permit me to know of impenetrable secrets. Perhaps where I live you would be despised, but I despise no one. I offer you my protection."

"If there was ever any one astonished, it was those who heard these words. They could not imagine whence they came. The chaplain offered prayers of exorcism, the sailors swore, and the philosophers made a system; but, whatever system they made, they could not divine who it was that spoke to them." The dwarf of Saturn, who had a gentler voice than Micromegas, then told them who they (their captors) were, commiserated them on their small size, asked them if they had always been in this miserable condition, so near to annihilation, if they were intelligent and happy, and if they had souls. This last question stung one of the bolder of the crew; and, taking his quadrant, he took the height of the dwarf, and then said, "You think, sir, because you are six thousand feet high, that you are a"—"Six thousand feet!" cried the Saturnian. "Great heaven! how does he know my height? He has not missed it by an inch. He is a geometrician." "Yes, I have measured you," said the atom, "and I will measure your friend." The proposition was accepted. The Sirian lay down, and they took his measure by triangulation (in a way that the superior delicacy of this age will not allow me to translate).

The Sirian expressed his admiration of the power of God who could create such atoms in one world, and in another beings whose foot would cover our whole globe (for such he said he had seen in his planetary travels). Then they touched the subject of philosophy, and the philosophers all spoke at once in the attempt to explain their systems to their big friends. The Lockian met the

approval of these the most. But there was present a schoolman or priest (*un petit animalcule en bonnet carré*) who said he knew the whole secret, that it was all in Thomas Aquinas. He coolly took the measure of his gigantic captors, and maintained that their persons, their worlds, their suns, all were made solely for the use and pleasure of man. At this point, the giants fell into such an uncontrollable fit of laughter, their bellies and their shoulders so rising and falling in the convulsions caused by their attempt to suppress their merriment, that the ship fell from the thumb-nail of the Sirian into the breeches pocket of the Saturnian, and they looked for it a long while before they found it. The Sirian then talked kindly to the mites, and on parting from the earth gave them a book, in which he said they would find the purpose of things laid down. The book was carried to Paris, to the Academy of Sciences; but, when the secretary opened it, he found only blank leaves. "Ah!" he said, "I had my doubts about the matter." And so Voltaire closes his "history."

W. S. KENNEDY.

"SUBSCRIBER" writes: "The battle-cry of Liberalism is, Educate! Educate! Educate! Reflecting lately upon the politics of the day, I could not repress doubt. Do not our political conventions presumably represent the educated among the mass of politicians? Yet we daily read of the probabilities of this, that, or the other candidate turning over his strength or transferring his adherents to another chief, when his own chances grow hopeless, driving or leading them like a lot of cattle from one pen to another. What is the difference? And what is the matter? These cattle, these politicians, are all, from the county up to the national conventions, representative men of their respective communities. They are mostly educated men. Yet education seems to give them no moral standard, no individuality. At a wave of their chief, off they go, obeying his impulse of cupidity, revenge, or expediency. The daily records of rascality, too, bristle with the names of educated people. The treasurer of a corporation, the bank cashier, the Sunday-school superintendent, and even the truly good pastor,—these who are so pitifully often recreant to trust are all educated. The stock gamblers and manipulators, the whiskey bosses, the owners of whole blocks devoted to evil, are usually educated. The lawyers, to whose profession the word 'conscience' is unknown, are educated. What is the matter, that education yields so much rotten fruit?"

Dr. McCosh, of Princeton College, a man of undoubted ability, as all know who have read his writings, is said to be quite egotistical, without the tact to conceal his weakness, and without being aware of it even. In an exchange, we find the following anecdote of the distinguished theological professor, given as an instance of his egotism: "Some years ago, he was lecturing before the senior class. He had been discussing Leibnitz's view of the reason of evil, to the effect that mankind was put upon the earth because there was less evil here than elsewhere. One of the seniors inquired, 'Well, doctor, why was evil introduced into the world?' 'Ah!' said the doctor, holding up both hands, 'ye have asked the hardest question in all feelosophy. Sukkrates tried to answer it, and failed; Plato tried it, and he failed; Kahnt attempted it, and made bad work of it; Leibnitz tried it, and he begged the whole question, as I've been tellin' ye; and I confess (gnawing at his thumb knuckle), I confess I don't know—what—to make of it myself.'"

AMONG the excellent works, low-priced editions of which are being published by John B. Alden, is Guizot's *History of France*, which is being issued in eight octavo volumes at seventy-five cents each. Two volumes have already appeared, and the others are in press and to be issued this month. The price of the American edition of this work hitherto published—more than thirty dollars—has kept it beyond the reach of the general reader of history, to whom Mr. Alden's edition—which is printed on good paper, in large type, is neatly bound, and will sell for \$6.00—will be very acceptable.

SAYS the London *Inquirer*: "Aldis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, lately published, with all its graver matter has a humorous aspect which ought not to be ignored. For instance, under one heading we have the following: Origen [see *Hell*],—which is certainly a short and easy way of dealing with heretics. On *Heaven* there is a column and a quarter, on *Hell* no less than ten columns, the writer apparently having more information on the latter subject than on the former."

GREAT hearts alone can understand how much glory there is in being good.—*Michelet*.

EVEN genius itself is but fine observation strengthened by fixity of purpose.—*Earl Bulwer-Lytton*.

I KNOW no great men except those who have rendered great services to the human race.—*Voltaire*.

YOU cannot dream yourself into a character: you must hammer and forge yourself into one.—*Wendell Phillips*.

HOW IT comes to us in silent hours that truth is our only armor in all passages of life and death!—*R. W. Emerson*.

WHAT a woman should demand is respect for her as a woman. Let her first lesson be to reverence her sex.—*Charles Lamb*.

PERSISTENCE is the larger part of any virtue. Take grit out of in-te-grit-y, and your integrity is gone.—*Michigan Christian Herald*.

IF we recall the rare hours when we encountered the best persons, we then found ourselves, and then first society seemed to exist.—*Emerson*.

TO PRAY against temptations, and yet to rush into occasion, is to thrust your fingers into the fire and then pray they might not be burned.—*Secker*.

IT is true that genius takes its rise out of the mountains of rectitude, that all beauty and power which men covet are somehow born out of that Alpine district.—*Emerson*.

NO MATTER who lives or dies, who goes up or goes down, What is truth? must be and ever is the supreme inquiry of honest and teachable spirits.—*Joseph Parker*.

IMMORTALITY must be earned by constant vigilance and watch upon our own motives and acts. We must work for immortal life, and by slow toil grow worthy of it.—*Ella Wheeler*.

A MAN'S charity to those who differ from him upon great and difficult questions will be in the ratio of his own knowledge of them,—the more knowledge, the more charity.—*Norman Macleod*.

For *The Index*.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' GRAVE.

The noisy stream of man's affairs
Flows ever by the sacred place,
Marked by no costly monument,
Where rests oppression's enemy.

The insect's hum, the sunlit flowers,
Service of praise and incense give:
Dead though he is, his word remains
A help for all humanity.

JOHN DIXWELL.

Boston, June 21, 1884.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 10, 1884.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

II.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

At the advent of Christianity, the civilized world was at peace. A quarter of a century before the birth of Jesus, the gates of the temple of Janus in Rome, which were always open when the Empire was involved in war, were closed by the order of Augustus Cæsar, for the third time since the foundation of the Eternal City. Rome was mistress of the world, and had conquered peace by the might of her invincible arms.

During the previous century, she had extended her power in the East under the great commanders, Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey. Asia Minor had been subdued, and all its vast territory was reduced to a tributary condition. The king of Armenia had been defeated. Syria and Palestine submitted to Pompey, and were converted to Roman provinces. On the north-east, the Parthian successors of the ancient Persian empire alone maintained their independence, having thus far resisted all attempts at Roman invasion and conquest.

Rome before the Cæsars.—The Servile Insurrection.

Rome, in the early part of the century nominally a republic, was never one in reality. While the government was republican in form, the greater part of the population of the capital and chief cities were slaves, deprived of all civil rights. In the year 73 B.C., this class rose in insurrection, led by Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator. For nearly three years, they maintained a partially successful warfare against the veteran armies of the republic, a large part of Italy being in the hands of the servile classes during this period. It was not until several powerful armies had been defeated, and forces of great magnitude were brought into the field, that the insurgents were

overthrown. Such was the might of an oppressed class, struggling for equal political rights against the most powerful nation that the world had ever known. To these people, the religion of Jesus, with its communistic spirit and its doctrine of the kingdom of heaven soon to be established on the earth,—the inheritance of the poor and the oppressed,—would come with the blessing of renewed hope and the promise of ultimate deliverance.*

Pompey, victorious in the East, and successful in his conflicts with the pirates of the Mediterranean, was master of Rome for a time, but soon had to contend with the rival talents and ambition of Julius Cæsar. The first Triumvirate, comprising Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, subsequently became arbiters of the destinies of the growing empire and virtual masters of the world. Cæsar, appointed to command the armies of Rome in Gaul, completed the conquest of that country, and extended his victorious arms into Germany and Britain. His subsequent history, his conflicts with and triumphs over his rivals, his final attainment of the imperial power, which he held until his assassination in the year 44 B.C., these facts are too familiar to the students of history, and too little germane to our subject, to require further elaboration.

Rome under the Cæsars.—The Jewish Colony.

Rome, the queen city of the world, at this time contained a population variously calculated at from a million and a half to eight million souls. The latter estimate is doubtless greatly exaggerated: probably about two millions would approximate the actual number of inhabitants. This population included a considerable colony of Jews, many of whom had emigrated to Rome during the earlier years of Pompey's supremacy. The Hebrew colonists dwelt in a mean quarter of the city, beyond the Tiber; and, on account of their social exclusiveness and the character of their religion, they were regarded with jealousy and suspicion by the masses of the native population. Nevertheless, they were industrious and frugal, and were generally entitled to the credit of being good citizens. Julius Cæsar recognized their virtues, and granted them many favors. This Jewish colony subsequently became the nucleus of the Christian Church in Rome, and the earliest assemblies of Christians in the metropolis were held in the Jewish quarter of the city.

Under the imperial sway of the Cæsars, Rome attained a power and magnificence never previously or subsequently equalled. Cicero, Catiline, Crassus, Pompey, the younger Cato, Scipio,—these are a few of the great names among her citizens during the century preceding the Christian era. For two hundred years, Greece had been the political subject of Rome, but had itself subjected the Eternal City intellectually, and through it the intelligence of the world, giving to the great empire its official language and its highest development of art, literature, and philosophy. Four centuries before the Christian era, the philosophy of Græce had reached its culmination in the transcendent genius of Plato, whose far-reaching thought has rendered all subsequent ages his debtors. The influence of the Platonic philosophy upon the development of Christian doctrine was not inconsiderable, and will constitute an important element in our later discussions.

Religion under the Empire.—Roman Tolerance.

Rome was more cosmopolitan and tolerant than any other nation of antiquity which had sought to

*The early Fathers of the Church, as will be seen hereafter, like the Fathers of the American republic, failed to make a practical application of these principles to the existing institution of slavery, but, on the contrary, often directly recognized and sustained it. Nevertheless, the principles existed as a leaven, working for the ultimate regeneration of society.

extend its domain by conquest. The genius of Greece, on the contrary, had been pre-eminently dogmatic and intolerant. Even her most distinguished philosophers were expatriated, or subjected, like Sokrates, to the penalty of death, if their teachings appeared to conflict with any of the leading features of the popular theology. Her religion, accordingly, did not readily coalesce with the alien faiths of her conquered provinces. The attempt to introduce it by force into Palestine had already resulted in the revolt of the Asmoneans and the final overthrow of the Greek dynasties which had governed that country since its conquest by Alexander. Rome, on the contrary, did not seek to overthrow the religions of her subject peoples, but tolerated and protected them, unless they opposed her secular dominion, often assimilating them in part into her own cultus with their foreign rites and ceremonies.*

She had early adopted the gods of Greece, whose intenser personality than that of the ancient Roman deities attracted the worship of the masses of the people; while the priests, philosophers, and educated classes were initiated into the mysteries of the "Sacred Drama of Eleusis," which promised consolations for the trials of the present life, and taught the doctrine of the resurrection and the life to come. In the Eleusinian cultus, the Greek and later Roman faith reached their highest ethical development. Promises of future reward were offered to the initiated on certain conditions, not merely of ceremonial observance, but also of personal purity and piety, of justice and right-doing between man and man. The doctrine of a spiritual, pantheistic monotheism seems to have been taught, of which the objective anthropomorphism of the popular mythology offered no suggestion. Absolute chastity was required of the priests during the celebration of the mysteries; and celibacy was made obligatory to certain orders of the priesthood, from the time of the assumption of the priestly office. Abstinence from certain articles of food was required of the celebrants. Initiation was preceded by a rite of purification resembling Christian baptism; and a sacred meal, similar to the eucharist, constituted a portion of the ceremonial. On the nineteenth day of the great annual festival, a solemn sacrifice was offered to Asklepîos, the god who had died, and was subsequently resuscitated as Iakchos. The familiar representations of Iakchos as a young child, with his mother, Persephonê,—sometimes identified with the Egyptian deities, Horos and Isis, in the later Roman period,—doubtless helped to suggest the familiar conception of the Virgin and child in early Christian art; and the mystic representation of the resurrection, long familiar to the favored initiates of Greece and Rome, prepared the way for the acceptance of the mythical legend of the resurrection of Christ. "The idea of the saviour Daimôn sprung from the mother goddess," says Lenormant, "is essentially a Pelasgic and popular conception."† It was connected with the rites of Eleusis from their earliest period, and, together with the universal belief in the incarnation of the gods, was a forerunner, if not a causal prototype, of the subsequently developed Christian doctrines of the miraculous birth and the divine incarnation of Jesus.

Oriental Influences.—Mithracism.

About the year 180 A.D., the Emperor Commodus introduced into Rome the rival mystic and ritualistic worship of the Persian god Mithra, or

*See Renan's *English Conferences* for an interesting discussion of the influence of the Roman religion upon early Christianity.

†A most complete and interesting account of the Mysteries may be found in a series of articles by Prof. François Lenormant, entitled "The Eleusinian Mysteries: A Study of Religious History," in the *Contemporary Review* of May, July, et seq. 1880.

Mithras. The new cultus speedily became popular among the literary and fashionable classes, and obtained public recognition until the time of Constantine. Subsequent even to the secular ascendancy of Christianity, it was handed down from age to age through the esoteric order of the Rosicrucians and the secret societies of the Middle Ages. The ceremonies observed in the worship of Mithra are described by Tertullian, a Christian writer of about 200 A.D., as strongly resembling the sacraments of the Church. The initiates were admitted by a rite of baptism. They worshipped in little chapels, similar to Christian churches. They made use of a species of eucharist, eating the sacred bread, draona, accompanied by solemn religious ceremonies, while the neophyte was tested by twelve consecutive penances, or tortures. As in the Eleusinian Mysteries, the doctrines of a life after death, the resurrection of the body, and a future state of rewards and punishments, were taught by Mithracism. The influence of this new religion upon the thought and literature of the time was absorbing and all-pervasive. "I sometimes allow myself to say," says Renan, "that, had not Christianity taken the lead, Mithracism would have become the religion of the world." The Gnostics doubtless borrowed largely from Mithracism; and the popular sects of Judaism are also thought to have derived many of their rites and doctrines from kindred mysteries, through Babylonia. The indirect influence of these conceptions upon the current and subsequent development of Christian doctrine was doubtless considerable.* The leading Mithraic festival, celebrated at the winter solstice, identical in time with the Roman Saturnalia, was ultimately assimilated by Christianity, and recognized as commemorative of the birth of Jesus, which the apostolic tradition had assigned to the spring-time instead of the 25th of December. The cross was a Mithraic symbol long before the advent of Christianity.† It also constituted one of the eight altar implements of the Buddhists, and from very early times had been recognized as the sacred symbol of the god Nilus in Egypt. It is also of frequent recurrence in those buried cities of the Troad which Dr. Schliemann has recently exhumed.

Decay of the Religious Sentiment.—Euhemerism.

The latter days of the Republic and the earlier decades of the Empire were noteworthy for manifest evidences of the decay of the religious sentiment. The intellectual classes in Italy and Greece, including the priesthood, had become almost completely divorced from any vital belief in the current systems of mythology, based largely upon magic and divination, which constituted the popular religion. Repelled from these superstitions, they found their solace in the pursuit of philosophy and the investigation of the esoteric doctrines of the mysteries. The theories of Euhemerus, a Greek writer who endeavored to trace the myths and stories of the gods to a natural source in purely human incidents, obtained wide acceptance among the educated classes. Euhemerus taught that the gods were originally great kings or heroes, whom their admirers had deified. All that is related of them, he said, is but the exaggeration and glorification of common events, which we may readily trace back to their historical sources. Thus, when Kronos is said to have swallowed his own children, and to have been dethroned by Jupiter, we are to understand that

we have the allegorized history of a king in ancient times, when human sacrifices were offered, who was dethroned by another king, who at the same time abolished these sacrifices. The conception of Euhemerus early passed over from Greece to Rome. His book was translated into Latin, and his views speedily became predominant. So general was the contempt for the superstitions of the popular mythology that it is reported that, when two members of the priestly hierarchy—the augurs or haruspices—met in public, it was with the utmost difficulty that they could restrain their laughter.

It was an easy transition from the doctrine of Euhemerus to the adoration of living men as gods. The emperors demanded and received divine honors, a custom which may have been suggested by a similar one long prevalent among the Hindus, and recognized in their code as a sacred obligation. We read in the Institutes of Manu: "Even though a child, the king must not be treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal. No: he is a powerful divinity who appears in human shape."* A survival of this custom, transmitted to the Eastern branch of the Christian Church, still prevails in Russia, where the czar, or Cæsar, is addressed in the popular catechism—prepared by the government and which every child is compelled to learn—as "our god on earth." The transition from these beliefs to the doctrine of the Divine Incarnation as promulgated by Christianity would evidently be easy and natural.

Revival of Paganism.—Commerce and Civilization.

This doctrine, indeed, in its pre-Christian form, appears to have been directly connected with a marked change which was observable in the tone of religious sentiment throughout the Empire from about the time of the advent of Christianity. During the years of peace which succeeded the assumption of imperial power by Augustus Cæsar there occurred a noteworthy revival of the dormant religious feeling among the people. This tended to assume the form of the veneration of the sacred city itself,—of Rome, now the mistress of the civilized world,—and of the emperor as her incarnate representative. Statues of the emperor appeared everywhere, and received the adoration of the populace. Altars dedicated to the genius of Rome were set up at the cross-roads throughout Italy and in many of the provinces. The Jews alone steadily repelled this form of worship, as they also rejected the related doctrine of the divine incarnation of Jesus.

Nor was this revival of the religious sentiment the only significant event of this long period of peace. Commerce, which had previously struggled against the conflicting interests and jealousies of alien States, now extended its beneficent influences without hindrance among the friendly provinces of the mighty empire, carrying with it material prosperity and a genuine cosmopolitan spirit, sowing everywhere the seeds of brotherhood and peace. No political economist of the "American School," fortunately, had yet arisen to sound the praises of high protective or prohibitory tariffs, or to raise a craven and selfish protest against "competition with the pauper labor" of the neighboring provinces. The only obstacles which this growing spirit of fraternity among the nations had to combat were the physical difficulties of overcoming the separating conditions of time and space, and the local prejudices, religious and political, of nations which were not included under the protection of the eagles of Rome. So important was this new impetus to the commercial spirit to the future of Christianity that

* Manu VII., iv., 8. See also *Early Laws and Customs*, by Sir Henry Sumner Maine.

it may be affirmed in general terms that the subsequent progress of the new religion was co-extensive with the limits of commercial freedom. The confines of the Roman Empire became, practically, the boundaries of Christian propagandism. The outlying nations which had not been reduced to the condition of Roman dependencies—with the exception of those whose civilization was of later growth—have never been permanently converted to the Christian faith.

The Stoic Philosophy.

The most remarkable ethical movement of the period now under consideration may doubtless be discovered in the rise and progress of the Stoic Philosophy, especially in its influence upon the lives and public careers of the "five good emperors," Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Introduced into the Roman Empire from Cyprus by Zeno soon after the time of Alexander the Great, its germs were not improbably, like those of Christianity, of Semitic origin.* At first, it attracted little popular notice, and subsequently drew public attention only to be regarded as an enemy to the state religion, in consequence of which it experienced a period of persecution and martyrdom which preceded and temporarily rivalled that which subsequently befell the Christians. Its leading advocates and teachers were of stainless personal reputation, and its doctrines embodied the purest principles of self-abnegation and altruistic morality. Its disciples were animated by a lofty patriotism and a fine spirit of benevolence toward their fellow-men of every social condition, a spirit which conflicted with the despotic impulses of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero as inevitably as it sustained and directed the good emperors during that succeeding interval which Gibbon terms "the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was the most happy." In its ethical and humane tendencies, it prepared the way for the precepts of the Christian gospel, though its noteworthy freedom from the contamination of popular superstitions and from the metaphysical mysticism of the current philosophies unfitted it for general popular acceptance in the age in which it appeared.

"Equality and the abstract idea of the rights of man," says Renan, "were boldly preached by Stoicism." The amelioration of the condition of the poor and the oppressed was an ever-present purpose in the minds of its disciples. It was Trajan, the friend of the Stoics, acting doubtless under the benign influence of the pure teachings of this philosophy, and not a Christian emperor, who first established orphan asylums in Rome. It was Antoninus Pius who founded additional asylums for poor young girls, in honor of his wife, the Empress Faustina, whom he loved so well. Christianity, in its public charities, did but assume and continue a work which had originated under the influence of Stoicism; yet we hear it proclaimed continually, and recently by a religious teacher no less eminent and liberal than Henry Ward Beecher, that the earliest institutions for public charity were established by the Christian Emperors.†

It is foreign to our purpose to present here a complete exposition of the doctrines of Stoicism. It is sufficient to direct attention to it as a

* Zeno was himself of Phœnician birth, a native of Citium in Cyprus, a city populated in part from Phœnicia. "A striking feature in post-Aristotelian philosophy," says Zeller, "... is the fact that so many of its representatives come from Eastern countries, in which Greek and Oriental modes of thought met and mingled. ... Next to the later Neo-Platonic school, this remark is of none more true than the Stoic."—*The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, by Dr. E. Zeller, Professor in the University of Heidelberg. p. 35 et seq.

† Rev. Newenham Hoare, of London, late chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is the author of an interesting pamphlet showing that hospitals for the afflicted existed many centuries before Christianity.

* Mithracism is treated incidentally by Renan, *English Conferences*, and by Dean Milman, *History of Christianity*. See also Lecky, and article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† For a fuller discussion of the cross as a religious symbol, see *The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art*, by Richard Payne Knight, A.M.

noteworthy moral force in the centuries immediately succeeding and following the advent of Christianity, antedating the new religion in the promulgation of many of its humane and ethical principles. The system which proclaimed the doctrine of human equality, and which honored Epictetus, the slave, as one of its worthiest representatives and apostles, was surely not devoid of that democratic principle which afterward commended the Christian religion to the oppressed peoples of Europe. Had it presented its doctrines in a more popular form and consented to compromise with current superstitions, the face of history during the succeeding centuries might have been widely changed.*

Egypt under the Greeks and Romans.

Passing now in thought from the immediate vicinity of Rome to the shores of Africa, we find Egypt a subject nation, long shorn of its ancient pre-eminence and power. Five hundred years before, it had been conquered by the Persians; and for more than a century it remained a Persian province. Subsequently, for a second period, it was subjected by the Persian arms. Under the influence of Zoroastrianism, the latent dualism in its ancient religion had been developed. The sun-god Seth, the old-time physical antagonist of Osiris, took on the moral depravity of the Persian Ahriman, and became the prototype of the Hebrew Satan and the Christian Devil. In the esoteric doctrines of the priesthood were prefigured many of the metaphysical notions of the Gnostics and of the orthodox Christian theology.

In the year 332 B.C., Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great; and for a thousand years thereafter, in its intellectual development, it remained essentially a Greek province. Alexander founded the city of Alexandria, which contained a composite population of Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews. It speedily became one of the great capitals of the world, and the chief centre of Greek culture and civilization. After the death of Alexander, Egypt passed under the rule of the Ptolemies,—a succession of rulers of Macedonian extraction, to which dynasty belonged the celebrated Cleopatra, who reigned jointly with her brother in the year 30 B.C., at the time of the Roman conquest.

The Greek influence effected not merely a political, but also a social and intellectual revolution in Egypt. Its religious and literary life, as well as its art and architectural development, had been hindered and restrained by the rigid sacerdotalism of the ancient régime. Together with political servitude, Egypt derived from the Greeks and Romans a larger measure of mental liberty than she had before enjoyed, the influence of which was manifested in a new and wonderful intellectual life which centred in the Alexandrian schools. The popular religion of the Roman Empire commingled with the old historic faith of the country. The gods of Egypt were identified with those of Greece and Rome, and foreign notions were projected into the ancient religion,—a tendency which resulted in intellectual confusion, and ultimately in bringing the popular mythologies into contempt among the thinking classes of the people. The fragment of the ancient Egyptian race, however, though powerless politically, still clung to their ancestral faith, which awaited the universalizing, solvent, and assimilative influence of Christianity to compel its final disintegration. The remnants of the indigenous race, known to us as the Kopts, were early converts to the new religion; and Alexandria became an important Christian bishopric.

(Continued next week.)

*An admirable popular presentation of the doctrines of Stoicism may be found in F. May Holland's *Reign of the Stoics*. See also Renan's *Marcus Aurelius*, and standard works on the history of philosophy.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SOCIOLOGIC SOCIETY.

Anniversary Exercises.

Editors of The Index:—

The second anniversary of the Sociologic Society occurred on May 28, and exercises in commemoration were held at the conference room of the Church of our Saviour in New York City, Rev. Dr. Pullman, pastor.

The President, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, presided, and opened the meeting with a clear and concise statement of the formation, teachings, aims, and principles of the Society. I quote a fragment: "We hold that competition brings about a social condition where a higher principle naturally and inevitably supersedes a lower one; that, whenever in a community competition occasions combination, however small, between any two trade factors, whether it be corporations, joint-stock companies, pools, syndicates, or trades-unions, it has started a process that sooner or later is bound to replace the competitive system.

"The Sociologic Society endeavors to show that the social organism, like that of the individual, has its laws of growth, which may be accelerated or retarded, but cannot be annulled; and that the development of the principle of associated interests through the closer union of mankind is part and parcel of an organic process of social growth."

The President introduced to the audience the Rev. Dr. Rylance, who was cordially received. He made a powerful address, expressing his hearty fellowship with the sociologic movement, showing the evils of the present social system and its antagonism to the spirit of Christianity. He also portrayed the many difficulties surrounding the work in which the Society is engaged,—the organized power of the wealth of civilization, the indifference and often hostility of many churches toward any movement that tends to unsettle the present order, and the opposition of the press, which is bound hand and foot in the interests of its masters. He dwelt upon these subjects, not to discourage the workers for a new state of things, but that they might not underrate the strength of the opposition they may expect. He knew, because it could be logically and scientifically demonstrated, that the truths preached must come to pass,—a co-operative civilization was certain,—but he doubted, from the present outlook, if it was immediate. The difficulties attending its development all the more strongly showed the necessity of right instruction,—teaching was what the whole world needed to-day more than aught else. Dr. Rylance strongly condemned Mr. Herbert Spencer's views as elaborated in "The Coming Slavery"; said they were godless, inhuman, and heartless, and, if they could be carried out, would destroy civilization. He reviewed Spencer's philosophy, and traced its culmination in his article recently published in the *Popular Science Monthly*. "For the 'slavery' of the present time, which destroys soul and body, oppressor and oppressed, and renders the moral law a mockery, Spencer has not one word of condemnation. The slavery he dreads is that of the controlling power of the State over the so-called rights of individuals and corporations."

Mr. Justus O. Wood's subject was "Mutualism v. 'The Coming Slavery.'" He said: "Wage slavery is but a degree above negro slavery, but Mr. Spencer expresses no pity for it. As our social organization does not meet the requirements of natural justice, and Mr. Spencer fears the 'coming slavery,' which he sees to be the consequence of it, men like him should try by practical legislation to inaugurate one that will be based on the golden rule and the great dynamic law of producing the maximum of results with the minimum of force. There is no more slavery in co-operation than in matrimony, the Church, or in a partnership. There is no slavery where there is harmony. Mr. Spencer's fears are groundless. . . . The conservative and the revolutionary forces of society, free to work on the line of justice, will, like the centripetal and centrifugal forces of nature, evolve an harmonious organization."

Mr. John Thomson McKechnie, of *John Swinton's Paper*, made a very pertinent speech. He compared the civilization of the past with that of to-day, and with that which should be, and said, while we were singing the anthem of "peace on earth and good

will to men," we were "glorious in standing armies and immense navies, as well as in other characteristics as important and far-reaching." He referred to the low wages paid to the miners of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio, and to the spinners in New England cotton mills, where women and children must labor to eke out a scanty subsistence, and said it would not be necessary in this beautiful country that men and women and children should so wear away their lives, were it not for the greed of avaricious monopolies and of men who called themselves Christian, but who really worshipped the golden calf, which is the god Mammon. He deprecated the system of contract labor; said that the plague of the love of money could only be eradicated by a new birth, a new civilization, for which the Sociologic Society was working by teaching co-operation and the golden rule.

Letters were received from invited speakers and from absent friends. One from Mrs. Sayles was read by Mr. Henry A. Beckmeyer, the efficient chairman of the Advisory Board,—a gentleman who has long been conversant with practical co-operation, and is thoroughly imbued with a love of justice toward his fellow-man. Mrs. Sayles, in concluding a lengthy letter, complimented the President upon her fidelity and unimpaired zeal in the cause to which she is called, and said, "The blessing of those who are ready to perish shall be about you, your shield and your buckler forever."

The spirit of the entire meeting was deeply earnest and enthusiastic, all seeming to be impressed with a truly religious and humanitarian feeling.

The Society enters upon its third year with encouraging prospects and with many useful helpers.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES,
Assistant General Secretary.

KILLINGLY, Ct.

THE HISTORIC EXISTENCE OF JESUS.

Editors of The Index:—

The question whether there really was a Jewish reformer and martyr named Jesus of Nazareth is of course to be decided simply according to historic evidence.

The most important witness is Paul, who knew perfectly well whether he had had such a contemporary, and what was the origin of the religion which he was one of the first to persecute as well as to preach. All Biblical scholars, even the most independent and rationalistic, agree that this apostle wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and less than thirty years after the supposed death of Jesus. We have only to read the fifteenth chapter to see that Paul thought the best proof of man's immortality was the resurrection. If Christ did not rise, neither shall we, runs this argument, which would not have been brought forward, if it had not been generally known that Jesus really lived. The early verses of this chapter contain such particulars about the last appearance of Jesus as would not have been written down, if he had been simply a fictitious character. That he did appear on earth after his death I do not myself believe, and neither do I accept much that is told of Mohammed and Chunder Sen; but I think that all three men really lived, and that their disciples would not have idealized them so much if there had not been some historic facts to serve as a foundation for all these legends and myths. That there actually was a Jesus is confirmed by another chapter, the eleventh, of this same Epistle, where Paul, in order to show how Christians ought to behave at the Communion, tells at some length how and when it was instituted by Jesus. Here, again, we have a contemporary of Jesus arguing from the fact that he really lived; and this case is somewhat stronger than the other one, because the events referred to are not in the least incredible. Other passages of the same nature will be found in this First Epistle to the Corinthians, and also in the Second as well as in those to the Romans and the Galatians. These four documents are universally admitted to be genuine. They show that contemporaries knew that Jesus had been born of a woman, and had shed his blood upon the cross. (See Romans i., 3; iii., 25; II. Cor. v., 15; Gal. iv., 4.) In Romans x., 9, we are told that our salvation depends on believing that God raised Jesus from the dead. Paul would not have said this, if he and his converts had known that Jesus never lived or died or rose again. And there is nothing in these four Epistles to warrant the supposition that Jesus was only a myth. There are

some fanciful assertions, but only such as are already being made about Chunder Sen by his enthusiastic disciples.

Substantially the same may be said of the rest of the New Testament, some other parts of which are as early and authentic as these four Epistles. The conduct ascribed to Jesus at his trial and crucifixion seems to me historic, especially his dying complaint that God had forsaken him. The parables and the Sermon on the Mount are more like their reputed author than any one else we know of. These and other passages are in precisely such Greek as would be written by men whose mother tongue was Hebraic. The foundation of the New Testament is in the faith that Jesus really lived. If this had not been firmly held by men who knew something about the actual facts of the case, I cannot account for the existence of Christianity. Even its myths are only such as gather around real characters.

Positive evidence from pagan sources there is very little, though there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the mention of the crucifixion by Tacitus, in a passage written less than a century later, and quoted by the Christian father, Severus. There would probably be a great deal more, if Christians had not been so ready to destroy books they did not agree with. We can tell pretty well, however, from the early apologists for Christianity what was said against it, during the three centuries when its enemies could say what they liked, and could read exactly what took place in Palestine at the period of its origin. If Christianity had begun by publishing false accounts of the official acts of Roman governors, it would probably have ended there. If the Jesus said to have been crucified by Pontius Pilate had never existed, such an exposure of the falsehood would have been made by Lucian and Celsus, if not by their predecessors, as could not have been resisted or, still less, forgotten. Nothing of this sort was said, for there was nothing to say.

The Jews, too, have been so cruelly persecuted for their share in the death of Jesus that they would long ago have told of anything in their voluminous records and traditions, proving that he never lived. For their sake, I should be very glad to have this proved. Until I meet with much stronger evidence, however, than has yet appeared against the historic existence of Jesus, I must suspect those who assail it of following their own fancy without proper regard for facts. F. M. H.

SUFFERING AS A CAUSE OF ACTION.

Editors of The Index:—

The subject of the universal experience of suffering has been handled so often and from so many different stand-points that any reference to it can only be made with a certain apology. In all ages, it has been a problem for thinkers, a text for homilies, a riddle for the inquirer. The favorite view of the subject in these latter days, when belief in a chastening God is waxing faint, is that pain of various kinds is the result and penalty of the infringement of nature's laws. "Given a perfect adjustment of law," says the nineteenth century casuist, "and pain will cease to be." "Let us be born under good conditions," says the physiological reformer, "and we shall not suffer." "God makes us suffer for breaking the moral law: he is above the law, and punishes through the law," says the moralist; and the sentimental healer of men's agony goes yet farther, and sees in the eternal suffering of the race tokens of the "Eternal Goodness" which heals and soothes the suffering he occasions, and "weeps" over the stricken members of his family.

Now, the question that faces me, after a sufficiently drastic experience of life, is just this: Are any of these speculations correct? Speculations they all are, for no one knows anything about it really; and, accepting them as such, I venture to put forward a query of my own, one which I am aware has been already mooted by philosophers, but which it seems to me is rarely considered by those whom it most concerns,—i.e., those who suffer. My question then is this: Is not suffering the law of nature rather than the consequence of the infringement of law? Does not the scientific history of ages teach us that pain has a direct action in the economy of the universe, not as a moral agent (although valuable in that respect), but as an actual unavoidable necessity, that it is the indispensable element of all growth, all progress, all change, all creative impulse? Look where we will in nature's record of the ages, we find it the noiseless

agent of abiding results; study as we will in the page of humanity's history, we are face to face with suffering, not alone as a result of human action, but as the primary cause of action; and my view is that, if this lesson were instilled into the mind with half the persistency that is brought to bear upon suffering as a chastening and correcting agent, mankind collectively would be the better for it.

Suffering accepted is suffering half conquered; and, accepted as the indispensable agent of progress, it can be welcomed, not with the strained ecstasy of the sentimental believer in the chastening rod of an offended God (offended by results due to his own laws), but by the calm acknowledgment that the result of the present pain will be a future gain so far in excess of the suffering as to make it acceptable. Nature works unceasingly for results; and her principal agent is pain,—convulsion, effort, struggle. Without them, she achieves nothing; with them, she writes upon the very rocks themselves glory and an abiding beauty. Sentimentalists tell us that, if nature's laws were faithfully kept, pain would die out; that, in a natural condition of society, even the natal pangs are absent; that mankind comes into life, lives to old age, and dies without suffering.

But is this a true statement? And, if it is, what would it prove? Surely, this: that no great results, physical, mental, or moral, are attained without the element which is absent in such aboriginal life. But I contend that it never yet has been proved that in any region of the earth, or under the most perfect conditions of law, suffering has been wholly absent. On the contrary, all history teaches that from the earliest ages it has held its reign unconquered and supreme. In the geological record, we find unmistakable evidence of the sacrifice of the weak to the strong, of the reign of force paramount everywhere; and what does this imply? In what way has human action or broken law had any influence in those great convulsions of nature in which suffering has swept all before it? It is impossible in the limits of a letter to consider this great subject. I would only ask, with a keen sense of my own inability to do the question justice, whether mankind at large would not be better, greater, calmer, happier, if every child were taught, not that pain is punishment, but that it is nature's law, to be accepted and revered as the necessary agent of progress, studied for the lessons it teaches, and borne as one of life's surest blessings, without which the grandest experiences of human nature would be impossible?

JANET E. R. REES.

THREE PRAYERS.

Editors of The Index:—

As a child, the writer earnestly prayed that a painful bodily deformity should be then cured, but without success,—the teachings received up to that time at church or Sunday-school leading to the belief that such prayer would be heard and granted.

Some years ago, when present as a witness at the execution of that filthy-minded child murderer, Piper, here there was seen, just prior to the falling of the drop, plenty of praying, apparently earnest, on the part of that craven wretch. Lately, at the theatre, during the piece called "Storm-beaten," a mock prayer by a mock preacher so much impressed a number of fellow spectators that they instinctively bowed their heads as if in church.

In the first case, a reasonable request, made with all reverent ideas and with belief that promised acceptance would be found, utterly failed to obtain its object. In the second case, a professed Christian, connected with the church, in the church meanly kills an innocent child; and, when about to be killed in turn for his crime, he has recourse to prayer, for some reason, and such prayer is supposed to be genuine by lookers-on. (In fact, if a decent God, all-seeing, all-powerful, allowed him to kill the child, why should such prayers not be perfectly acceptable and genuine?) In the third case, there is no claim that the prayer is other than a piece of acting, of course; and yet the form so impresses the average mind of the spectator that it seems quite real and commanding reverence.

Thus, in these three small items of personal experience, can be seen prayer honestly made for an honest purpose, which failed to accomplish its desired end; prayer of as low a type of human being as can be met with, which passed as genuine before many witnesses who were paying close attention; prayer on a stage of

a theatre in a play, as part of that play, which seemed as real as any prayer in or out of church.

Hence, it cannot rightly be wondered at that such as have had like or stronger experiences in regard to prayer should *never pray*,—no emergency, no danger, no pain even suggesting so futile a course of thought.

JOHN DIXWELL.

BOSTON, MASS., May 8, 1884.

THE PETITION.

Editors of The Index:—

Progress has been made in the work of obtaining signatures to the Petition on State Secularization. But, as it was only started near the close of this session of Congress, it appears advisable to keep it before the public until the next session. Events which have occurred since the petition was put into circulation demonstrate more clearly than ever the necessity of action on the part of Liberals. The Republican party has just pledged itself to the "separation of the political and ecclesiastical powers" in the Territory of Utah, "by the aid of the military, if need be."

"Be we men, and suffer such dishonor?"

What is good for Utah is good for Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, and any place where float the stars and stripes. It was proposed in the United States Senate, the other day, to appoint a superintendent of the schools of Utah, in order to prevent the teaching of the Mormon religion in those schools; and this clause of the bill was only withdrawn at the last hour, or minute rather, when it was conclusively proven to that "honorable" body that no church books of any description were ever heard of in these schools. But what greater right, I ask, has the Bible than the Book of Mormon in the public school, even though it were not true, as it is, that the latter condemns polygamy, while the former sanctions and upholds it? Nay, would the teaching of polygamy in our schools be any greater crime than prayer, trinity, and blood atonement?

Here, Liberals, is your opportunity. Let us take the Republican party and the Senate of the United States at their word, and insist that "the political and ecclesiastical powers" shall be separated through the domain of this Republic, and in the doing of this that no favor shall be shown to any religion, be it "Mormon," "Christian," or "Pagan."

T. W. CURTIS.

Liberal journals will please copy.

T. W. C.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

Mr. J. A. Hallock, of Exira, Ohio, writes: "I see that some of our best educated Liberals admit that Christ was an actual entity; while others, equally profound in thought and as ripe in scholarship and experience, hold that Oriental and the Christian systems of religions have not a common origin. I would like to have you, through the columns of your most excellent *Index*, favor me and the balance of your many readers with your views on this interesting subject. If Christ was only the personification of a perfect man, having had no existence as a human being, the world ought to know it; and every intelligent thinking man and woman ought to take the time to find it out, if it is possible to do so. It occurs to me that the intelligence of the last quarter of the nineteenth century should spurn the idea of worshipping deified men and myths, as men did two thousand years ago."

"R. F. B." writes: *The Index* calls John Logan "an honest man with narrow views." Can a man be honest who attempts to rob innocent, harmless Indians, like the Zuñis of New Mexico, of the only spring from which they can irrigate their lands and thus render them fit to raise corn and vegetables for their food? Without this spring, famine and starvation would stare them in the face. Is he honest, fit for the next highest station in the power of a free nation to bestow on a man, who publicly gives utterance to low slanders about a young devoted scientist who is spending the best years of his life, submitting to privations of all kinds, to sacrifices and surrender of all present ease and fame, in the cause of ethnological research? This John Logan has done in regard to Frank Cushing and the Zuñi Indians, to whom the philanthropists of Boston paid such marked respect two years ago. From the indefatigable researches of this young devoted student of science, the future will

know of many myths and ceremonies which will throw light on the origin of much which we now hold sacred. For their traditions already exhumed from the past by Mr. Cushing are as moral and beautiful as many of our cherished beliefs.

EXTRACTS FROM INGERSOLL.

The time may come in which this thrilled and throbbing earth, shorn of all life, will in its soundless orbit wheel a barren star, on which the light will fall as fruitlessly as falls the gaze of love upon the cold, pathetic face of death.

The home where virtue dwells with love is like a lily with a heart of fire,—the fairest flower in all the world.

We do not know, we cannot say, whether death is a wall or a door; the beginning or end of a day; the spreading of pinions to soar or the folding forever of wings; the rise or the set of a sun; or an endless life that brings the rapture of love to every one.

He (Humboldt) was never found on his knees before the altar of superstition. He stood erect by the grand tranquil column of Reason. He was an admirer, a lover, an adorer of nature; and at the age of ninety bowed by the weight of nearly a century, covered with the insignia of honor, loved by a nation, respected by a world, with kings for his servants, he laid his weary head upon the bosom of the universal Mother, and with her arms around him sank into that mysterious slumber known as death.

More than a century ago, Catholicism, wrapped in robes red with the innocent blood of millions, holding in her frantic clutch crowns and sceptres, honors and gold, the keys of heaven and hell, trampling beneath her feet the liberties of nations, in the proud moment of almost universal dominion, felt within her heartless breast the deadly dagger of Voltaire. From that blow, the Church never can recover. Livid with hatred, she launched her impotent anathema at the great destroyer; and ignorant Protestants have echoed the curse of Rome. Voltaire was the intellectual autocrat of his time. From his throne at the foot of the Alps, he pointed the finger of scorn at every hypocrite in Europe. He was the pioneer of his century. He was the assassin of superstition. Through the shadows of faith and fable, through the darkness of myth and miracle, through the midnight of Christianity, through the blackness of bigotry, past cathedral and dungeon, past rock and stake, past altar and throne, he carried, with chivalric hands, the sacred torch of reason.

My heart bleeds when I contemplate the sufferings endured by the millions now dead; of those who lived when the world appeared to be insane; when the heavens were filled with an infinite horror, who snatched babes with dimpled hands and rosy cheeks from the white breasts of mothers, and dashed them into an abyss of eternal flame.

BOOK NOTICES.

In the *Art Amateur* for July, Theodore Child has a very interesting and discriminating notice of the celebrated French painter in little, Meissonier. This life is instructive, as showing how much success may be achieved by carefully choosing one's walk in art, and following it steadily and thoroughly, even though that path be neither the most lofty nor the most popular. Meissonier has never sought to win popular favor by falling in with the prevailing romantic fashion of his own time, nor has he gained a commanding expression of new thought and life, as Millet has done; but in his own line, as an archaeological painter who brings the past vividly before our eyes, not only in its outward form, but in its life and spirit, he stands without a rival. If history is a great teacher, this work is not unworthy of an artist who gives us the everlasting facts of human nature as they appeared at a special time. If, as Mr. Child suggests, he has sometimes carried nicety of finish and accuracy of detail so far as to become wearisome, he has also taught the important lesson that great qualities of art do not depend upon the size of the canvas, but there may be grandeur of composition and breadth of style on the smallest scale. The article is illustrated by woodcuts of various pictures by Meissonier, and by three very interesting pictures of the artist at different periods of his life. It is stated, in a notice of the Salon, that sixty-eight American painters exhibit there, and that their pictures speak well

for the progress of American art. When we remember how largely American artists are indebted to Europe for direct instruction, for the study of the masterpieces of the past, and for the opportunity of exhibition where they will gain the benefit of free and independent criticism, we cannot but add our protest against the short-sighted policy of our government in placing an exorbitant tax on foreign pictures. Clarence Cook has one of his usual suggestive papers on the Modern Home. We think his dicta in regard to the dining-room are rather narrow and exclusive. A small book-shelf is a very agreeable thing in a dining-room, when one is waiting for breakfast; and, in many families, the dining-room may be pleasantly used during other portions of the day than meal times. His statement that a basement dining-room was hardly known in Boston thirty years ago sounds strange to those who remember life at the West End at that period.

THE contents for the *Andover Review* for July are: "The Office of Proof in the Knowledge of God," Prof. Francis G. Peabody; "The Interpretation of the Bible and the Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," Prof. George T. Ladd; "How England is dealing with Illiteracy," Henry W. Hulbert; "Child Nurture in the Church," Rev. James W. Cooper; "The Utah Church-State," Rev. D. L. Leonard; "National Jurisdiction over Marriage and Divorce as affecting Polygamy in Utah," Edward Stanwood. Editorial: "Agreements and Differences concerning the Bible"; "The Proposed Change in Liberal Studies"; "The *Andover Review*, Vol. II."; "The Language of Nimrod, the Kashite," Prof. Paul Haupt; "An Episode of the Luther Celebration," Prof. C. M. Mead; "The Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia," Prof. John P. Taylor; Book Notices, Literary Notes, and Intelligence, Rev. C. C. Starbuck.

THE opening article in the July number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is by Herbert Spencer on "The Great Political Superstition." He shows that rights exist antecedently to any acts of legislatures, which are valid only as they possess "the ethical sanction derivable from the laws of human life as carried on under social conditions." Rev. George G. Lyon presents "The New Theology," as a development from the old, and as "reformatory rather than revolutionary in its teachings and tendencies." Prof. Woodward, of Washington University, shows what are the "Fruits of Manual Training" given in that institution. M. M. Guyau answers the question, "Are Science and Art antagonistic?" in the negative. A most satisfactory account of "The Volcanic Eruption of Krakatau" and its effects, illustrated with maps, is given from the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. An important paper in the number is M. Pasteur's account, given before the French Academy of Sciences, of his discovery of "The Prevention of Hydrophobia" by inoculation. Mr. D. P. Penhallow, of McGill University, contributes a valuable article on "Diseases of Plants." The portrait and sketch are of the eminent old Arabian philosopher Averroës, the portrait being a copy of the picture in the Vatican ascribed to Raphael. Dr. S. A. Fisk appraises the merits of Colorado as a residence for invalids. The editor at his "Table" discusses "The Survival of Political Superstitions," and President Eliot's address at Johns Hopkins University on "What is a Liberal Education?"

THE contents of the *Catholic World* for July are: "Mexico of To-day," by Bryan J. Clinche; "Is the American Republic an Anomaly in History?" by Thomas Felton; "A Tragi-Comedy," by Maurice F. Egan; "The Last Night of a Martyr," by M. A. Allies; "Phyllis Wheatley, the Negro Poetess," by the Rev. John R. Slattery; "The Agotac of the Pyrenean Provinces," by E. Raymond-Barker; "A Lesson of Life," by A. Repplier; "The Irish Words in Shakespeare," by C. M. O'Keefe; "Katharine," chapters V.-VI., by E. G. Martin; "The Religion of Ancient Egypt," by the Rev. J. Nilan; and new publications.

A VERY handsome, large-sized design has been executed for Prang by Miss L. B. Humphrey in honor of Whittier, which shows scenes from his works, "Snow Bound" being the subject of the front, and "Maud Muller" and the "Barefoot Boy" figuring on the back. This is the second of a series of poet cards to be issued at intervals, one of which (Longfellow) was published last year.

Wrong is wrong, and works wide ruin for a while, but, being inherently weak, is conquered. It is only in comparison the mistake of an infinitesimal fraction, not a marring of the entities. It is only a question of time, not of the eternities.—*Susan O. Curtis.*

It is no man's business whether he has genius or not. Work he must, whatever he is, but quietly and steadily; and the natural and unforced results of such work will be always the thing God meant him to do, and will be his best. No agonies nor heart-rendings will enable him to do any better.—*John Ruskin.*

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

The feeling of distrust, which has existed for some months in business circles, is subsiding; and, in the opinion of leading merchants who have carefully scanned the horizon, the outlook is one that gives promise of a speedy return of trade in all parts of the country.

At a "hallelujah tea fight" of the Salvation Army, at Medina, N.Y., a few days ago, were praying, singing, and exhorting by persons nicknamed by the Army as "Jumping Sambo," the "Hallelujah Canary Singer," "Joyful Jeremiah," "Happy Sal," "Smiling Mary," and "Dick, the Devil Teaser."

KARL RICHARD LEPSIUS, the German Egyptologist of world-wide fame, died last week, aged eighty-four years. He commenced the study of Egyptian antiquities when he was but twenty-six years old; and the discoveries he made during his personal investigations in Egypt are of the most important character, identifying his name through all coming time with the science of Egyptology. His numerous works will remain a monument to his industry, skill, and learning. All the statements of Humboldt in his *Kosmos*, relating to Egyptian chronology and history, were based upon manuscript information obtained from Lepsius.

The practical rejection of the Franchise Bill by the House of Lords has resulted in a grave political crisis in England, in which is raised in a very direct form the question of the continued existence of the legislative authority of that body. Mr. Gladstone denies the right of the Lords to force the ministry, with the majority of the House of Commons, either to resign or to dissolve; and the general feeling of the country evidently is that the Lords must not oppose the will of the people. The probability is that they will yield to the House of Commons, passing the Franchise Bill on condition

that the government will devote the autumn session to a measure of redistribution,—a compromise which Mr. Gladstone a few days ago offered the Lords. A large addition to the voting class of Great Britain, which is sure to be made, will tell ultimately against hereditary privileges.

In an article on the nomination of Cleveland, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* observes: "Whether, after all, the nomination is the strongest that the Democrats could have made can hardly be determined, until more is known as to the extent and persistency of the division created by the previous struggle. The nature and intensity of the opposition to Cleveland are the common measure both of his strength and his weakness. To have had the worst and most dangerous elements of his party combined against him is such a recommendation as few Democratic candidates have had; and there is no doubt that this heightened the enthusiasm with which his supporters maintained his claims, and that it was an element in the general satisfaction with which the result was received. But the concentration of these hostile elements, and of their possible future enmity or coldness at the most critical point in the field, is a fact the gravity of which Gov. Cleveland's supporters are probably considering anxiously to-day."

SINCE the weekly concerts in the Central Park have by the direction of the New York Park Commissioners been given on Sunday instead of Saturday, immense crowds have been present. The best of order has prevailed. At Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, too, the people now enjoy Sunday music, the Park Commissioners having withdrawn their opposition. On Sunday, July 6, fifty thousand people strolled through the shady walks or loitered under the trees. Here, in Boston, the Sunday band concerts on the Common are extremely popular, and attract multitudes. They were of course opposed at first by the same class that have unavailingly tried to prevent concerts in Central Park and Fairmount Park; but the talk about the desecration of the day is no longer heard here, although the programme which the Boston City Band played on a recent Sunday included such numbers as Milliken's galop, "Jolly Knights"; Fahrbach's waltz, "Frauen Liebe"; Berlioz's minuet, "Will-o'-the-Wisp"; and Meyerbeer's "Robert le Diable."

FROM an article directed against Col. Ingersoll, in a paper which has been sent to this office, we take the following sentence: "On newstands where, formerly, low, obscene literature was sold, now that the law is in force and such cannot be sold, Mr. Ingersoll's writings take their place." If it be true that there are any calls for Ingersoll's works by those having a taste for obscene literature, the probable explanation is that the orthodox clergy, by persistent misrepresentation and falsehood, have led some ignorant and low-minded fellows actually to think that in his works may be found illustrations and descriptions which will gratify their prurient tastes and morbid cravings. But the fact is the demand for Ingersoll's works cause them to be kept for sale at bookstores and news-

stands, generally, where they are displayed with other popular works. Although open to criticism in certain respects, the intimation that they pander to lewd desires, and naturally take the place of indecent literature which has been suppressed, is as mean as it is false. It is not necessary that a fair-minded man should agree with Col. Ingersoll in all his views, or admire his method of criticism, to feel indignant contempt for slanders like the above.

THE Democrats are to be congratulated upon the work they did at Chicago last week, in nominating for the Presidency Grover Cleveland, of New York, a man who, of all the representatives of his party, has been, the past three years, as the reform Governor of a great State, which contains one-tenth of the population of the United States and one-sixth of its assessed property, the most prominently identified with practical political reform. This nomination was made in spite of the machine influence of Tammany Hall, in spite of the opposition of the worst elements of the party generally, and in deference to the reform sentiment in and outside of the Democratic party. Whatever be his deficiencies, Gov. Cleveland is a man who possesses honesty, courage, independence, and great executive ability. Mr. Hendricks, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, is more of a politician of the Bourbon type; but he is a man of stainless character, of good abilities, and large experience in political life. *The Index*, although its province does not include party politics, rejoices in every triumph of character over demagogism in the political as well as in the religious field, and in whichever party it occurs. The Democratic party has shown such an instinct for blundering the last quarter of a century that it gives us pleasure to note its action in selecting Gov. Cleveland for its standard bearer. From whatever consideration men may vote for either the one or the other Presidential candidate, intelligent and fair-minded men must be generally agreed, we think, that Cleveland represents the best elements of his party, while Blaine, although a man of more brilliant qualities, does not fairly represent the best elements of his party. Neither of the Chicago platforms is what it should be. Both lack clearness, definiteness, and straightforwardness. The dominant thought in the construction of both evidently was not to state with precision and perfect honesty principles and policies in regard to the most important questions before the country, but to produce platforms which should contain something to please almost everybody, and the least possible admitting of but a single interpretation in regard to the real issues of the hour. They remind us of propositions we once discussed with a Western preacher and college professor, who, after the discussion, when the ambiguous phraseology of the propositions was a matter of general complaint, privately informed us that there were numerous sects and many Liberals in the community, and that he had "worded the propositions so that they might cover as much ground as the exigencies of the case should require."

THE ETHICS OF POLITICAL PLATFORMS.

Both of the great political parties have now held their conventions, nominated their candidates, and declared their platforms for the Presidential campaign. Of their platforms, not in detail, but in their general import, we have here something to say.

The Index is not a political paper. It will not enter the arena of the Presidential conflict. But it believes in the application of moral principles to politics. How, indeed, can politics be more correctly defined than as the science of ethics applied to government? And it is because we believe in this kind of politics that our personal sympathies—as we have no hesitation in letting our readers know—are now with the Independents. Heretofore, we have voted the Republican ticket for President from the time we voted at all. But we cannot vote it this year. All the arguments for this change we do not propose here to give. However convincing they are to us, it is not our office to use these columns for persuading others of their force. But there are certain moral principles which appear to us to apply equally to the position in which both the leading parties have placed themselves by the character of their platforms. And on this point we wish to speak. Possibly, the Independents, when they make their platform, may fall into the same error. If so, our remarks will apply as well to them.

If any voter expected that either the Republican or Democratic platforms would clearly declare a definite body of political principles, and strike a moral note which should unmistakably appeal to that thoughtful moral sentiment of the country which is striving after juster methods of government and a purer form of administration, such voter is probably disappointed. The platforms are very long, very elaborate. But, in all their mass of verbiage, there is no moral ring, no enunciation of great political truths, no declaration of convictions showing on their face that those who wrote and adopted them would fight for them to the bitter end, and go down to defeat with them rather than conquer without them. Indeed, what must chiefly strike any reader of these platforms, who is not utterly given over to partisanship, is that they were not written for the purpose of stating any political ideas which the respective parties sincerely believe to be most conducive to the interests of the country, but for the purpose of catching votes, according to the bias of this or that locality or section of people, irrespective of political ideas or policies. Both of them have been artfully composed, not for the sake of expressing, but of concealing ideas on some of the most important issues that are now before the country. Topics are so treated in them that different classes of voters may find the meaning that they each like best. There is, in fact, no great difference between them on any of the pending political questions of the day. Both of the platforms are after the manner of an auctioneer's address. Both of them declare or withhold principles according as votes will be affected. Both are ready to sell principles to buy votes.

The platforms of the two great political parties are thus saturated with insincerity. Not only do they appeal to no moral sentiment, but they are object lessons in dishonesty. For many years now, political conventions have been falling more and more into this offence. It is an offence against both intellectual and moral integrity. They have purposely confused principles in the statement of them which ought, both mentally and morally, to be made clear and distinct. They have made promises in word which they knew would be broken in deed. They have so shaped sentences

as to deceive voters, and meant so to deceive them. This insincerity is bad enough in any party and in any State. But, naturally, it seems worse in the national Republican party than elsewhere; for that has been particularly the party that has claimed to be inspired with great moral ideas, and is really a party of great and honorable achievements. Of the Democratic party, not much of late has been expected, though it well served the country in its earlier days, when it had a very definite and, on some points, very useful political creed.

When the Republican party first arose, and for many years afterward, it enunciated principles that were in themselves a moral education for those who adopted them. They were principles that commanded respect, awoke the enthusiasm of young men, rallied an unselfish, heroic devotion, and drew into political life great souls to whom conviction was more than office or than life itself. The one distinct moral issue involved trained those who thus firmly met it to a nobler patriotism, and to broader general conceptions of the possibilities of a government of which justice and humanity should be the chief corner-stones. It was a party of moral ideas and moral purposes. It had convictions which it honestly put into its platforms, and honestly and proudly defended.

But to-day there is no national political platform before the country which is not immoral; none which does not in its very structure inculcate insincerity, deception, and dishonesty.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE MODERN INQUISITION.

II.

We have in the Pennsylvanian metropolis here, in the East, a judge who rejects the testimony of a witness solely for theological reasons; and, in our Western metropolis, an organized conspiracy for the overthrow of that religious freedom which the founder of Pennsylvania strove to secure to its citizens, an effort the justice of which Washington fully recognized when he said, in his official capacity, in a negotiation with a pagan prince, that the government of the United States was "in no sense a Christian government." This dangerous and subversive organization, the "National Reform Association," having its head-quarters in Pittsburgh, openly avows its intention to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution which shall exclude from all participation in the civil government every one who refuses to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth and the plenary inspiration of the Bible. One of its most outspoken abettors, a Rev. Dr. Hill, with a coolness which must excite the wonder of inexperienced people, declares that those who refuse to acquiesce in this quite new civil provision will be allowed to seek, in some other country, the liberty of conscience and speech of which he proposes to deprive them in this. The "divinity" which this reverend person has mastered has led him to the conclusion that free thinkers have no rights which evangelical people are bound to respect. I am not advised as to the peculiar form of Orthodoxy which the Rev. Dr. Hill professes, but it is quite probably that inculcated in the suburban city of Alleghany, which has long been the seat of a Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Of the peculiar Orthodoxy recognized in that institution I am able to give some feeble portraiture.

During the anti-slavery contest, a certain Rev. Dr. Plummer, a very Calvinistic old school Presbyterian, ministered to a congregation somewhere in the State of Mississippi. Believing that the Bible was the "word of God," he was a stout defender of human or, rather, negro slavery; for

none of these pious people, from the Rev. Dr. Plummer down to the late Judge Black, advocated slavery for themselves or their own families,—it was only for other people and other people's families that they did so. Now, the Rev. Dr. Plummer, having been wrought up to a high pitch of exasperation by the abolitionists, deliberately recommended that, when any of those pestilent people were "caught," they should be burnt alive. Shortly after this utterance of his, the Presbyterian Synod called him to assume a theological professorship in the Alleghany Seminary. After instructing candidates for the ministry in that institution for some time in their Christian duties, he was invited by an evangelical congregation, somewhere among the Pennsylvanian mountains, to assume the office of religious instructor to them; and he died there, I believe, in the odor of sanctity. No orthodox body ever repudiated this man, nor any of the hundreds of others of the same character. On the contrary, "the right hand of Christian fellowship" would have been extended to them almost universally.

These are the people whose microscopic eyes are so sharp in the hunt for heresy that they are making of the public school system of the State of Pennsylvania, in connection with the judiciary and the pulpit, a modern inquisition. With the pious trickery through which the evangelicals got possession of Girard College, in open violation of the testator's will, the readers of *The Index* are familiar.* By these means, the men of brains and character are eliminated, and the public schools are gradually subjugated to the Orthodox yoke, and placed, directly or indirectly, under the control of the clergy, and thus brought into theological harmony with the American colleges, which are nearly all presided over by evangelical parsons. The fatal influence on the character of both teachers and pupils may be readily conceived, developing among the former moral cowardice and hypocrisy, and training up the latter in a narrow and hide-bound bigotry.

The only religious body from whom we should have expected any protest against these doings preserves an unbroken silence. The Quakers called by way of distinction "orthodox," are avowedly Trinitarians, and at their late annual gathering in Philadelphia showed great solicitude that the children of the sect should be carefully enjoined to make a constant practice of reading "the Holy Scriptures"; while, in the "Hicksite" branch (though, in the main, it is greatly more liberal), there is a strong influence inclining that body to assume an evangelical attitude. The tone of patronizing commiseration in which the Quakers are referred to by the general public, who habitually speak of them as "those innocent people," "that harmless sect, the Quakers," shows plainly that they are regarded as ciphers in the body politic, so far as progress is concerned. While saying this, I wish to be distinctly understood as acknowledging their exceptionally high moral character, which distinguishes the Trinitarian no less than the more heterodox branch of the society.

But I know that people who have been used to an atmosphere of intellectual freedom experience, in both divisions of the sect, a sense of stifling, which is, however, no worse than the spiritual suffocation prevailing among the fashionable Christians. Conversation is, among all these sectarians, confined within very narrow boundaries. But they do not seem to feel the want of any greater free-

*I observe in *The Index* the assertion that the founder of Girard College "provided for the education and support of all classes of orphans." This is an error. Girard excluded from his college all orphans of negro descent. And the school is open to boys solely, so that two distinct classes are denied those advantages which it offers to "poor white male orphans" alone.

dom. The Quakers are like the heir to a generous estate, who, too indolent to preserve it, even, is utterly incapable of increasing it. They are silently permitting all these encroachments which will eventually overthrow that religious liberty which the founders of Quakerism established.

Much has been said in praise of the alleged conscientiousness of the people who are attempting to establish and enforce this modern inquisition. I, for one, distinctly repudiate the assumption of lofty motive on the part of these bigots. In their conscientiousness I utterly disbelieve. We are gravely told, even by Liberals, that the Roman Catholics themselves, who openly avow their intention to put a stop, by force, to the free expression of dissent from their dogma of papal infallibility, are actuated by a high moral purpose. With an unparalleled impudence, these Romish bigots demand exemption from what they falsely term persecution, in order that they themselves may acquire a supremacy which will enable them to persecute the very men whose generous liberality has spared their bigotry.

A papist cannot be a good citizen of any country which does not acknowledge the perfect supremacy of the pope over the civil government. Romanists often meet us with the deprecation, "Do not refuse to vote for us solely because we are Catholics." My uniform reply to this is, "I shall always refuse to vote for you for that very reason, and for no other." The fact that they are not generally forgers nor thieves, that they are not without good social qualities, is utterly beside the question. The Protestant sects are not, as yet, committed to this theory of the exclusion of heretics, and are entitled to the benefit of their exemption from that disgrace.

As for the newspapers, we have, perhaps, no right to expect any very substantial aid from them. They are generally established for the purpose of making money or supporting the claims of some ambitious and avaricious politician, and cannot, I suppose, be fairly asked to enter on the battle. Logical consistency, at least, does not require them to do so. One of the most moderate and most respectable of the Pennsylvanian journals recently declared that the prevalent custom of venal writers of selling their services to any party whatever, without regard to moral convictions (avowed Democrats writing for Republican newspapers, and Republicans in support of the Democratic party) was breeding up "a class of literary Hessians." But these modern Hessians are volunteers: the original mercenaries were impressed. The custom is well known, but meets with but little disapproval. He who ventures upon energetic rebuke of it is set down as a censorious disturber of the peace of the community. However disgraceful the facts are, they are indisputable. It is not to be expected that either these venal writers or their avaricious employers will utter any protest against the encroachments of the evangelical inquisitors, whether displayed in the subversion of a liberal will like that of Stephen Girard or in the quiet heresy-hunt in the common schools.

Whether Mr. Abbot's fears are well grounded or not, it is quite certain that this bold spirit of theological bigotry will have to be met ere long with a more resolute and heroic opposition than it has with a few exceptions heretofore encountered. The amiable imbecility of namby-pamby "reformers," who are forever explaining away every infringement of our liberties, is not the quality which can successfully cope with the Calvinistic earnest of evangelical intolerance. There are several classes of people in the country who would at any time imperil the cause of human freedom and swamp constitutional government, provided

they could thereby secure the triumph of their individual crotchets for which they are ever ready to make quite astonishing sacrifices.

One sees many things in *The Index* with which he cannot unreservedly agree, and some which he is compelled utterly to reject; but while, as under the liberal management which has characterized it from the date of its foundation by Mr. Abbot to the present day, the objector himself is allowed perfect freedom of expression, he cannot but rejoice at the entire liberty accorded to others. In view of the wide-spread conservatism of the press as well as the almost complete silence of the pulpit in this battle for religious freedom (except, indeed, where they openly advocate the inquisition), the liberal men and women of the country cannot set too high a value on journals of this kind nor be too generous in their support of them, whether moral or pecuniary.

HOWARD WORCESTER GILBERT.

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE ATMOSPHERE.

The balloonist, after he has attained an altitude of some six miles in the atmosphere, finds himself living under difficulties, the air at that height beginning to be irrespirable, or unbreathable. Yet he has by no means reached the limits of the atmosphere, which extends many miles farther up,—up, until the luminiferous ether of outer space is reached. In the super-atmospheric heaven, or beyond the sweep of the diurnal revolution of our globe, there is neither day nor night, sunrise nor sunset, which are atmospheric phenomena in connection with the turning upon its axis of the earth. With our vision, we can travel outside of the earth and its aerial shell, but not otherwise. If we could voyage across the oceans of space which divide us from Venus or Mercury or Mars, or even reach the desolate shores of our satellite, the moon, that would be foreign travel indeed. The poet Wordsworth says,—

"The towns in Saturn are decayed,
And melancholy spectres throng 'em,"

as if he had personally inspected that gorgeously ringed planet. For purposes of travel, our earth, with the improved means of locomotion which we enjoy, is getting to be exhausted of interest. It would seem as if the isolation which keeps the planets which compose our system utterly estranged from each other, or rather their inhabitants utterly estranged, was a hard law. By means of the telescopic lens, the human eye can look in upon "the snowy poles of moonless Mars," and penetrate the star depths, traversing distances which are scarcely expressible in figures. But this space-penetrating power of the eye serves rather to excite curiosity than to gratify it. For, *bodily*, men will doubtless always have to content themselves with their little Delos-isle of earth, even thousands of years hence, when the utilization of the forces of nature shall have been carried to a point of which we cannot now dream. According to high astronomical authority, it is twenty million millions of miles from the frontiers of our solar system to the nearest star of the external universe, or the next-door neighbor of our sun, so to speak. Of course, such an isolation is scarcely thinkable, or realizable in thought. But here, at home, so to speak, within the limits of the solar system, it would seem as if there ought to be inter-planetary relations, and inter-communication between the inhabitants of the various sun-encircling orbs of our system. In the "Prometheus Unbound" of Shelley, there is a planetary chorus. The Earth and the Moon sing to each other. The Earth says:—

"I spin beneath my pyramid of night,
Which points into the heavens dreaming delight,
Murmuring victorious joy in my enchanted sleep;

As a youth lulled in love-dreams, faintly sighing,
Under the shadow of his beauty lying,
Which round his rest a watch of light and warmth doth keep."

To this the Moon replies:—

"Thou art speeding round the Sun,
Brightest world of many a one,
Green and azure sphere which shinest
With a light that is divinest
Among all the lamps of Heaven
To whom life and light are given;
I, thy crystal paramour,
Borne beside thee by a power
Like the polar paradise,
Magnet-like, of lovers' eyes.
I, a most enamoured maiden,
Whose weak brain is overlaid
With the pleasure of her love,
Maniac-like around thee move,
Gazing, an insatiate bride,
On thy form from every side,
Like a Maenad round the cup,
Which Agave lifted up
In the weird Cadmean forest.
Brother, wheresoe'er thou soarest,
I must hurry, whirl, and follow
Through the heavens, wide and hollow,
Sheltered by the warm embrace
Of thy soul from hungry space."

We have a sense of security and snugness, so far as "hungry" outer space is concerned, here on the green bosom of the earth, with its forty-miles-high ceiling of air. But all the time it is flying through space with fearful velocity, and without pause or rest, like the Flying Dutchman of nautical romance. Still, we speak of it as *terra firma*, or the steadfast earth; and such it is to us insiders, or dwellers within its atmosphere, over all its surface, with the exception of the volcanic or earthquake zone. In fact, the earth is literally "a round, sky-cleaving boat," or floating islet, of the illimitable ocean of space,

"Which never strains its rocky beams;
Whose timbers, as they silent float,
Alps and Caucasus uprear,
And the long Alleghanies here,
And all town-sprinkled lands that be,
Sailing through stars with all their history."

Thus are we afloat upon the bosom of infinity.

We gaze out over the ocean to the misty horizon, where ships sink out of sight, with a degree of awe; and we contemplate the rose hues of Mont Blanc with a similar feeling of sublimity. But each clear night we can gaze into outer space at ineffably distant and sublime objects, which make all earthly distances and objects ridiculous in comparison. The star-depths are nightly unveiled to all eyes; and, to him who properly appreciates the spectacle, travel over the surface of the earth, to gaze at famous objects, whether natural or artificial, seems absurd. Our sky proper, or atmospheric heaven, is a little bubble in the illimitable luminiferous ether; but inside of this little bubble there are day and night, dawn and twilight, sun-risings and sunsettings, dews, rains, snows, alternations of seasons, breezes, gales and storms, splendid illusions of distance, and, to us terrestrials, the *seeming* vastness of continent-shadowing forests, oceans, and kingdom-dividing mountain ranges. Above all, there is life and buoyancy for lunged animals such as ourselves, with brains and minds looking before and after.

Thus is the earth's azure, aerial ceiling a glorious pavilion and protector and isolator of sentient and intelligent conscious life from the illimitable gloom and monotony of outside space. For, though the ether, which pervades cosmical space, is luciferous, or light-bearing, or a medium of the vibrations which become through the eye transmuted in consciousness into light, it is darkness visible in fact, solid, ebon gloom, in which suns and their planets are mere sparks, scintillant points. Thus, though space may oppress us with its illimitableness, it is a Sahara without interest except

as the *place-where*, or environment, of those gorgeous oases of life and light, the suns and their retinues of planets. Space itself is mere outness or outsideness, mere capacity of holding objects. It is a necessary and universal idea, the somewhere of objects, in which we perceive them. So time, or duration, is not an entity *per se*, but only a capacity of holding events. Thus it is not incorrect to call space and time forms or modes of sensibility and perception. Subjectively, they are so.

B. W. BALL.

"THE TRUE POSITION OF MR. INGERSOLL."

A friend has sent us a copy of the Bristol (Conn.) *Weekly Free Press*, which contains a communication from one B. S. Rideout, in reply to a correspondent who it seems had denied that Col. Ingersoll was ever in favor of the repeal of the postal laws against indecent literature. Appeal is made to us for information. The spirit and purpose of Mr. Rideout's article are sufficiently evident from the following extracts:—

"If I am speaking of the influence of obscene literature upon the young, do I go out of my way when I expose the true position of Mr. Ingersoll, who is, as far as the law is concerned, one of the most powerful friends of those who are trying to scatter the poison broadcast over the whole land?" "In February, 1878, there was presented in Congress, to the House of Representatives, a petition, a duplicate of which is printed below, headed by the name of Robert G. Ingersoll." "ut he says he did not favor this movement. Did he not know that his name was at the head of the list? Did he not consent to have it put there, if he did not put it there himself? (The latter is believed to be true.) . . . Did not he put his name there and knowingly permit it to stand there, with whatever influence it might afford the movement to repeal these righteous laws?" "It is true that he resigned the Vice-Presidency of the League at a meeting held in Chicago in 1880; but I have Mr. Comstock's testimony in a letter dated at New York, June 28, 1884, saying that, 'Mr. Ingersoll, it is reported, did resign from the Vice-Presidency, but not from the organization; and not only retained his membership, but retained an active membership, as the records will show.'"

In reply to these statements, the following facts are given: In *The Index* of May 16, 1878, was a letter from Col. Robert G. Ingersoll reprinted from the *Boston Journal*, in which he said in reply to a charge that he was in favor of repealing the postal laws of 1873 against indecent literature: "No one wishes the repeal of any law for the suppression of obscene literature. For my part, I wish all such laws rigidly enforced. The only objection I have to the law of 1873 is that it has been construed to include books and pamphlets written against the religion of the day, although containing nothing that can be called obscene or impure. . . . From the bottom of my heart, I despise the publishers of obscene literature. Below them there is no depth of filth." On the strength of this letter, *The Index* of May 16, 1878, stated that, although Col. Ingersoll's name was attached to the petition for the repeal of the law of 1873, "nothing could be clearer than that Col. Ingersoll carelessly and good naturedly allowed himself to be made use of by persons whose real objects he did not understand, and who have involved him in difficulties from which it will be very hard to extricate himself. . . . Let it be distinctly and universally understood that Col. Ingersoll was ignorant of the real character of the petition he signed, that he is avowedly and publicly opposed to the main object it seeks, and that it is a gross libel on his good name to quote him as intentionally in favor of the repeal of the law of 1873." Col. Ingersoll wrote the editor of *The Index* thus: "Thank you for your splendid article in this week's *Index* in my defence."

After a personal interview with Col. Ingersoll, the editor said in *The Index* of May 30, 1878: "He [Col. Ingersoll] voluntarily explained his connection with the petition, saying that he had never read or seen or signed it. He was requested by certain parties, not mentioned by name, to help them 'modify' [that was the word used by Col. Ingersoll] the law of 1873, and that he cheerfully consented; and he added, with chivalrous generosity, that he had no idea of 'going back' on the parties who put his name to the petition, which very likely he might have signed at the time, if it had been presented. He evidently wished to avoid casting any reproach on those who had thus used his name, and we certainly intend to cast none; but the fact remains that Col. Ingersoll had never seen or read the petition down to May 19 [1878], nor personally affixed his name to it at all. This fact honorably and abundantly explains why his letter to the *Boston Journal*, which expresses his deliberate opinion on this subject, does not agree with the petition itself."

This may now be reprinted in just defence of Col. Ingersoll, since a mistake on his part at a time when there was generally no well-defined idea as to what steps were the best to take to guard against encroachments on the freedom of the press, made in the professed interests of morality, is now used for the basis of representations that he is in favor of circulating broadcast indecent literature. And this may be said without any impeachment of the motives of those even, unwisely as we think they acted, who like O. B. Frothingham, Elizur Wright, and James Parton signed the petition with a desire for the repeal of the so-called Comstock law, in the belief that the authority for the suppression of indecent literature is by the national Constitution restricted to the State and municipal governments. Yet probably not one in twenty—and it is doubtful whether one in fifty—who signed it, did so intending to ask for anything more than such legislation as would prevent the persecution of worthy men for the publication of their honest views on religious and social questions. When the objection was raised that the petition called primarily for repeal, the reply was made that it asked that the objectionable law be either "repealed or materially modified"; and thousands, indignant at the injustice which had been done to individuals under this law, put their names to the petition, even when they were dissatisfied with its phraseology. Col. Ingersoll, we have seen, was among those who, even before they had seen the petition, gave parties permission to append their names. What shall be said of the spirit of those who refer to a mistake of this kind, which is so common among people in signing petitions, as a crime, and attempt upon no better foundations to make a man appear infamous before the public with a view to neutralizing the influence of his lectures and writings on religious subjects?

That Col. Ingersoll after the adoption of the "repeal" resolution by the League at Chicago in 1884 "retained an active membership" is a statement which we believe is wholly false. "Comstock's testimony in this matter, like his testimony generally when distortion of the truth will help him to score a point against an 'infidel,' is worthless."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

"A FORMER UNITARIAN" ON FREE RELIGION.

In the columns of the *Investigator* appear frequently, over various signatures, but evidently from the same hand, articles the object of which seems to be to convey to the readers of that journal erroneous ideas, sometimes concerning

The Index, at others in regard to the character of the Free Religious Association. The writer of the articles is not always successful in finding plausible pretexts for his fault-finding, which is often captious and sometimes frivolous; but, in his zeal for "infidelity," he keeps a sharp lookout for something that may serve as an occasion for introducing a disparaging reference to "Free Religion," or to the "Free Religious organ," or to its editors, whose movements and utterances are watched with a vigilance that never relaxes.

The latest article of this kind is signed "A Former Unitarian." The writer says that he was "once orthodox, then slid into Unitarianism, from that into Universalism," and "finally landed on the solid basis of Infidelity, with an inclination toward 'Agnosticism.'" From this fact," he says, "I had about come to the conclusion that 'Free Religion' is progressive. But, Sir," he adds, "I am sorry to say I am disappointed. Free Religion is not what I took it for,—not the progressive article I had imagined. It is simply Unitarianism under a cloak; and, for my part, I hate disguises of all kinds. But do you ask how I know what I am talking about? I will tell you. I read last week, in the *Boston Journal*, that the Rev. Mr. Potter, the senior editor of the Free Religious organ, gave a sermon at a meeting of Unitarians; and they greatly admired what he said. I think that is sufficient to show that either the Free Religionists are Unitarians or that the Unitarians are Free Religionists; but, as the Unitarians keep to their name and doctrines, and as the Free Religionists profess to be ahead of them, but take part in their meetings, I think it is plain that Free Religionists are simply disguised Unitarians, and sailing under false colors." This writer adds that "their religion may be superior to some others," but he is firmly of the opinion that a religion based upon the supernatural, as he infers from the title of the discourse mentioned above that Free Religion is, cannot be "worthy of the support of truly liberal and progressive minds."

What meaning the writer attaches to "infidelity" he omits to state. If we are not mistaken as to his identity, we have heard him extol Thomas Paine as "one of the greatest infidels that ever lived"; and, for that reason, it was that Paine Memorial Hall was given the name it bears. But Paine was a firm believer in a personal God, whose power and glory, he argued, are manifested in the universe; and he hoped "for happiness beyond this life." If Paine were alive to-day, and a member of the Free Religious Association, and should deliver the former part of the *Age of Reason* as a discourse, or repeat his address to the Theophilanthropists at a meeting of Unitarians or Spiritualists, and they should, as they probably would, admire what was said,—as, for instance, the editor of the *Investigator* has more than once been applauded by Spiritualists, when he has addressed their societies,—would it follow that the Free Religious Association would be unworthy of support?

It is not necessary here to state what was said in the address which "A Former Unitarian," without any knowledge whatever of the views advanced in it, and for no other reason than that it was "greatly admired" by Unitarians, thinks is sufficient to show "that Free Religionists are simply disguised Unitarians, and sailing under false colors." "A Former Unitarian" knows, of course, that the Free Religious Association is an organization composed of persons holding diverse views, that it affords a platform broad enough for the representatives of all classes of thinkers, including Unitarians and Agnostics, to stand upon, and that no member, in presenting his own views, can claim to speak for the Association as a whole,

except in regard to its aims and purposes, which are explicitly declared in the Constitution.

To the writer in the *Investigator*, we suggest that "criticism," like that of which we have given a sample, kept up month after month, is neither intelligent nor liberal, neither generous nor just, neither witty nor wise, and that if it be "infidelity," it is such as Paine defined when he wrote: "Infidelity does not consist in believing or in disbelieving. It consists in professing to believe what he [man] does not believe," which is about the same thing as trying to make others believe what one knows is fallacious and false; and, when this is done in a way designed to conceal the purpose of the deception and at the same time to escape responsibility for it, infidelity, to one who "hates disguises of all kinds," assumes its very worst form.

B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

RENAN is one of the contributors to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, a very valuable periodical now published bi-monthly by Ernest Leroux, at Paris, for twenty-five francs a year.

THE *Herald* of this city, in referring "to the stories relating to Mr. Blaine's religion," observes, "It is not likely that his real religious views differ materially from those of other men of intelligence and education."

THE standing notice in *The Index* in regard to responsibility for the articles which appear in its columns has not entirely prevented misapprehension as to this point; and hereafter, to avoid the possibility of any misunderstanding, the authorship of all the editorials will be indicated by the names or initials of the writers.

THE notice of the work, *Man, Whence and Whither*, by Dr. Richard B. Westbrook, which appeared in *The Index* a few weeks ago, contained some errors of quotation and reference; and the opinion of the author's reasoning indicated in that notice was so largely founded upon those errors as to do him injustice. We make this statement, because it seems to be due Dr. Westbrook. The notice was written amid the hurry of Anniversary Week, when we were unable to give the book that careful examination which works reviewed in *The Index* have, with this exception, always received.

THE *Advertiser* of this city hits the nail on the head, when it says of the Chicago platforms: "They are confused and disconnected, apparently made up of fragments coming from different hands and thrown together with no thought, except that of working in something upon every topic which can safely be touched. Neither of them shows traces of any conscious effort to state a defined or definite system of political theory or policy; but in both there is the painful search for possible issues or possible popular demands, which shows that a political party has either forgotten its own meaning or is groping for a new one. The natural result of the new method of construction is that, upon many things besides the tariff, the two platforms take the same direction. . . . This singular similarity in upshot and in detail will, no doubt, have its practical conveniences for any speaker who finds this fall, when he is before his audience, that he has accidentally brought the wrong document. For many purposes, either will answer."

At Liberal, Mo., where there is a community composed mainly of Liberals, come-outers, and heretics of all kinds, a large meeting was held on the Fourth in celebration of the day, at which

Mrs. Mattie P. Krekle, the accomplished wife of Judge Krekle, of Kansas City, delivered an oration, which is highly praised by several papers that have been received at this office. An article in the *Kansas City Daily Times* says of the speaker: "She was simply master of the situation. She fully comprehended the genius of our government, and its intended application to the wants of the people in every department. Her voice was clear and musical, her bearing graceful, and her powers as a public speaker were first-class. She treated the question from a new stand-point from ordinary Fourth of July orators. She showed the evolution of government from the theocratical, monarchical, and tyrannical form up to an absolute republic, which will only have become perfect when all its subjects, having equal mental and moral endowments, have an equal voice in the management of it. She was pleasing, forcible, and logical, and, as a lady, won the admiration and hearts of the people." The oration was preceded by the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and followed by a dinner at which toasts were offered and brief responses made. In the evening there was a ball, "in which," says the *Liberal*, "old and young freely participated, and enjoyed themselves until about eleven o'clock, when they all adjourned, feeling that it was good to have been there."

It is in this evident determination to uphold Christianity and Christian institutions as the sole source of genuine morality that we find the root of the most persistent attacks by clergymen on Voltaire, Paine, Ingersoll, and all other eminent "infidels." The Church cannot afford to leave these open deniers of her "revelations" in the undisturbed and unchallenged possession of reputations as really good men. Utterly regardless of the facts, she persists in blackening their names, not so much from motives of malignity as of self-interest, partly to destroy their influence and partly to deter others from emulating it. She cannot possibly do otherwise. To admit that those who are not Christians can really be as good as those who are, inwardly as well as outwardly, would be fatal to her own claim of being the sole source of genuine morality. She must either deny the genuine goodness of all outside her own fold or else acknowledge herself not necessary to the world's salvation from sin. What wonder that she chooses the former alternative! This state of things creates special difficulties in the path of Liberals who become in any degree publicly identified with the cause of liberal principles and opinions. They are exposed to attacks from which no innocence can shield them. They need to be, not only innocent, but also bold, wise, and circumspect. They cannot afford to make grave mistakes. If they do, they are certain to be misrepresented in the worst possible manner by ecclesiastical critics,—all for the "glory of God."—*Francis E. Abbot*.

GEN. BUTLER's action at Chicago has put his Greenback friends in a quandary. He had accepted the platform and candidacy of the Greenback party; his name had been hoisted as their candidate by the Greenback papers; the nominee for Vice-President had accepted that nomination; a committee had been appointed to take charge of the Greenback campaign; campaign clubs had been formed, and meetings held to urge and influence the people to vote for Gen. Butler: yet he appeared last week as a delegate at large from Massachusetts to the Democratic Convention, and, to quote from *John Swinton's Paper*, "he took part in boosting a candidate to defeat the party that nominated him as its candidate, and he was himself an aspirant at Chicago for the nomination of a party radically opposed to the principles of the

Greenback party by which he had previously been nominated. It would be impossible to imagine anything more fantastic or more thoroughly saturated with cynicism than this." The same paper says that a meeting of the National Committee of the Greenback party must be held, and that Gen. Butler's position "must at once be defined, if the Greenback party is not to be weakened to the point of collapse." It is difficult to see how Gen. Butler, "a man of resources" as he is, can turn to his advantage his visit to Chicago last week, where his action naturally offended his Greenback friends and admirers who had honored him by making him their standard-bearer, and where his own ridiculous weakness was shown in the Democratic party whose candidate he had aspired to be.

For *The Index*.

THE PRAIRIE HEAVEN.

Why try to reach the House
Where many mansions be?
My homestead and my timber claim
Are good enough for me.

Worth more than Ophir's gold,
And spotless as a bride,—
My wheat-fields in midsummer,
My trees at Whitsuntide.

Should mortals strive to hear
The angels' glad refrain?
Here's the lyre swept by Shakspere,
And Robert Burns's strain.

What grander chance for man
Can Heaven itself provide!
My first-born, self-forgetful, sank
In Shiloh's bloody tide.

Alas! alas! the Christian's thought
That gods the joy can know
Of constant toil, of courage true,
Like mortals here below.

Here in my prairie home
The kingdom is for me,—
The sounding stream, the silent stars,
The birthright of the free.

CLEARCHUS.

For *The Index*.

THE RACE FOR GOLD.

Love of ease and grasp for gain
Yield a harvest full of pain:
Only he who sails the tide,
Heeding nought but sky and star,
Finds that light and faith abide,
Not where cushioned customs ride,
But where seas untraversed are.

Downward, downward, is the road
Burdened by the moneyed load:
Out on freedom's waves who stray
Find with gods the nobler sign
That doth lead the upward way.
Ah! who curses life and day,
Where is spread this sail divine?

Here, yea, only here, remains
Life released from loss and gains:
Here is not thy trade and hate.
Time is given here to deeds
That with conscience grown elate
Shame the pride of public state
And transfix thy worthless creeds!

Who,—ah! who is winner now?
Choose ye gold or freedom's vow!
Only seeming is the feat
Cast where fellow-mortals fall
Hie ye from the mart and street,
And till trade and justice meet
Heed ye not the backward call!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

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BOSTON, JULY 17, 1884.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

(Continued from last week.)

II.

SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Alexandrian Influence on Christianity.—Philo Judæus.

The subject of the relations of the religion of ancient Egypt to the Hebrew cultus is one of exceeding interest, but here calls for no extended treatment. The large colony of Jews in Egypt had long since adopted the Greek language, which they employed not only in their daily intercourse, but also in the worship of the synagogues and the ceremonies of their religion,—the ancient Hebrew faith as modified in Judaism. They had even transformed a forsaken temple of the Egyptian cat-goddess, Pasht, at Leontopolis, into a copy of the temple at Jerusalem,—a proceeding which was not regarded with favor by the Jews of Palestine, who viewed with increasing distrust and jealousy the influences proceeding from their brethren in Egypt. In Alexandria, under the patronage, it is said, of the reigning Ptolemy, the Hebrew Scriptures had been translated into Greek. This translation, the Septuagint, was frequently used and quoted by the Christian Fathers, and furnished an invaluable aid to the introduction and promulgation of the new religion. Those social and commercial influences which we have already noted as prevailing throughout the Roman Empire, that tended subsequently to promote the spread of Christianity, were notably present in this new metropolis. Alexandria was a great commercial centre, her population being mainly devoted to manufactures and trade. The common people among the Jews had learned of the skilled workmen of Egypt the secrets of their crafts, and for mutual protection had associated themselves in guilds like the mod-

ern trades-unions, the members of which engaged to support each other when out of work.*

The influence of Alexandria, in bringing together people of diverse races and religions, in promoting a cosmopolitan spirit in religion and philosophy, in sustaining commerce and thus bringing distant parts of the empire into closer relations, in hastening the decay of the ancient faiths and furnishing material and proselytes for the new, was of the greatest significance in the history of early Christianity. The Alexandrian school of philosophy, which attempted to fuse into a single system Oriental mysticism, Jewish intuitionism, —the doctrine of a divine revelation,—and the metaphysical idealism of Plato; which culminated during the third century of the Christian era in Neo-Platonism,—the final form and product of Greek philosophy,—and the influence of which was predominant in the formation of the dogmatic theology of the Christian Church, had an origin almost contemporary with the beginnings of Christianity. Its earliest representative was Philo Judæus, a Greek-speaking Jew, a Pharisee by belief and association, though by descent, it is said, of the priestly family of Aaron.† In the philosophy of Philo, Judaism first escaped from the bondage of its national exclusiveness, and admitted that spiritual truth was discoverable elsewhere than in the Hebrew writings. This admission, however, was not full and explicit, but was accompanied by the historically indefensible claim that the truths of the Platonic philosophy were themselves derived from the writings of Moses and the prophets. The philosophy of Philo was an attempt, by means of an elaborate system of allegorical interpretation, to discover these abstruse metaphysical dogmas in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Philo's teaching was based upon that Oriental dualism which, originating perhaps in the later development of Zoroastrianism, had penetrated Judaism and the religion of Egypt after the Persian conquests, and found its clearest philosophical expression in the doctrines of Plato. It conceived an absolute separation and antagonism between spirit and matter; between the Infinite High and Holy One, whose nature was purely subjective and spiritual, and the objective universe. How, then, could the universe be created, since there was this infinite separation between God and matter? This was the problem which Philo attempted to solve, in harmony with the teaching of the Scriptures and the doctrine of Plato. Upon the familiar language of Genesis, "And God said, Let there be light," he based his theory of the creative Word,—the Logos.‡ Not the infinitely pure and spiritual deity, accordingly, but the Logos, an emanation from the supreme God, was the creator of the universe. Philo did not absolutely personify the Logos, nor identify it with any historical individual, as in the later Christian development of the doctrine. His thought appears to hover between the conception of the Logos as an attribute—a purely metaphysical idea, similar to the ideas of Plato—and its more complete personification. The Logos was the Demiourgos, the shaper of primeval matter; the first begotten Son of God, the shadow and seeming portrait of God, by means of which, as by an assumed instrument, the world was made; the heavenly food of the soul, from

* It is noteworthy that many of the social influences tending to the amelioration of the condition of the laboring poor, which are commonly assumed to have received their original impetus from Christianity, are traced by the impartial historian to pre-Christian times.

† Philo was a contemporary of Jesus, born probably some twenty or thirty years before the Nazarene prophet, and dying some years later than Jesus.

‡ This doctrine, as we have seen, had already penetrated Judaism from the East, and was used by the Rabbis of Palestine in their Aramaic commentaries on the Scriptures. This use was probably known to Philo, and may have helped to suggest his theory of the common origin of the Hebrew writings and the Platonic philosophy.

whom all eternal instructions and wisdoms flow; the fountain of wisdom; heavenly and immortal nourishment: such are the descriptive expressions in the writings of Philo, many of them strikingly like the familiar teaching of the Fourth Gospel.*

"He strains every nerve toward the highest divine Logos, . . . in order that, drawing from that spring, he may escape death and win everlasting life.† . . . Nothing is more luminous and irradiating than the divine Logos, by the participation in which other things dispel darkness and gloom, earnestly desiring to partake of the living Light.‡ . . . The stamp of the seal of God is the immortal Logos.§ . . . The divine Logos is free from all sins, voluntary and involuntary. . . . Those who have knowledge of the truth are properly called the sons of God: || he who is still unfit to be named the son of God should endeavor to fashion himself to the first-born Logos of God. . . . It is impossible for the love of the world and the love of God to co-exist." ¶ It is hardly possible to conceive that the author of the Fourth Canonical Gospel was not familiar with these expressions drawn from the writings of Philo, or that his identification of Jesus with the Logos was not based upon the then current teachings of the Alexandrian philosophy. Of the further development of this doctrine in the systems of the Gnostics and the orthodox Christian theology, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Carthage and Phœnicia,—their Gifts to Civilization.

Four centuries before the Christian era, the great Punic or Carthaginian empire had possessed all the coast of Africa west of Egypt, and controlled the greater number of the islands of the Western Mediterranean. It had inherited from its Phœnician founders the traits of a great commercial nation, and was one of the first countries in the world to substitute sailing vessels for galleys propelled by oars. A century and a half before the Christian era, this nation was virtually extinguished. All that remained of it was the powerless subject of Rome. So little had Carthage bequeathed to the world, that we know less of her history than of any other nation of antiquity. Her religion was borrowed from Phœnicia. Baal, Ashtoreth, and Melkarth, gods of the fierce and destructive powers of nature, were her deities; and, as in the parent country, they were worshipped with sensual and barbarous rites and bloody sacrifices, often of human victims. The gentler and humaner religion of Rome was a pleasing substitute for this cruel barbarism. The new Roman city of Carthage, founded by Augustus Cæsar, grew rapidly, but never attained the commercial prominence of its predecessor. It became an important Christian bishopric early in the third century. Among other notable names in the history of the Church, Carthagina furnished that of Augustine, whose influence was predominant in the formation of the Christian theology.**

Phœnicia, with its great commercial cities, Tyre and Sidon, had reached the zenith of its power eight hundred years before the Christian era, and had now long been falling into decay. It had been conquered by Alexander the Great, by whose armies Tyre was reduced to ashes, many of its inhabitants were slain, and the remainder were sold as slaves. Though subsequently rebuilt, it never regained its former commercial importance.

* See Mangey's ed. of Philo's Works, vol. i., pp. 308, 106, 482, 560. Compare John i.-xiv., 3; vi., 35, etc.

† Compare John vi., 40.

‡ Compare John i., 4, 9-11.

§ Compare John vi., 27.

|| Compare John i., 12.

¶ Compare John xvii., 9-14, etc.

** May not some of the barbarous features of this theology be traceable to the indefinable, but none the less positive influence of survivals of this earlier theological barbarism?

Phœnicia lacked that supreme ethical element in its civilization which alone suffices to insure permanence in the life of nations. Apart from the commercial spirit which it transmitted to other nations, there was little in its example worthy to live in history. No important remains of a Phœnician literature have been preserved to us,* though that country modified and transmitted to Europe from Egypt the vehicle of all modern literature,—the alphabet. Phœnicia was a nation of shopkeepers. Its morals, religion, official stations, as well as its goods, were for sale to the highest bidder. Conquered by the Romans in the year 64 B.C., its life and civilization were assimilated into the greater life of the Western world, and it ceased to exist as a nation.

The Keltic Communities.—The Druids and their Religion.

Spain, Gaul, and Britain, nations of Western Europe, were annexed to the Roman Empire during the half-century preceding the advent of Christianity. Spain soon became thoroughly Romanized, and remained for many years one of the chief centres of Roman literature and civilization. The Keltic element predominated in its population, as also in Gaul and Ireland. At this period, Spain and Gaul swarmed with Roman burgesses and merchants. It was almost impossible for a native of Gaul to transact a piece of business without the intervention of a Roman. Roman farmers and graziers were busy introducing improved methods of agriculture,—an occupation for which the Keltic peoples had never manifested any fondness. Their principal pursuits were navigation and pastoral husbandry. They were the first people who regularly navigated the Atlantic Ocean.

The inland Kelts, whose domains extended back into the western districts of Switzerland and Germany, were mainly occupied in breeding and rearing domestic animals. They were everywhere a people of rude tastes, and literature and the arts were in a very low state among them. The political structure of the Keltic communities was that of a loosely compacted confederation, tending to feudalism. Its basis was the clan-canton, organized with a governing prince or chief, a council of elders, and a community of freemen capable of bearing arms. All non-combatants were excluded from citizenship. Women were held in so low an estimate that they were ranked with slaves, the laws permitting the torture of these two classes, but prohibiting the torture of freemen.

The Keltic priesthood, known as the Druids, united all Gaul and the British Isles in a common religious brotherhood. It constituted a compact organization, the chief of which, a sort of pope, was elected by a convocation of priests, as the pope of Rome is now chosen by the college of cardinals. Priests were exempt from taxation and military service. They held annual councils, and administered a kind of governmental jurisdiction over the people. They were permitted to inflict capital punishment by sacrificing condemned criminals in their religious ceremonies. Bodies of human victims often smoked on the same sacrificial altars with those of beasts. The Druids thus constituted a sort of ecclesiastical state or theocracy, and ruled over an unintelligent and believing people similar to the Irish peasants of the present day. The word "Druid" is derived by the best philologists from two Keltic roots meaning "God-speaking," which indicates a belief in supernatural

*There is, nevertheless, considerable indirect evidence that Phœnicia was not without a distinctive and characteristic philosophy of indigenous growth and strong Semitic peculiarities. Speaking of the Greek and Roman Empires in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, Ritter declares, "The wisdom of the Magi, of the Egyptians, and of the Phœnician priests and the Jews soon became famous."—*History of Ancient Philosophy*, by Dr. Heinrich Ritter. Vol. IV., p. 18.

inspiration similar to that claimed for the Hebrew prophets. The Druidical religion inculcated the worship of one supreme Being, but encouraged also the veneration of fetiches. A sacred fire, kindled with certain religious ceremonials, was revered as a symbol of the sun. Circular temples, open at the top to admit the sunlight, were dedicated to the solar deity. Their religious rites were often celebrated in sacred groves of oak.

The Druids taught the doctrine of a future life, and a state of rewards and punishments. They professed "to reform morals, secure peace, and encourage goodness." "They assumed," says Cæsar, "to discourse of the hidden nature of things, of the extent of the universe and of the earth, of the forms and movements of the stars, and of the power and rule of the gods." They practised astrology, divination, and magic. Relics found among Druidical remains in Ireland are thought to have constituted parts of astronomical instruments designed to illustrate the motion and phases of the moon. A sacred character was ascribed to the oak, mistletoe, hyssop, vervain, and marshwort. These plants were plucked only after ceremonial ablutions and offerings of bread and wine. This primitive religion was supplanted in part by that of the Romans, and subsequently the Keltic populations easily assimilated the forms and doctrines of Latin Christianity, many of which were prefigured in the older faith.

Character and Religion of the Teutonic Peoples.

Concerning the Teutonic tribes of Northern Europe, little was known before the time of Cæsar. At the commencement of the Christian era, they constituted a horde of semi-barbarous peoples, many of them agriculturists and having some fixed settlements. Their chief occupations, however, were hunting, the care of cattle, and the pursuit of arms. They were brave and independent by nature, but given to the vices of gambling and intoxication, the evil influences of which largely counteracted the nobler traits which might have raised them earlier out of barbarism.

Their population was divided into nobles, freemen, and serfs. The freemen elected their chiefs, whom the Romans often called kings. The Teutons held women and aged people in high regard. They honored chastity no less than valor, and presented a picture of domestic life more perfect and beautiful than could be found elsewhere in the Western world. This characteristic, with a robust mentality and ingrained love of personal liberty, were the chief gifts of this people to the civilization of the future; gifts which led them as naturally and inevitably to Protestant Christianity, and through it to Rationalism, as the characteristics of the Kelts led them to Catholicism. "It was the rude barbarians of Germany," says Guizot, "who introduced this sentiment of personal independence, this love of individual liberty, into European civilization; it was unknown among the Romans, it was unknown to the Christian Church, it was unknown in nearly all the civilizations of antiquity." He might have added with truth, It is the most powerful and characteristic element of our modern civilization.

The religion of the Teutons was in part developed from the Nature-worship of the primitive Aryan peoples, with an intermixture, apparently, of Semitic or Babylonian elements, an inheritance, perhaps, from the Turanian tribes, whom they supplanted in Europe. In part, doubtless, it was of later indigenous growth. It was essentially a polytheistic system, including the worship of Odin or Thor, and his consort Fria, or Frigga, Tiu, the heaven-god, corresponding with Zeus, Jupiter, and the Vedic Dyaus-pitar, and many other subordi-

nate deities. Priests, bards, and sacred groves were dedicated to this worship. The doctrine of a future life in Walhalla was taught. The gods were considered mortal like human beings, as with the Buddhists. Domestic animals, including horses, and sometimes human victims, were offered as sacrifices. The religion of the Teutons was less influenced by the Pagan cultus of Rome than that of the Kelts, during its transition to Christianity.

Resume and Conclusion.

At the advent of Christianity, Greece, through the conquests of Alexander, had already contributed to the civilization of the future her wealth of art, literature, and philosophy, the sum of which is known as Hellenic culture. Rome, under the mighty power of the Cæsars, was bestowing upon the Western world the blessing of the most perfect code of laws which was then in being, and uniting the nations in a common brotherhood of citizenship. Phœnicia had long before communicated the commercial spirit to Carthage and to Greece, and through them to Rome, thus bringing distant peoples into closer communion; a mighty and too little recognized influence in promoting civilization and brotherhood.

Rome, with her State religion,—a hollow ecclesiasticism to the more intelligent,—stood ready, at the demand of self-interest, to dethrone Jupiter, and to pass over her gods, her images, her festivals, the paraphernalia of her priests, and the title of Pontifex Maximus, then held by Cæsar as the head of the Pagan cultus, to that new religion which, through the supremacy of the empire among the nations of the world, was soon to make such mighty strides toward universal dominion. Her sculptured heads of Jupiter were to descend to posterity, rechristened by the name of St. Peter; and her little god Vaticanus, whose function it was to watch over the first lisping of infants, was to bestow his name upon the Vatican,—the palace of the Christian popes.

The great Aryan monotheism of Zoroaster had met in Babylon the great Semitic monotheism of the Hebrew prophets, and, together with some more questionable benefactions, had blessed it with its gift of a belief in a life beyond the grave, and thus prepared the way for one of the leading doctrines of Christianity. The word "Father" as applied to the Supreme Being had entered Judaism from that other contact with the Aryan races through the Greeks, and was used by Jewish Rabbis of the century preceding the birth of Jesus. The Hebrew doctrine of the Messiah had taken a new and more personal form under the influence of contemporary Persian notions, and the stimulus of foreign oppression. Millennial expectations imported from Babylon were "in the air." The writers of the Book of Daniel and the apocryphal Book of Enoch had applied the term "the Son of Man"—a common designation of the prophets—to designate the coming Messiah. Jonathan ben Uzziel, a Jewish Rabbi and contemporary of Jesus, was interpreting various passages in the Old Testament with the phrase *Memra*, "the Word," derived probably through Babylon from India. Hillel had already proclaimed the "Golden Rule" as the substance and foundation of Judaism.

The ancient religion of Egypt was without vitality, but preserve a lingering existence. Some of her gods had passed over to Rome; the figures of Isis and Horos, and Persephone and Iakchos were prefiguring the familiar Christian representation of the Virgin and Child. The Greek gods were emigrating to Egypt, Phœnicia, Assyria, Gaul, and Spain, as well as to Rome. The Eternal City welcomed the new gods as

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Carthage and Phenicia,—

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Concerning the treatment of the colored and the tender Europe. The treatment of the colored people is a tender subject. At the same time, the colored people have forever constituted a part of the world before them. Many of the questions of such a kind can produce a more home-coming and burden bears. The bitterness, the cruelty, the un-derstanding, and mentally de-termined, sin, agony, and have come from ill-as-pected laws which should a healthy, in-formation, can be bound forever to a deformed, incurably, abusive, or even cruelly

Undoubtedly, licentious and evil-minded folk would take advantage of free divorce for base purposes, even as they take advantage of every relation of the sexes to work iniquity; but, to revert once more to the Spencerian philosophy, it is but seldom that we can do that which is absolutely right,—usually we can only do the relatively right,—and it is not just that the virtuous and innocent should be kept in bondage because the vicious abuse liberty.

more reasonable for the law to for-
bid persons to marry, or at least to beget
children, than it to forbid their being divorced.
If the right to remarry should be freely
granted to divorced persons capable of begetting
children, or past the age of begetting, even if
on moral reasons; for a person criminally
guilty with one partner may become virtuous if
sincerely mated to another. We have no moral
reasons more potent than happy married life.

J. WILLIAMSON

On renewing my subscription, allow me to express my approbation of the aims and purposes of the paper, and my admiration for the ability and fairness with which it is conducted.

From a fair reading of his works, I do not think he can be charged with encouraging fanaticism; and he has tried to suppress the extremisms and absurdities of many in the ranks of Spiritualists.

Very respectfully,
Ky. W. LANGLEY.

"ONE WORLD AT A TIME."

It is said of Henry Thoreau that a short time before his death, when an over-anxious theological friend hazarded some questions concerning the naturalist's preparation for the future, the latter with a simple wave of the hand silenced the troubler with the words, "One world at a time."

Now, the outside temperature being so entirely beyond individual control, and the very important practical matter of sitting, sleeping, and working in rooms of healthful temperature, with an abundant supply of pure air, being nearly altogether dependent on one's own will or judgment, it seems remarkable how

heartily as she despised them all, both new and old. The recognition of the old gods under new names—the transfer of functions and characteristics from one to another—was leading the way through scepticism to monotheism. In Rome, the gods were said to be more numerous than the people. In Athens, every street corner had its statue of a deity. The world was weary of conflict, unsatisfied with existing philosophies, disgusted with priestly arrogance, sophistry, and insincerity, but longing for a religion which would proclaim the growing faith in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

From the time of Alexander, war had been the most potent civilizer, drawing together the nations, with their diverse civilizations and religions, into a closer unity, to which each contributed its peculiar gift, which the world received and assimilated into its common life. Looking back through the centuries over the broad sweep of the entire horizon of this ancient world, above the conflict of arms, the groans of the poor, the dying, and the oppressed, the loud laughter of the Roman augurs at the absurdity of their rites, the sneers of sceptical philosophy-mongers who believed neither in the gods nor in the moral law,—may we not behold the working of that Power, eternal and invincible, that in all ages makes for righteousness, civilization, and brotherhood? Do we not perceive the growing intelligence and virtues of man, triumphing over his wrath and wickedness and folly, already building up the better kingdom of the future,—the Kingdom of God on earth, which is also the Republic of Man? Shall we not see in the peasant child of Galilee the "Son of Man" indeed,—the natural product of his race and time, participating in some of its errors and superstitions, but ready to speak the vital word for humanity fearlessly and unfalteringly, willing to die rather than falter or recant? All the circumstances of this period point to the conclusion that old uses were outgrown; a new era was about to dawn in the life of humanity,—the product of easily discernible and perfectly natural causes. A fateful hour had arrived in the history of civilization, and it did not seek in vain for its man.

For *The Index*.

"OUR PURPOSE."*

BY RABBI SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

Ladies and Gentlemen.—An eternal law forces the human mind to connect every object or action with which it meets with a purpose. No sooner comes an object within the reach of our observation than we immediately conclude upon its purpose. Never have men undertaken a thing without a purpose; and so much are we accustomed to the laws of cause and effect, of action and purpose, that we ascribe a purpose even to the creation of the universe.

I do not mean to say that the purpose for which a thing is made or an enterprise is undertaken is always accomplished. In spite of our best intentions, our most zealous works often miscarry and bear other than the expected fruit; and, likewise, our conclusions as to the purpose of a thing not seldom prove erroneous.

We find ourselves assembled here to-day to witness the commencement of a work which, as we hope, will outlive ourselves and many generations after us. We behold at present only a few rough and unfinished walls around us, the mere outlines of a building. We are about to deposit, as it is customary, into the cavity of the corner-stone various articles and documents from which future generations shall derive an idea as to our customs and general standing; and, immediately, our mind starts with electric swiftness from this one pole and goes in search of its mate, the other, asking, What is the purpose of this

*An address delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the Temple Adath Israel, corner Columbus Avenue and Northampton Street, Boston, Mass., on July 8, 1884.

building? What is its destination? The question at first sight seems superfluous, if not silly; for we all know that we intend to erect a temple on this spot, and what the purpose of a temple is every one thinks he knows.

But I beg your pardon, my friends. There were times when magnificent structures called temples were erected, in the firm belief that they were the dwelling-places of gods. Even our own nation, when in its infancy, believed that the temple in Jerusalem was the habitation of its God, and that King Solomon had erected it in order to fulfil the obligation of the nation due to him who had delivered Israel from Egyptian bondage and had bestowed upon it the land of Canaan as an inheritance. The doleful complaint of King David that God had to reside in a small tent—while he, the king, was living in a house of cedar—was a true expression of the common belief of that time; namely, that a temple ought now to be built for the benefit of their God.

Is it the purpose of this building to become the residence of our God? Will we attempt to house the Infinite, who fills the vast universe with his glory, in the narrow space which these walls circumscribe? Do we build this structure for the benefit of God? I, for one, deny it.

The age of credulity has passed; and, in our age of reason, it would be sheer hypocrisy to uphold such an antiquated and superstitious notion.

In denying it, I am backed by the authority of the most zealous workers which Israel ever produced, by the prophets. They already turned away from that notion, proclaiming the whole universe to be the residence of God. The heavens are his habitation, and the "earth his footstool," they said; and, with the courage of their conviction, they thundered against temples, priestcraft, and sacrifices.

Thanks for their efforts. Long before the second temple was destroyed, the popular belief had undergone a wonderful change, and the nation had become ripe to abolish sacrifices and to worship God by prayers in numerous synagogues.

Is it, then, the purpose of this building to be a house of prayer, to be a place in which we are to offer our supplication to God, believing that here we are nearer to him than elsewhere?

As long as prayers were considered to be the substitute for the former sacrifices, as long as the reading of a set of ready-made prayers was obligatory to every adult Israelite, so long a house of prayer was needed and wanted. For the conscientious, reasoning man of to-day, however, religion does not consist in the rehearsal of a set of prayers. To him, true religion is an endless chain of noble actions; and, if his soul ever craves for a communion with God by means of prayer, he will pray, no matter where he is. He will express his admiration of God's power and might on mountain peaks or on the sea-shore, or pour out his troubled soul before his Maker in the solitude and seclusion of his closet. The time of prayer-books and rituals is swiftly passing away. Ready-made prayers will go in course of time the very way sacrifices went before; and, if it should be the sole and only purpose of this building to be a house of prayer and nothing else, I venture to predict that its pews would remain as empty as pews generally and in the average are.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, for what purpose do we erect this temple? What shall its destination be?

Before all, I wish it to be understood that God does not need our temples, nor that the supreme Ruler of the universe derives any benefit from our worship. We are the ones who are benefited by it; and, therefore, not for the sake of God, but for our own sake, do we erect this building. True religion has a double purpose: first, to uphold and to propagate certain unchangeable principles; second, to give to these principles form and shape in active life. We associate and form religious corporations, in order to obtain that strength which lies in union, that we may help one another to reach the highest possible standard of civilization and humanity. The temple of to-day and of the future must be a centre, the headquarters around which the members of a religious body rally, from which they propagate or defend, as the case may be, their principles, and in which they resolve upon all such actions as will tend to improve their own moral condition and that of their fellow-men. The temple of to-day and of the future must be a place in which we congregate, not to favor God, but for our own benefit; not for the sake of passing

through a tedious ritual, but for the sake of seeking enlightenment on questions which are beyond the common sphere. The temple of to-day and of the future must be a school in which the principles of a noble life are both taught and practised.

And here I stand again on strictly Jewish ground. The word "temple" may please us better by its sound, the name "house of prayer" may have a fascination for the sentimentalist; but our ancestors used to call their religious meeting places "schools," and a school this house shall be in the widest sense of the word, and nothing but a school for the development of our moral qualities. Here, the doctrine of the one God of Israel shall be taught, expounded, and defended against both of its foes, polytheism and atheism; here, the doctrine that all men are brethren and all mankind is one family shall be proclaimed; here, measures shall be resolved upon as to how to work together and hand in hand for brotherly love, charity, benevolence, righteousness, justice, and liberty.

If we band together for such a purpose in this house, it will forever command the respect of the community, and will need none of the luxurious attractions to which some churches of to-day resort, in order to draw visitors. If we band together in this building for such a purpose, I foretell that the Temple Adath Israel will grow a shining light in Israel, the pride of this city, and an honor to humanity.

This is our purpose, as I understand it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CERTIFICATE THAT CERTIFIES TOO MUCH.

Editors of The Index.—

I received to-day a certificate of my membership in the Free Thinkers' Association, with a request that my name be given for publication in a future number of the journal issued by them. I declined these offers, partly on the ground of not being acquainted with their aims or their by-laws, and I do not wish to belong to any organization which, like the New York Freethinkers Association is a branch auxiliary to the National Liberal League while the latter remains pledged to work for the repeal of United States postal laws against indecent literature.

There is a list of twenty-eight hundred names appended to the number of the magazine which was sent with the certificate, purporting to be those of Free Thinkers. This is largely German. Among them, I recognize but three, who are known to the public at all, who have not formerly identified themselves in some way with the schismatics of Syracuse. I am familiar with the names of all who have been prominent as workers in the liberal field, and think I am correct. I find whole families in this list, which may account for the number which has been drummed together,—the father, mother, and several children all holding certificates of membership. One Indiana father, in writing the editor, says: "Your letter containing certificate of membership for myself and baby, Robert Green Ingersoll, received." He further says that he has "seven children," and "I do not think little 'Bob' will ever return his certificate." So you will see of what antiquity a part of the owners of the names represented can boast.

The certificate sent me declares that I have "paid the regular membership fee into the treasury." This is a mistake. If it is paid at all, some other body paid it; and, if it was intended to be complimentary, it seems to me well to have so designated and recorded it. Otherwise, the treasurer will have to sound his "Bell," to make his accounts balance upon the judgment day. It is well for Free Thinkers to keep square accounts, and set church members a good example.

The mottoes of the certificate, which is quite elaborately gotten up, are from Ingersoll, Paine, and Buddha. At the lower corners are pictures of a mosaic floor, upon which rest columns. The right-hand or eastern column is a ladder. A capital of bias Greek work, with windows in it containing diamond-shaped divisions, surmounts this ladder; and on each end of this capital is poised a savage-looking dolphin, balancing on his two feet, putting out his tongue, and pawing the air with his tail,—truly fearfully and wonderfully made,—and to my unilluminated intellect as mysterious as the sublime secrets relating to another department of metaphysics (?) which in our youth we so often heard asserted were "past finding out." I give this one up. If somebody don't explain it to me, I shall

never know what these two dolphins mean, or what they are perched upon the capstone of that ladder for. Neither can I imagine the use of the ladder. No one would think it worth while to scale that capital in the face of those ferocious beasts, except it were to find out what was suspended entirely above their heads upon the top of a slender pole and at each arm of a pair of balances. It looks like a six-sided lantern and a four-sided one, at the respective arms of the balances. One of them seems to weigh just as much as the other; and it may signify that truth is the same though it assume different forms, and it may mean some very different thing. All that I can say is that a six-sided affair is never "on the square." All this while, a Japanese woman is standing on the mosaic base, doing the most natural thing which I have yet discerned, fanning herself.

At the left hand, two delicate columns spring lightly into the air, bearing upon their points, at about half the height of the ladder column, what we might term a sort of a mediæval dado, with a small pig, with ears and tail cut short, trotting complacently midway on its top. From the two ends of this dado arise two more substantial columns than we find at the foundation, as if they grew stronger as they got up higher, or progressed, or, perhaps, I do not quite understand even the symbols upon this west end, though they do not seem to be so hard to guess as the eastern portico was. Strange to say, these two columns end in a sub-capital of ivy,—the poison leaves and berries. Between these columns and below the poisonous capitals is seen a butterfly; but, sad to say, in this company, poor Psyche is flying toward the ground, instead of soaring into the sweet air as a sensible and happy butterfly would do.

These sub-capitals are again capitalized by a long, low pagoda roof, above which the sun shows half his face, which is again surmounted by a slender little flagstaff floating an ensign, on which the emblem is either a cross or a star,—I cannot decide which.

The long beam at the bottom of the design, and connecting the two masonic bases, is curiously formed in sections of regular Greek work alternated with the bias work above referred to, and above which are marshy spots, with the vegetation peculiar to those places; and some lizards are crawling along there. But, sad to say, some of the marshes have no lizards,—probably even they have sunk into the depths, and can arise no more. Taking all into account, the undesirable climbing and the six-sided truth, the pig on the dado, the lizards and the marshes, and the Psyche seeking the earth, it seems to me unattractive to pursue the subject longer, or to come into any closer rapport than I am at present. Selah.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

THE RIGHT OF FREE DIVORCE.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Several things have recently been said on the divorce question in *The Index*, the majority of the writers appearing to favor more stringent legislation. As I sincerely take a different view, I hope you will grant me space to state my reasons. I am well aware that I am in danger of incurring the social odium that attaches to those who meddle with the established order of things in relation to the sexes. But I do not think considerations of that sort should ever hinder a consistent truth-seeker from stating the conclusions his investigations have led to. I shall welcome all criticism, and shall not hesitate to recant my heretical views, if proved erroneous.

I have, in two previous articles, endeavored to show the applicability of free divorce as a remedy for polygamy; and in this I wish to prove it equally remedial for the evils of the current monogamy. I am a monogamist, and am not an advocate of promiscuity. I yield to no man (or woman) in my desire to establish perfect chastity. For what purpose was marriage instituted? Chiefly, I take it, for two reasons: to obtain exclusive and legal possession of the person of some individual of the opposite sex; to provide for and protect the children. The first reason I consider the primary one; but, as Herbert Spencer has shown in *Data of Ethics*, the later evolved ethical ideas are the best; and I consider the proper development and well-being of the child to be really the great purpose for which the institution of marriage stands. On this ground of the well-being of the child, too, I support free divorce. I define impurity by saying that any

thought, word, or deed, pertaining to sexuality, that is injurious to self or others, and willingly performed, is unchaste. I think I am speaking within bounds when I say that the cloak of marriage covers at least as much impurity as it leaves uncovered. Leaving out other phases as foreign to the discussion, let me say that cohabitation between those inharmoniously mated must be unchaste, because mentally and physically injurious to both. Is it chaste to compel a woman, by force of law, to submit her person to a man whom she abhors, simply because she was once deluded enough to marry him? Would it be less chaste for her to leave him, and bestow herself on some one whom she could love? I should be surprised, indeed, at the thinking woman who knows anything of married life who would hesitate to say "No" to both questions. In the interests of chastity, therefore, I say, let the inharmonious be divorced.

How does it bear on the children? All physicians, hygienists, psychologists, and scientists, who are acquainted with the laws of physiology and heredity, are aware that the offspring of the inharmoniously married is almost unavoidably deformed, mentally, if not physically. Can a mother whose days are scenes of strife and bitterness, or whose life is a burden of dumb despair, beget perfect children? Can a father, whose home is a battle-field or a cemetery of dead loves and joys, or who has taken to dissipation to purchase forgetfulness? Will such parents, can such parents, bring up children in the way they should go? I claim that probably one half of human woe and human crime is caused by marital infelicity. I do not think a single adult reader of this will find difficulty in recalling a long list of homes where divorce or death alone could make matters even approximately right. And this is only on the surface, and is as nothing to the black vortex that is covered and concealed. No slavery on earth can be more cruel than that which binds, in what should be the tenderest and most holy relations, those who have forever ceased to love. Henceforth, life stretches before them a perpetual battle-field or a dreary enduring of such heart pain and loneliness as no other cause can produce; and the more affectionate, the more home-loving, the person, the heavier the burden bears. Who can estimate the jealousy, the bitterness, the licentiousness, the dissipation, the cruelty; the unwelcome, and morally, physically, and mentally deformed children; infanticide, murder, sin, agony, insanity, and despair that have come from ill-assorted marriages. Can those be just laws which forbid the obvious remedy? Should a healthy, intelligent, moral man or woman be bound forever to a partner who is syphilitic, deformed, incurably diseased, drunken, criminal, abusive, or even cruelly indifferent?

How many young people marry from lust, from curiosity, from vanity, from ambition, from avarice, from pity, from all sorts of romantic illusions, from everything but wisdom! Can that law be right that prevents people from righting wrongs and correcting mistakes? Is it merciful to compel people to suffer for life for early indiscretions? The front door of marriage, as some one aptly calls it, turns very easily on its hinges. Shall the back door be immovably barred? Shall marriage be a trap for the unwary, the ignorant, and the innocent? Shall these young deluded ones, when the hour of repentance comes, see no hope? Shall the heiress, who finds herself married only for her gold, be bound for life to the fortune-hunter who has deceived her? Can any law be right that compels the deceived, the mistaken, the unhappy, to remain in their unfortunate position, if there is any possible escape? Remember that people cannot be unhappy and retain unimpaired health, that few can be unhappy and retain unimpaired morals, that children born in unhappy wedlock are inevitably injured, and the importance of allowing the unhappily wedded to separate is clear. Punishment enough always comes to those who have contracted a foolish or wicked match, without compelling them to stick to their contract forever.

Undoubtedly, licentious and evil-minded folk would take advantage of free divorce for base purposes, even as they take advantage of every relation of the sexes to work iniquity; but, to revert once more to the Spencerian philosophy, it is but seldom that we can do that which is absolutely right,—usually we can only do the relatively right,—and it is not just that the virtuous and innocent should be kept in bondage because the vicious abuse liberty.

Wise laws should however be made for the disposal of children, property, etc., in cases where such matters cannot be amicably settled by the divorcing parties, and to provide for the support of helpless individuals whose partners take advantage of free divorce to desert them; but the right of divorce should never be interfered with.

It would be far more reasonable for the law to forbid the inharmonious to marry, or at least to beget offspring, than for it to forbid their being divorced. I hold, too, that the right to remarry should be freely granted to all divorced persons capable of begetting healthy offspring, or past the age of begetting, even if divorced for moral reasons; for a person criminally immoral with one partner may become virtuous if more happily mated to another. We have no moral agency more potent than happy married life.

J. WILLIAM LLOYD.

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In renewing my subscription, allow me to express my approbation of the aims and purposes of the paper, and my admiration for the ability and fairness with which it is conducted.

Having been in former years very much interested in the writings of Andrew Jackson Davis, and in the man himself, nearly all whose works I have read, I would be pleased if he could be secured as a contributor to *The Index*. It was through his writings that I was led to adopt the theory of evolution, and before I had read anything of Darwin's. I cannot help feeling from my limited range of reading that Mr. Davis has not received that recognition as an independent thinker and writer, from other writers of the same class, to which he is entitled. It may be that I overrate Mr. Davis; but I would like to see a review and reply to the two chapters, in two different books of his, one entitled "The Origin of Life and the Law of Immortality," and the other entitled "God revealed to the Intellect," by some able and sincere writer, and then any rejoinder Mr. Davis might wish to make. He pledges himself to discuss the last-named chapter with any qualified respectable opponent; and I think if *The Index* or any independent journal could secure such discussion it would be very interesting to many readers.

From a fair reading of his works, I do not think he can be charged with encouraging fanaticism; and he has tried to suppress the extremisms and absurdities of many in the ranks of Spiritualists.

Another thing, Modern Spiritualism, as taught by Mr. Davis, may be an open question; but I think the attitude of many scientists and able thinkers has hardly been fair toward it. It seems to me that all such wonderful phenomena should have received a thorough explanation by science long ago, and of such a conclusive character as to compel such men as Davis, Epes Sargent, Alfred R. Wallace, and many others equally able, to have accepted it. Mr. Davis has not tried to evade, but has rather invited candid criticism; and yet, as far as I have noticed, he has been severely let alone. Why is this? Can you explain?

Very respectfully,

W. LANGLEY.

HENDERSON, KY.

"ONE WORLD AT A TIME."

Editors of *The Index* :—

It is said of Henry Thoreau that a short time before his death, when an over-anxious theological friend hazarded some questions concerning the naturalist's preparation for the future, the latter with a simple wave of the hand silenced the troubler with the words, "One world at a time."

I often lose my patience when I see men and women who are really pressed for time to read half an hour daily spend five or ten minutes in inspecting and talking over the temperature, as shown by a thermometer hung outside their door, while no attempt is made to regulate sensibly the temperature of their living rooms.

Now, the outside temperature being so entirely beyond individual control, and the very important practical matter of sitting, sleeping, and working in rooms of healthful temperature, with an abundant supply of pure air, being nearly altogether dependent on one's own will or judgment, it seems remarkable how

senselessly the great majority of men and women act in regard to thermometers.

When I hear a sermon, whose key-note is immortality, I think, "Looking at the thermometer out of doors again." There sit bedizened mothers, dressed in painful, unhealthful fashions, with wrinkles deepened by late sewing on over-trimmed garments for children whose grammar and manners, if not even morals, must in consequence be neglected. There sit negligent, ignorant fathers, who, too often, are enabled to pay pew-rent by universally looking out for the odd half-cents. There sit our bright, precocious, society-crazed boys and girls,—all being attacked from the outside, as it were. So little is being said to them in any telling way of health, truth, honor,—practical right-living, in short,—and so many words expended concerning peaceful dying and baseless speculations regarding the "life beyond"!

Instead of trying to bring tears to bereaved mothers' eyes by repeated pictures of happy meetings with children "gone before," why not try to accomplish some certain good result by rousing them to shame regarding their ignorance and carelessness in rearing their living children? Why has there been, is there, and will there be, so much time, strength, and effort wasted in useless theorizing about what we cannot conceive to be capable of logical proof? And, even if it could be proved that personal immortality were true, what possible good would be done toward giving any noble, unselfish basis for right action?

The superstition, the weak, unhealthy theology so prevalent among our intelligent classes is astonishing. But, slowly, a more rational code of ethics is teaching how much more essential is practical moral educating than visionary theorizing about a future existence and similar metaphysical ideas, which at best can only touch the masses through their emotions.

FANNY BERGEN.

PEABODY, MASS., July 3, 1884.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH IN ITS OUTLINES: AN EXPOSITION OF MODERN SOCIALISM. By Laurence Gronlund. Boston, Lee & Shepard, Publishers; New York, Charles T. Dillingham, 1884. pp. 278.

This is an earnest and thoughtful book on a subject to which all earnest people must more and more give their thought. That there are volcanic elements beneath the present structure of human society, that we now and then hear their rumblings even in this country, are facts which are only too evident. The old-fashioned Fourth-of-July oratory, which represented the American republic as having solved the question of the woes and wrongs of the world, has mostly ceased. The question now is whether the American form of government can control the evils which are incident to itself; and, meantime, the problem of its having found the solution of all the political and social troubles of mankind is held in suspense. The vast increase among us of a heterogeneous mass of people gathered from all countries, and subsisting by the crudest kind of labor, the widening chasm between the rich and the poor, the growing antagonism between the laborer and the capitalist, the encroachments of moneyed monopolies on individual rights,—these, to say nothing of the enormities of degradation, ignorance, vice, and crime which our laws fail to meet, present conditions of society quite different from those that existed in this country two and three generations ago. Are the political institutions which our fathers established, the governmental machinery which they devised, able to cope with these new conditions? The author of this book says No. German Socialism is the solution which he presents for these perplexing problems of our time. He believes, he says, that "it is time that a work, containing all the leading tenets of Socialism in a concise, consecutive form, should be presented in the English language,—in the language of the two countries where the social and specially the industrial conditions are ripening quicker than anywhere else."

But let no one, frightened by this word *Socialism*, turn away from the book as that of an extravagant and dangerous *doctrinaire*. It is a strong book, full of fact and thought well digested and vigorously expressed; and, whether one shall accept all its conclusions or not, no earnest reader can fail to find in it food for much thinking and stimulus to a kind of thinking that will strive inevitably to take hold of

practical measures for the improvement of society. The author writes, he confesses, for the thoughtful few, particularly among younger minds, who may be convinced of the social principles he advocates, and who may therefore be prepared, when the present structure of society shall be broken up, it may be by revolution, to take the place of leadership to the struggling masses of the people, and lay the foundations of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Into the details of the thirteen closely packed chapters and well-sustained argument we cannot here enter; but we earnestly commend Mr. Gronlund's work to all who are interested, or who from their positions of responsibility ought to be interested, in practical sociology. Not least among its merits are its sharp thrusts, not only into the evils of society, but into some of the sham reforms proposed for them.

BROKEN ENGLISH: A Frenchman's Struggle with the English Language. A Handbook of French Conversation. By E. C. Dubois. In English and French. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. pp. 77. Price 50 cents.

This little work, arranged in dialogue with English on one page and French on the opposite, gives some ludicrous specimens of the difficulties to be overcome by foreigners in learning the English language, on account of the apparent incongruities and contradictory meaning of some of its words and idioms, some of which are of as much annoyance and bewilderment to English-speaking people themselves as to those just learning the language. The book will be found useful as an aid to those desirous of improving themselves in the colloquialisms of both languages, while it is sufficiently amusing to interest either the English or French reader ignorant of any language but his own.

HEALTH BY EXERCISE. By George H. Taylor, M.D. New York: John B. Alden, publisher.

The fact that this book appears among the excellent reprints of Mr. Alden is of itself a sufficient guarantee of its worth. It has been before the public in various editions for twenty-three years, and is considered one of the best concise works in exposition of the movement cure now extant. It embraces the "history and philosophy of medical treatment by this system, including the process of Massage, also a summary of the general principles of hygiene."

THE *Revue de Belgique* for June gives the conclusion of a remarkably good story, "Claire Miramon," also the earnest appeal of Count Goblet d'Alviella for the more efficient organization of the Belgian Liberals, a minute account of the educational and political condition of Greece and Italy, a lecture recently delivered by Prof. Leo Errera at Brussels on the place of the laboratory in modern science, a long and appreciative notice of the French translation of Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, and an attack on protection, which closes with this item about America: "The Democrats, who have gained a great deal of ground during the last few years, have nominated, as candidate for the presidency, that resolute champion of free trade, Mr. Carlisle. His election would soon cause a great reduction of the prohibitory tariff of the United States."

THE *Unitarian Review* for July contains the following: "Where are we in Religion?" by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer; "The New English Dictionary," by C. W. Ernst; "Idealism in German Ethics," by Rev. J. G. Brooks; "A Daring Faith," by Rev. John W. Chadwick; and "Relation of the Church of To-day to Education," by Rev. J. H. Allen. The Editors' Note-Book treats of "The Mormon Question" and "The Proposed American Tigris-Euphrates Expedition"; while "Studies in History" and "Anniversaries" are among the matters considered in "Things at Home and Abroad."

Among the designs for Prang just announced are a series of cards representing bird and flower life in the Japanese manner, by Miss Fidelia Bridges; a series of studies from American child-life, by Miss L. B. Humphrey; some flower studies for advanced students, by Mme. Flory; and a humorous series, representing the merry men of the fairy ring busily engaged in painting the holly berries and polishing the leaves in anticipation of Christmas jolity, by Mr. Walter Satterlee.

From the annual report of the Willard Asylum for the Insane, situated in Seneca County, N. Y., we judge that the seventeen hundred patients of that institution are well cared for and more at liberty in certain respects than some college students, since they are allowed to read *The Index*, the receipt of which is duly acknowledged. From the same neighborhood comes the report of the Syracuse Civil Service Reform Association,—an organization which has done good work in providing that hereafter not only the national officials, but those serving the Empire State, shall be chosen, not by patronage, but by merit,—a principle not yet fully adopted by Massachusetts.

THE FLORAL WORLD.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Treasury Department, in reply to a circus manager whether he can bring to this country Chinese dwarfs and other Chinamen for exhibition, has decided that Chinese curiosities are not "Chinese laborers," and hence can come here without any violation of the Chinese immigrant law.

THE King of Norway, who has been encountering stronger popular opposition than he had anticipated, has unexpectedly made most important concessions to the people. In the latter part of May, a royal resolution was introduced to stop the trial of liberal journalists, and the King has put himself in communication with the leaders of the liberal party. The result thus far is that the leader of the opposition is made premier of the New Ministry, one of the members of which is a poor peasant, although a man whose ability in dealing with financial and other questions has raised him to a position of importance in the Storting. Already, a programme has been agreed upon, involving the admission of the ministers to sittings in the Storting, an extension of suffrage, reorganization of the army and of the jury system, and other reforms.

THE English House of Lords, having rejected Lord Wemyss' compromise resolution promising to pass the franchise bill on condition of a pledge to consider redistribution in the autumn, the next three months the agitation in favor of the bill will divert attention from all other political issues. There is a strong public sentiment that an unrepresentative body, with power to obstruct the will of the people, is an anomaly in England; and some of the more radical associations and journals urge that the agitation include among its objects the abolition of the House of Lords. The London Times supports Mr. Gladstone, and predicts that, instead of dissolving the House of Commons, he will advise the Queen to create a sufficient number of liberal peers to outnumber the votes against the ministry in the upper chamber, which would be a method in accordance with English constitutional

usage. The House of Lords stubbornly opposed the great reform act of 1832,—which Mr. Gladstone's franchise bill merely supplements,—until the king had promised the ministry that he would create new peers, when they passed the bill, rendering the exercise of the prerogative of the crown unnecessary. With or without the creation of new peers, it is pretty certain that, when Parliament meets in October and the bill is again sent to the Lords, they will pass it.

THE New York Freethinkers Association will hold its next annual Convention at Carsadaga Lake, N.Y., Sept. 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th. On the 8th and 9th of September, at the same place, will be held the eighth annual Congress of the National Liberal League, the call for which just issued by T. B. Wakeman, President, Elizur Wright, Vice-President, and T. C. Leland, Secretary, invites "to appear or be represented" all "citizens of the United States, whether they have heretofore acted with this League or not, who believe in a secular government and a secular republic; separation of Church and State; the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of creed or race or sex; justice for all, and privileges and monopolies for none; the need of universal secular education, free speech, and a free press as the basis of universal suffrage." The call says, "At this Congress, it is designed to revise the basis of the League so as to make it so broad and liberal that all who sympathize with its general purpose may co-operate with it to the end that a general union of all citizens of liberal sentiment may result, and that new officers of the League may be selected without regard to past differences." There seems to be a strong sentiment among the present managers of the League for its reorganization on the basis indicated; but the proposed change is protested against with indignation, and will be vigorously opposed by an active and aggressive "social freedom" element in the organization, represented by Mrs. Juliet Severance, who says, "There will be no backward movement of the League, or I am greatly mistaken in my estimation of the metal now comprising it."

THE Catholic Review informs its readers "that while the God of Peace, borne aloft in the hands of his worthy minister Cardinal Vicar of the Eternal City, was about to bestow his Infinite Benediction upon all, worthy and unworthy alike, the all-pervading stillness was broken by rude cries of, 'Viva Garibaldi!' 'Live Garibaldi! Death to the priests!' How long will the patiently enduring mercy of God tolerate such impious deeds?" It was not in good taste to divert attention from "the God of Peace borne aloft in the hands of his worthy minister" by cries of "Live Garibaldi!" It was indeed positively discourteous to the aforesaid "God of Peace borne aloft," etc. But what would be the treatment of those who honor the memory of the red-shirted hero and liberator of Italy, if the "Cardinal Vicar of the Eternal City" had the power and authority he once possessed? The fact is the aforesaid "God of Peace borne aloft," etc., who is no God at all, represents not

"Peace," but war, war against the rights of man, against independence of thought, freedom of expression, and the progress of knowledge. The people of Italy are beginning to see this, and hence their contempt for this wafer God and the childish ceremonies performed in the name of religion by men who oppose every attempt to advance popular reform. The time will come when Italy will have no use for the hordes of ecclesiastics whose influence has for centuries enslaved and cursed that fair land. Freed from the trammels of hierarchical authority and emancipated from a faith that has paralyzed her intellectual life, Rome may yet awake from her torpor, renew her vigor, recall the glory of other days and contribute largely to the cause of mental freedom and moral progress against which her influence has so long been directed.

LAST Thursday, many hearts were saddened by the news conveyed in a despatch from Meriden, Conn., printed in the daily papers, that Miss Emily J. Leonard, of that city, was dead. She died on the 16th, of heart disease, we understand, at the age of forty-six. One of the published notices of her says: "She was widely known as a botanist, classical scholar, and writer on political economy, was greatly interested in woman's work, strongly believed in female suffrage, and was a member of the National Liberal League and Woman's Temperance Association. She was an accomplished French, German, Latin, and Italian scholar, translated Blanqui's *Political Economy*, which is now used as a text book in many colleges, and was also noted as an eloquent and interesting public speaker." In addition to this, we can, from years of personal acquaintance with Miss Leonard, aver that she was a remarkably clear thinker, and was conscientious and courageous in expressing her views on all the many subjects in which she felt an interest. Her knowledge of finance and her acquaintance with economic questions were extensive and profound. An article from her pen on money, printed in *The Index* some time ago, elicited from a thinker and a leading lawyer of this city the remark that it contained more truth and common sense on the subject than any volume he had ever read. Miss Leonard was acquainted with the best works by modern thinkers, which she read in several languages. In her religious views, she was very radical. On this subject, as well as others, her convictions were the result of careful thought and study; and she could defend her position very skilfully. In her death, *The Index* has lost one of its best friends. She was an indefatigable worker in the cause of education and progressive thought generally. Her modesty and disinterestedness were as marked as her ability and learning. She was in Boston during Anniversary Week this year, and spoke at two or three of the reform meetings. The last evening she was in the city, she attended the festival of the Free Religious Association, where the many friends from whom she parted little thought that in but a few weeks her voice would be stilled and her eyes would be closed in death.

VACATION.

The vacation season has become one of the institutions of American society. More and more people every year get, at least, a brief respite from work. More and more families close their city houses for the summer weeks, and seek refuge in the country or by the sea. Not only are the schools closed, but many churches and benevolent organizations now have a summer vacation. And the churches are closed, not primarily because their ministers want a rest, but because the congregations are not at home; or, if at home, because they, too, like to have a rest once in a while from church-going. Vacation, indeed, has become a matter that has to be taken into account in the mercantile and financial world as well as in social affairs. It has wrought change in methods of business. It has introduced new branches of business. Into multitudes of homes it has brought a new and sometimes perplexing domestic problem; and it must be admitted that it has brought also new conditions of social ethics which were undreamed of two generations ago. A great popular watering place or mountain resort presents, for instance, a standard of social morality that is, to say the least, not always above all cause for anxiety as concerns those who come under its influence.

There are evils connected with the present mode of managing the vacation. In the future, it is likely, some better way will be discovered for so mingling needed recreation with work that the long and stated season, now specially given to recreation, will either not be required or will be very much modified in character. As it is now, the American people too generally make a business of their recreation. They work hard, and then they rest hard. More natural and healthful would it be to mix work and rest amicably together.

The rest, however, is needed; and, too often, the rest that is needed means absolute cessation of effort, in order that overtaxed body or mind may recover their lost balance of health. But, more generally, the only kind of rest required is change from one line of effort to another, respite of one set of faculties and the exercise of another set, the getting out of the ruts of routine, and the freshening of energy through new scenes, associations, and subjects of thought. We once knew a school-teacher who said that she taught school for the sake of the vacations; and a very good teacher she was. She meant, by the remark, that the teacher's occupation offered this regular interval for breaking away from its own routine of special obligations and work, and thus gave opportunity for invigorating the spirit and broadening the mind by contact with different scenes and persons. And this is the great service of the vacation season. For those who live in great cities of brick and stone and hot pavements, it is, of course, a great boon to get into the country or on the sea. Nature is wholesome, even for those who have no ability to read her innermost secrets. For those who like to live near her for her own sake,—those who can hold inner communion with her,—she is more than wholesome: for such, she is restorer and inspirer. But, even saying this, we should still say that, for the majority of people, the great service of the vacation is the breaking up of the monotonous order of life, the adaptation of the faculties to other forms of exercise, and their recuperation by association with new scenes and persons.

To get more variety into life,—this is the secret of healthful recreation; and this is what the vacation season helps to supply. Rightly used, it gives opportunity for cultivating and gratifying pure tastes, for widening the range of thought and

feeling, for increasing companionship, for strengthening the faculties of observation, for studying nature by closer intimacy with her works, for securing quiet hours for reading or meditation to those who may need that change; and all this is to enrich life at its sources, and hence to give increase of power for meeting its duties. The necessity of doing over and over again the same kind of work that demands no fresh thought is deadening to the brain. The effect is as bad as when, by the opposite evil, the brain is driven from one perplexing problem to another, until it cannot cease from the work. Insanity, indeed, begins in the mind's persisting to play upon one thought-string until it is unable to play upon any other. In variety of mental exercise are mental sanity and health.

Many deeply absorbed business men, with the responsibilities and perplexities of immense financial interests resting upon them, are doubtless saved in their mental balance by their custom of breaking the severe mental strain through seasons of recreation. Abraham Lincoln was sometimes accused of heartlessness, because in the midst of the horrors of war he occasionally went to the theatre. The harsh and thoughtless accusation once came to his ears, and at a time when his great heart was well-nigh breaking for the woes of his country. A sad, hurt look is said to have come over his face at the thought of being so cruelly misunderstood, as he replied, "I believe my reason would give way, did I not once in a while thus try to forget the awful weight of responsibility that presses upon me." And thus it is that the burdens of life need to be alleviated by voluntarily turning the mind from them to other objects of feeling and thought,—not for the sake of throwing the burdens off or in any way evading them, but for invigorating the faculties better to bear them. And a good many people might learn a lesson here, even if they seldom have opportunity for a regular vacation or feel no occasion for it. They might be able to do their duties in their homes or in their business in larger and better fashion, if they would now and then relax the sense of work in recreation and widen the outlook of their lives.

WM. J. POTTER.

SPENCER, HARRISON, AND RELIGION.

I.

Of recent discussions that have invited us to temporary forgetfulness of the political excitements and financial troubles of the time, none has been carried on with so much intellectual seriousness as the discussion between Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison upon the "Future of Religion," and none has been regarded by the more thoughtful part of the community with profounder interest. Many have joined their strength to that of the principal antagonists upon either side, but only, in the main, to leave the principal antagonists conspicuously alone in their appeal to our sympathy or antipathy, as the case may be. Our admiration is secure for either champion. If Spencer is superior in wide intelligence and in the lucid ordering of his thought, Harrison is superior in the brilliancy and vigor of his style and in the warmth of his humanity. The great majority of Christian people will agree with Mr. Harrison that Mr. Spencer's doctrine is "the ghost of religion," but that his own is less ghostly in any appreciable degree they certainly will not allow. It is my purpose in these articles to present as briefly as may be the view of Mr. Spencer, then the opposing view of Mr. Harrison, and, finally, to mark in what degrees, respectively, they fail to

meet the obvious requirements of a religion that shall commend itself to our deepest thought and noblest aspiration, and be a natural continuation of the religious life of all the ages of the past.

That Mr. Spencer's theory of religion is a ghost theory is not to be denied. It by no means follows that his religion is, as Mr. Harrison affirms, the ghost of religion. His theory of religion is a ghost theory, because of its connection of religion in its more primitive forms with men's belief in ghosts. The development of religion proceeded *pari passu* with the development of this belief. The original ghosts were literally "such stuff as dreams are made of." Dreams argued for the primitive man another self; and death was apprehended but as a longer dream, in which the other self was "going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it." But the first ghosts and the average ghosts for a long time had no staying quality. Ceasing to be dreamed about, they ceased for the primitive imagination to exist. But, gradually, the ghost became a supernatural being, various circumstances contributing to differentiate his quality from that of the natural man. Men of superior force had a persistency in the realm of ghosts that the majority had not. They lived in song and story, and their sacrifices were not permitted soon to lapse into neglect. So they were thought of as enjoying a perpetual life, and their ranks and orders were assigned after the fashion of men's mortal state. The greater ghosts grew into gods; and from the multitude of gods there gradually emerged certain great gods, and great kings above all gods. With the progress of civilization, the divergence of the ghost gods from human mortals became more clearly marked. At first, they were conceived as literally eating and drinking the sacrifices offered them. At first tangible, visible, audible, they ceased in time from all of these conditions. Simultaneously and in pursuance of these changes, there were others in the mental and the moral attributes of the "gods many and lords many." They were conceived as more intelligent than men and as less grossly passionate. "A deity who in early times is represented as hardening men's hearts so that they may commit punishable acts, and as employing a lying spirit to deceive them, comes to be mostly thought of as an embodiment of virtues transcending the highest we can imagine."

It is Mr. Spencer's conviction that there is nothing in the present state of men's religious thought and feeling which is not fundamentally accounted for by his theory of religious evolution. Such being his retrospect, what is the prospect that as in a mirror he sees, or thinks he sees, reflected there, being not less convinced than Shakspeare was that

"There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophesy
With a near aim of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
And weak beginning lie intresured?"

What does he prophesy? That the religious consciousness of mankind will neither cease to be and leave an unfilled gap, nor cease from the tendency to change which has been the only unchanging thing about it in the past. It will persist—this consciousness; but, in order to persist, it will undergo much further change. The acme of religious evolution, from Mr. Spencer's point of view, is reached when all minor supernatural powers have been merged in one supernatural power, one omnipotent, omnipresent deity. Integration can no further go. If there is any further change, it must be of the nature of disintegration. And such a change is seen to be already taking place. The exact word for it furnished by Mr. Fiske is a very

long one,—deanthropomorphization, the elimination of the man-like from our conception of the deity. "I will call no being good," said John Stuart Mill, "who is not what I mean when I apply that word to my fellow-beings." But no sooner has the religious consciousness eliminated the attributes of deity that make it less than nobly human than it proceeds to emphasize the attributes ascribed to it, such as omnipotence and omnipresence, that make it more than human, and to eliminate what does not agree with these. As in completed man begins anew, as Browning says, a tendency to God, so in completed God begins anew a tendency to the non-human. The methods of our human intelligence and human will are seen to be incongruous with the nature of Great First Cause. The higher man-likeness of the deity follows the lower into disrepute with the more thoughtful and intelligent, until the religious consciousness transcends all the forms of distinct thought, and confesses only an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed.

And this is what Mr. Harrison calls the ghost of religion. The process of evolution begins with many ghosts and ends with one. And Mr. Spencer is himself aware that many will suggest that any belief, however purified, deriving from a primitive belief (that of the dreaming other-self) which is absolutely false, must be as false as that. Anticipating this objection, he meets it squarely with the affirmation that the primitive belief had in it a germ of truth; namely, "that the power which manifests itself in consciousness is but a differently conditioned form of the power which manifests itself beyond consciousness." Force as it exists outside our consciousness cannot be like what we know as force within our consciousness; but, as either can be generated by the other, they must be different forms of the same. The Power which manifests itself in the material universe is the same Power that we are conscious of in our own selves. But the validity of the religious consciousness at the climax of its evolution can be sustained in terms more apprehensible than these. There was no unreality in the primeval sense of life in the material universe. The ghostly explanation of the savage, if insufficient, was most natural and unavoidable. But it was not his explanation that he worshipped, it was the Seeming Life. And this same Seeming Life which has been interpreted in man-like terms, ever more high and pure and then subsequently in terms ever less man-like, is the same Life that is the God of scientific apprehension, and that thrills the hearts of the least theological of modern men with an ineffable sense of wonder, mystery, and awe. Wherefore, the religious consciousness of such modern men is not in the least discountenanced by any formal change through which the religious consciousness has passed. An element of reality has inhered in every step of evolution, and it is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

SUPERSTITION OR EPICUREANISM,—ARE THESE THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES?

All thoughtful people are agreed that superstition, in every form, ought, as far as possible, to be banished from human minds; but there is a wide difference of opinion as to what are the limits of superstition, and, consequently, as to what would be left, if it were removed. The pious Catholic, while classing all other religions but his own as superstitions, holds that there is no superstition in the dogmas of his Church, although these include creation, tri-unity, immaculate conception, and papal infallibility; the Protestant maintains that there is much superstition in Catholicism; the Uni-

tarian holds the same of all the forms of Protestantism that adhere to the godhead of Jesus of Nazareth; the Free Religionist asserts the same of Unitarianism; and, finally, the Secularist flings the same taunt at Free Religion. In spite of this difference of opinion, all these sects, with the exception of a portion of the Free Religionists, would, I think, agree that, if supernatural Christianity were rejected, there would be no alternative but Epicureanism, or, what is well-nigh equivalent, Secularism. In other words, nearly all persons who adopt any explicit and conscious attitude to Christianity are of opinion that, if it ceased to be regarded as, in some sense, a superhuman revelation, there would remain no solid ground for belief in the supersensuous, that all theories respecting the immateriality and eternity of the soul would be no better than poetic fancies, which, however attractive or soothing to distressed human nature, are in no way grounded upon knowledge. And even those exceptional persons who do not hold that Christian revelation furnishes the only ground for belief in the supersensuous, are often ready to confess that the supersensuous can never be the object of clear, incontrovertible knowledge, that it can be attained only by faith,—a faculty which they follow orthodox Catholics and Protestants in setting down as nobler and more sublime than knowledge. Taking the secularist's point of view, therefore, and calling all convictions not based upon knowledge superstitions, we may say generally that to the thought of the western world there seems to be no alternative to superstition but Epicureanism.

In saying this, I do not mean to be disrespectful either to superstition or to Epicureanism. By *superstition*, originally synonymous with *religion* (*religio*), I mean simply belief in the unseen not based on knowledge; by *Epicureanism*, I mean the simple rejection or ignoring of the unseen, the attempt to restrict all human interest to the seen and the temporal. The former is the religion of all the churches, from the Roman Catholic to the Unitarian; the latter, the religion of nearly all persons who stand outside of the churches, by whatever name they may call themselves,—positivists, Comtists, secularists, members of ethical societies, atheists, evolutionists, etc. My object is to show that what may be called the two great divisions of the modern world—the conservatives and the liberals, the orthodox and the heterodox—are agreed on two important points: (1) that the eternal and unseen is beyond the grasp of knowledge; and (2) that there is no alternative between faith and Epicureanism.

This agreement accounts for the two chief tendencies of religious thought at the present day,—the tendency, on the one hand, to rehabilitate and glorify faith, and, on the other, the tendency to show that life would be perfectly satisfactory and even sublime without those convictions which were once reached by faith. Both these tendencies I hold to be vain and unnecessary.

(1) They are vain, because we can never hope either to restore the unreasoning faith which alone is valuable, or to satisfy the human heart and head without a firm assurance of those things which were once, however imperfectly, grasped by faith. The former of these assertions will hardly be questioned by any one likely to read these words. The latter is equally true. For, disguise it as they may, secularists and Epicureans are not happy and contented in their creed; and no one can read their writings or listen to their talk without realizing this to be true. The leader of the French Comtists and the leader of the English Comtists both admitted this to me less than a year ago; and I believe every secularist will, in his best

moments, do the same. Such admissions are by no means discreditable to them, but the reverse, testifying to an amount of honesty and a power of sacrifice which are far from common. The unsatisfactoriness of the secular position makes it, I think, impossible that secularism, however named, can ever become the ethical or religious basis of any large number of people; and this conviction seems to be borne out by facts. Space forbids me to mention these, although I might easily appeal to the experience of the Comtists and others.

(2) They are unnecessary, and this is the point I wish to insist upon here. I wish to maintain that, besides superstition and Epicureanism, there is a third alternative, and that this alternative is knowledge. In other words, I wish to maintain that all those things which were once reached by instinct or faith may be now reached, in all essential respects, by clear knowledge of more than mathematical certainty. These things I understand to be the three facts of (1) freedom of will, (2) individual immortality, and (3) the existence of a moral order in the universe. These, it will be observed, are Kant's postulates of the pure reason, with the exception that for God is substituted moral order. For this substitution, I shall account further on. At present, I wish to assert two things: *first*, that the three facts above enumerated are not postulates at all, not mere exigencies of the reason, but real facts presented directly in consciousness; *second*, that, unless this were true, it would be impossible to find any adequate ground for an ethical system, not to speak of a religious one. This, I hold, has been sufficiently proved by the failure of all attempts ever made to construct a logical system of morals on Epicurean principles. Without freedom, moral action is meaningless; without individual immortality, it is illogical; without a moral order, it is impossible.

I do not purpose here to demonstrate the facts of freedom, immortality, and moral order: indeed, it would be impossible to do so within the limits of an article; but I wish to point out the causes which have led so many people to hold that they are not demonstrable, and the means which must be applied in order to render them self-evident. The intellectual eye is even more dependent than the physical eye upon what it brings with it.

The circumstances which have obscured the facts referred to are mainly two, both of which are philosophical, and even metaphysical, in their nature. One of them, moreover, is due to scholastic tradition, the other to the rejection of that tradition. The one I shall call "metaphysical monism," the other "irrational phenomenalism."

Metaphysical monism is the doctrine which holds that the whole universe is the expression of a single real principle, an *ens realissimum*, as the Schoolmen said. In one form or another, this doctrine pervaded almost the whole of ancient philosophy, and passed, from it through the medium of scholasticism, into modern thought, which, in well-nigh all its forms, is the unquestioning slave of monism. It is true that in ancient times a few thinkers of mark, such as Democritus and Empedocles, opposed the doctrine; and the same has been done in modern times by some few philosophers, such as Leibniz and Drossbach. But, on the whole, it may be said to have remained unassailed from the days of Thales to our own, when it exercises a sway more absolute than ever before. It matters little what form of philosophy the thinkers of our time profess: they are all equally monists, differing only in the name which they give to their one principle. Theists call it God; Hegelian idealists call it the Idea; positivists call it force or, rather, energy; Kantians call it Thing-by-itself; Fichteans call it *Ego*; Schelling-

ites call it the Absolute; Schopenhauer and Hartmann call it impersonal will or the unconscious; Spencer calls it the Unknowable, etc. Even thinkers who believe in the atomicity of matter conceive atoms to be evolved from the one, all-pervading force. In spite of this all but perfect unanimity among contemporary thinkers, the doctrine in question is absolutely without ground, either in thought or nature. There is not one fact known that would tend to prove that the world is the product or expression of a single real principle. Not only so, but many of the best established theories of modern science are absolutely incompatible with it; for example, the most popular of them all, evolution. We neither know nor can conceive any form of evolution without action and reaction,—in other words, without duality. Nothing evolves without an environment, and a single universal principle could have no environment. To talk of unity evolving into duality or plurality is to talk absolute nonsense. If we examine candidly the facts of nature and mind, we shall be driven to the conclusion that the phenomenal universe is the result of the interaction of an infinite multitude of *essentially* independent, *dynamically* interdependent entities, which we can in no way conceive except as spiritual beings, such as we recognize ourselves to be. As Drossbach somewhere puts it, "The universe is a community of gods," by which he means a community of eternal, self-existing entities, capable of infinite progress through interaction and involution. It is the traditional prejudice of metaphysical monism that has obscured this important fact.

Irrational phenomenalism is that wide-spread prejudice, maintained by several schools of thought, that our knowledge never can extend beyond phenomena to grasp substance. This position is both logically and psychologically false. Unless we know what substance is, we can never say whether it is attainable by thought or not: therefore, the assertion involves a logical contradiction. Again, so far are we from being unable to reach beyond phenomena to substance that we cannot be conscious of a single phenomenon without being conscious of substance. Say what you will, all appearances are transient relations, involving terms which are not themselves transient, but immanent; that is, substantial. And this is not a deduction from abstract principles, but a fact presented directly in consciousness, and expressed in every utterance of it. The disappearance of substance (which, under another aspect, is cause) from modern thought is due to the fact that Locke used the term *impression* to designate a fact of experience, and then, caught in the net of his own metaphor, virtually denied that what made the impression could be a fact of consciousness. This denial was explicitly developed by his successors, and particularly by Hume, from whom it passed, in one form, into German philosophy, in another, into English and French philosophy. In this way, it has become a standing prejudice of modern thought,—a prejudice from which only a few persons, mostly such as are acquainted with ancient and scholastic philosophy, are able to emancipate themselves. The result of this prejudice is that the universe has come to be regarded as a series of phenomena or relations which relate nothing, and that all notions of permanent individuals have been tabooed in modern thought. Naturally enough, if there are no permanent individuals, there is no personal immortality; and this conclusion is now so widely admitted as to be almost the characteristic mark of the "advanced thinker."

Metaphysical monism and irrational phenomenalism have together reduced science, morality, and religion to their present unsatisfactory condi-

tion. They have turned science into a mere classification of phenomena, without any underlying active principles; morality into a calculation of the probabilities of pleasure and pain; religion into a sentimental altruism, which, having no ground in reason, remains in every case a "matter of taste." They have made men believe that there is but one independent, self-subsistent being in the universe, of whom little or nothing can be known, while all the rest are mere phenomena, which rise, vanish, and give place to others more brilliant perhaps, but not more lasting.

Having thus spoken of the causes of the present pass to which thought and morals have been brought, we must now ask by what means an escape from this pass may be achieved? We may answer at once: by the rejection of all those systems of thought that are tinged and contaminated with metaphysical monism or irrational phenomenalism, and a resolute, persistent study of the beings that present themselves in consciousness. In this study, we shall not find many aids; but we shall find some, and that, too, where they might be least expected,—among the Schoolmen. In rejecting monism and phenomenalism, and returning to scholasticism, we shall have to admit that what we reject has had its use in destroying the superstition which in the Middle Age made the further progress of scholasticism impossible, and so enabling us, profiting by the labors of the Schoolmen, to carry the highest truths out of the region of faith into that of pure knowledge.

The philosophical cry at the present hour is, "Let us go back to Kant." I think we must go much farther back,—back beyond the breach in thought caused by Descartes and Locke, back to Thomas, Bonaventura, and Dante, men who, still clinging to faith with the deepest instinct of their souls, labored, with the sublime devotion that comes of faith, to pass from faith to knowledge, men who, in the words of Anselm, "believed that they might understand." Much of what these men wrote has, undoubtedly, lost all value and meaning for us; but, after all this has been subtracted, there still remains a considerable residue of accurate method, clear-cutting terminology, and even demonstrated saving truth, which will well repay any amount of labor we may spend upon their works. Much of the labor, moreover, that we might otherwise have been obliged to spend upon them, has been spared us by the writings of a man who resumed all their best thoughts and theories, correcting and supplementing them, as far as an honest Catholic might, from more modern sources,—Antonio Rosmini, who, in spite of his religion, was, I believe, the greatest thinker of modern times.

If we study the great Schoolmen in the light of this man's labors, and prescind from the dogmatism common to both, we shall arrive at a series of insights and clear principles upon which we may build up a system of philosophy capable of restoring, as knowledge, what modern thought has annulled as faith. By grasping the distinction drawn by the Schoolmen and sharpened by Rosmini between the ideal and the real, we shall readily come to see what dogma forbade them to see; namely, that though, on account of the nature of our knowledge, we must think the real as a unity, this unity is purely ideal, and the real itself is essentially manifold, and must be so. Moreover, by restoring the ideas of substance and cause, banished from thought by Locke's silly metaphor, to their proper place, we shall be able to recognize that every entity which is truly real is of the nature of spirit, immaterial, self-existent, and hence eternal, and that our own souls are such entities. At the same time, we shall further rec-

ognize that God, whom metaphysical monism has sometimes tried to make a person (or three persons) and always to make real, is in truth purely ideal, is simply the intrinsic moral order existing in all beings, as beings. In this way, we shall discover that the human soul is not only immortal, but also moral in its very essence and constitution. We shall learn that the true philosophy is not pantheism or atheism, but *panentheism*, that God is in every real being, the ideal law of its essence and action, the law which to follow is freedom and blessedness, which to transgress is slavery and woe, the law whose objectivity forms conscience and right.

The "religion of the future," then, will, I believe, be neither superstition nor Epicureanism, but something far higher than either and growing out of their conflict. In saying this, I do not wish to disparage superstition or Epicureanism. Both have done, and are still doing, good. But I do say that they are not capable of meeting the intellectual, moral, and religious needs of the future. Faith is plainly doomed to perish, and comfort, even though made universal, can never be the fruition of existence. Comfort and all other materialities, including even the body itself, are, after all, only means enabling the soul to come nearer and nearer to its goal, which is the realization in itself of perfect knowledge, perfect love, and perfect free activity; or, in one word, perfect holiness. For this reason, the law of all true human progress is the complete subordination of the material to the spiritual. When the highest material prosperity is attained, it may, unless it is subordinated to the spirit, become a curse and not a blessing: whereas, the true heroic spirit may reach the sublimest heights in the complete absence of almost every material comfort. Jesus of Nazareth, dying on the cross, is nearer the goal of humanity than Dives clad in fine linen and faring sumptuously every day; and this would be equally true, though every human being were a Dives.

The spiritual destitution of the world is to-day far deeper and more heart-rending than the material destitution, and calls for more immediate and more strenuous effort. Moreover, the latter can never disappear until the former is remedied; for material destitution is the result of selfishness, and selfishness is spiritual destitution. Selfishness is the devil, who wars against freedom, immortality, and moral order; against intellect, love, and beneficent energy. Cast out selfishness, and you will usher in the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, to which all other things are added.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

THE FIRST IDEA OF A COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.

In my paper on "Utopias," I believe I mentioned Defoe's *Essay on Projects*, published in 1697. One of his chapters is concerned with proposals for an Academy for Women. It seems to be the first account we have of such an institution. Defoe reflects unconsciously the low tone of morals of his time, and by the very way in which he half apologizes for his project of an academy proves how low an estimate of woman was prevalent in the age just preceding Smollett and Richardson.

"Some Severities of Discipline would be necessary," says Defoe, "in order to preserve the Reputation of the House."

"The Building shou'd be of Three plain Fronts, without any Jettings, or Bearing-Work, that the Eye might at a Glance see from one Coin to the other; the Gardens wall'd in the same Triangular Figure, with a large Moat, and but one Entrance. When thus every part of the Situation was contriv'd as well as might be for discovery and to

render *Intriguing* dangerous, I would have no Guards, no Eyes, no Spies set over the Ladies, but shall expect them to be try'd by the Principles of honour and strict Virtue." Every one entering the house should sign the rules or laws thereof, and no one should be compelled to remain in the institution if unwilling. No courting or sparking to be allowed. Any girl who wished to marry must leave the institution, and any other desiring to escape an importunate lover might enter the institution. "It would be cruelty to bar the sex of *Musick* and *Dancing*, because they are their Darlings. But besides this, they should be taught Languages, as particularly French and Italian; and I would venture the Injury of giving a Woman more Tongues than one."

"A woman of Sense and Manners," continues Defoe, "is the Finest and most Delicate Part of God's Creation; . . . her Society is the Emblem of sublimer Enjoyments; her person is Angelick, and her Conversation heavenly."

"Methinks Mankind for their own sakes, since say what we will of the Women, we all think fit one time or other to be concern'd with 'em, should take some care to breed them up to be *suitable* and *serviceable*, if they expected no such thing as *Delight* from 'em. . . . In short, *I would have Men take Women for Companions, and Educate them to be fit for it*. A Woman of Sense and Breeding will scorn as much to encroach upon the Prerogative of the Man, as a Man of Sense will scorn to oppress the *Weakness* of the Woman. But, if the Women's Souls were refin'd and improv'd by Teaching, that word would be lost; to say the *Weakness of the Sex* as to Judgment would be nonsense, for Ignorance and Folly would be no more to be found among Women than Men."

A quaint booklet that appeared one year before the preceding is John Bellers' *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry of All Useful Trades and Husbandry*, with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth, etc. The "Colledge of Industry" is a sort of Fourieristic Phalanstère, Co-operative Store, and Shaker Community, or "St. George's Guild," combined. It is "an epitome of the world for trades"; to contain a Library of Books, a "Physick-Garden," etc. "It should be called a Colledge rather than a Work-house, because a Name more grateful; and besides, all sorts of useful Learning may be taught there." The members are to wear uniforms, and there are to be distinct apartments for the men and the women. The concern is to be a sort of stock company, founded by the rich, who will make a profit from it, "part of which may be taken in Woolen and Linnen Cloth, Shooes, Stockings, etc."

There is a good, albeit unconscious, satire in Bellers' quiet answer to the supposed objection of an opponent, that the rich would have all the profit in the concern. "The Rich," he says, "have no other way of living but by the Labour of others," which reminds you of Ruskin's terrible arraignment of the English lords, calling them "strong-bodied paupers compelling their dole from the farmers." Bellers supposes that two hundred workers of all trades would be able to find necessities for three hundred, and what manufactured articles the others would make would be profit for the founders. There would be, in such an institution, a saving in shopkeepers, "lawsuites," bad debts, dear bargains, loss of time for want of work, beggars, house-room, firing, cooking, brewing, baking, etc., while clothing hurt in the making could be worn by the members of the "Colledge." All of which seems to be an anticipation of Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Brook Farm.

W. S. KENNEDY.

RESCUE OF THE GREELY PARTY.

Last week, the daily papers were enlivened and the whole civilized world electrified by a bit of sensational news which stirred the hearts of the people of two continents with one of those touches of nature which "make the whole world kin,"—news which brought tears of mingled gladness and sorrow to the eyes of strong men, and made the most thrilling pages of the last new novel seem tame by comparison even to romance-devouring boys and girls. We refer, of course, to the thrilling and pathetic account of the dramatic rescue of the Greely party, which had been for three years buried from the world in the regions of eternal snow and ice. The terrible suffering, the brave endurance, and the heroic daring of this party of twenty-five men, seventeen of whom laid down their lives in unflinching sacrifice in the cause of scientific research, has no parallel outside of the pages of romance; while no romance could so strongly appeal to our sympathies as this true recital, for, even in the most sensational fiction, the heroes in whom we are interested usually meet the reward of their heroism before the story ends. But seventeen of these heroes went to their horrible death by cold and slow starvation, without hope or reward, save the inward consciousness of what they had done and tried to do toward increasing the world's knowledge and furthering its progress. In the face of the spontaneous enthusiasm which the news of the rescue of the seven survivors (one of them since dead) of the fated Greely expedition must have aroused in the home and birthplace of its commander, we can easily understand and explain even the apparent inconsistency, noted and commented upon by one of our daily papers, of a confessed agnostic, such as the biographer of Voltaire, breaking out into the worshipful words of "Old Hundred" in joyful exultation; for we should, we imagine, under the circumstances be almost ready to sing "Praise God" or any other power which could or might make such a rescue possible, when twenty-four hours more of delay would have been fatal to those few brave men who were thus given a hope to see home and friends once more, even though, on "sober second thought," we might be disposed to wonder why the greater portion of the party, those as innocent, as self-sacrificing, as earnest, and probably as religious men, though possessing less physical hardihood than their surviving companions, should have been permitted to die unhelped and unaided in their misery, in spite of their probable prayers for such help and succor.

The old adage that "truth is stranger" (and, we may add, stronger) "than fiction" was never better exemplified than in the simply told story of the rescue of the survivors of the Greely arctic expedition. In illustration of this, we quote one paragraph from the report of an interview with the commander of the rescuing party: "On the 22d of June," he says, "while lying off Cape Sabine in Smith's Sound, . . . we sighted signals of distress at a distance of about two miles. It was about 9 o'clock P.M., and the sun shining brightly, but bitterly cold. After considerable trouble, we steamed down toward the pack ice upon which they were; and a horrible sight met our eyes. Lieut. Greely, Brainard, Fredericks, Long, Bierderbick, and Connell were crying like children, and hugging each other frantically. They seemed frantic with joy. I put off in a cutter, and after great difficulty reached them. They flew at me, and I first imagined they were crazy. They seized each of the men in the boat, hugged them, kissed their hands, and did everything one could imagine to show their joy and gratitude. All but poor Ellison: his feet and hands were so badly frozen that

he could not move. He lay still on the ground and moaned. The others of the party, also, were more or less frost-bitten; but they seemed to forget their sufferings." "Where were the remaining members of the expedition?" "Dead." And, as he said this, his eyes moistened. "Yes, dead, and of the most horrible of deaths,—starvation. The party on the ice looked as if they could not live five hours, they looked so feeble, notwithstanding the almost superhuman strength they had shown when we reached them. Slowly, one by one, seventeen of the party had yielded up their lives to the demon starvation."

S. A. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* is very direct in threatening the House of Lords. "If," it says, "the compromise on the franchise bill is rejected, the Liberals will not sheathe the sword until they exterminate a power which is incompatible with the government of modern England."

THE INDEX will give some attention to the series of lectures on Emerson, to be delivered in the Concord School of Philosophy, July 23-30, as well as to the discussion of Immortality, in which Mr. John Fiske, Dr. W. T. Harris, and Rev. A. P. Peabody will take part on July 31 and August 1.

TWO STATUES of Diderot are now on exhibition at the Salon in Paris. The centennial anniversary of his death will be commemorated in this country as well as in Europe on July 30. The day following, *The Index* will publish an essay on Diderot from the pen of Mr. F. M. Holland, showing that, although the great encyclopaedist had his faults, there was much in him which should be remembered and honored by every friend of freedom and progress.

THE *Boston Transcript*, referring to the protests of a Sabbath committee in New York against Sunday concerts in Central Park, remarks, "As usual, the objections proceed entirely from the inability of the members of the committee to appreciate the needs of humanity." The *Springfield Republican* thinks that "there are worse offences against the sanctity of the Lord's day than giving fresh air and rest and music to people too hard-worked and too poor to find them in any other way."

MR. OLIVER JOHNSON, in the *Christian Union*, denies that there were, so far as he knows, any "infidels" among the Garrisonian abolitionists. The word "infidel," if used in an offensive sense, is certainly not applicable to any of the men and women whom Mr. Johnson has nobly vindicated from unjust charges brought against them in the *Congregationalist*; but, as the word "infidel" is now commonly used, and as defined by the *Christian Union*, it just as fairly indicates the position of Henry C. Wright, Marius Robinson, and Parker Pillsbury, in regard to the Bible and Christianity, as it does that of Thomas Paine.

THE *Catholic Mirror* says: "If Jesus Christ is God, as is plainly taught in the Bible, and Mary is his mother, does it not plainly follow that she is the Mother of God? She is the connecting link in the hypostatic union of God and Man, without which wondrous fact the universe is an absolute riddle." This reminds us of what an Irish reporter for a Portland, Ore., paper remarked of a lecture we gave some years ago in that city: "The gentleman was very abstruse," he wrote; "but it struck us that his premises were hypothetical, while his conclusions were categorical." Of course, if Christ

is God and Mary is his mother, Mary is the Mother of God. That is certain. But, if Christ isn't God and Mary isn't his mother, then what? Why, then, she is not the mother of God; and in the hypostatic union, aforesaid, there is, so far as Mary is concerned, "a missing link." But how does the imaginary "hypostatic union of God and man" solve the problem of the universe? Our quotation from the *Mirror* is in reply to the "comical infidel reasoning" of the *Investigator*, which cannot understand how "the Supreme Being, the Eternal and Infinite Spirit, the Creator and the Sovereign of the universe, as He is called, had a Mother as human beings have."

SAYS Paul Bert, in the *Fortnightly Review*: "The Church has opposed the progress, not only of liberty of thought,—that is within her rôle,—but also of popular education, of which she seems to fear the consequences above everything. She has become aristocratic and royalist, identifying her cause with that of the ancient régime, and considering the prince who has just died at Frohsdorff as the sole legitimate authority. She has again and again threatened the existence of the Republic, and has taken part in the elections against all candidates who represent liberal and democratic ideas. The charges of her bishops and the sermons of her curés have too often been filled with the protestations against the state of society that has sprung from the French Revolution, with attacks upon the government which France has freely chosen, and with insults against the representatives of the country. And, moreover, in aid of its bellicose propensities, the Church employs, not only the powerful influence which it wields over the souls of its believers, but also that which the civil power has given, either by the concordat or subsequent laws, or by its weakness and concessions in practice."

GEN. STILES, of Chicago, a lawyer of ability and large experience, and a prominent free thinker, in a recent lecture before Mr. Salter's Society, said that in his opinion "the really criminal classes are those who make crime respectable," among whom he included some of "our generous leading citizens," who in a corporate capacity set themselves up to corrupt the common council, in order to procure valuable franchises which the people would not give them, had they the power to prevent it; men who own the property that is leased for gambling houses and other disreputable purposes; who seek to gain political advantages by manipulating false ballots; who decline to help overthrow a ring or even to serve as jurors, when they can avoid it; who unblushingly engage in wholesale adulteration of standard commodities, or in spurious manufacture of them. Out of the abundant proceeds of their dishonesty, they give now and then a few hundred dollars to some well-advertised object, and receive the flattery of the people upon whose ignorance they thrive. "The howling mob which tramples upon property and rights merely does in a blind and awkward way what these men do smoothly and in the odor of sanctity." There is evidently much truth in Gen. Stiles' statements.

A PARAGRAPH in *The Index*, a few weeks ago, stated that, in the last census in France, "75,000,000 [when the number should have been 7,500,000] persons registered themselves as having no religion against 29,000,000 Catholics." The error was so palpable a misprint that we did not deem it worth while to point it out in a subsequent number of the paper. But the *Catholic Review* dances with delight at the discovery of the error, and assumes that the statement was made deliberately in ignorance as to the actual population of France. "This," it says,

"is a startling statement, but not so very extraordinary for a Protestant paper; for they (*sic*) daily publish such untruthful statements regarding the Catholic Church." It is always gratifying to learn that we have been the cause or the occasion of harmless pleasure to others; and not even pride in the typographical correctness of this paper makes us regret in the least that a misprint in its columns has afforded an esteemed contemporary the novel experience and the rare luxury of discovering, combating, and refuting,—refuting statistically, argumentatively, and overwhelmingly, with a triumphant shout of victory, an error, a gigantic error, an error with "millions in it!"—an error, too, in "that organ of light, *The Index*, published in the City of Culture." It is true indeed that

"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

SAYS the *Commonwealth* of Bradlaugh: "No reason that is a reason has in any moment been shown why the duly elected member from Northampton is not entitled to his seat. The justice of the claim is so evident to common sense, and is so certain to be in time conceded, that the denial of it now seems futile in the extreme, except as a temporary obstacle. In England as in America there are classes in which the right of a religious non-Christian to take part in government is denied. Who doubts God, it is said, doubts man and virtue; and from such a subject only ill can come. Of course, to these self-elevated judges, non-participation in the affairs of State does not mean exemption from taxation, exception from the order of the laws, or the right of inaction in time of public danger. The bigots do not thus carefully and fairly carry out their arguments. And here, we contend, is just where the weakness of this reactionary opposition is shown. If we carefully inspect its pretensions, we see how prominently the senility appears, not alone in this controversy, but as unweariedly urged against the right of woman to suffrage and legal equality. . . . A law that can stand the oath of the liar can stand the oath of the honest man. Such cases as Bradlaugh's, so soon to be beyond possible repetition, are settled in the light of this succinct statement."

A DETACHMENT of the Salvation Army, under the command of Major Moore, who is the head of the army in this country, held a meeting at Salem, Mass., last week called the "devil fight." The hall was full. On the platform were eighteen or twenty soldiers, laddies and lassies, with thirty or forty other persons. Up and down the aisles marched a number of lassies in red jerseys, shouting "amen" and "glory hallelujah" in response to remarks from the platform. In the audience, boys were selling copies of the *War-Cry* and girls were selling salvation fans. Hymns were sung, drums were beaten, tambourines, which the women swung over their heads, were played, and the soldiers shouted, stamped, and clapped their hands in the wildest excitement. The major made a speech, in which he said, "Religion is like supper: it don't do any good, unless you get some of it." At one time, the report says, "the whole hall was a sea of waving handkerchiefs." After Scripture reading, story-telling, and singing, which were almost every moment interrupted by shouts of "amen," cheers, and laughter from the Salvationists, Major Moore introduced "Jumbo," a Dutchman, who weighs three hundred pounds, and the "Yorkshire relic," who is a two hundred and fifty pound Yorkshireman. These two fellows stepped forward, hugged each other, and proceeded to give their "testimony." Banjo music and singing followed. The performance was as unique as it was lively.

THE *Catholic Examiner* says that *The Index*, "with its customary ability, has rightly interpreted

the meaning of the *Examiner* regarding the necessity of religion in public schools. Nor has it failed to notice the truly American spirit of fair dealing which we wish at all times to characterize our intercourse with our fellow-citizens. The *Examiner* does not wish that the religion of the public schools of this country should be exclusively Catholic. As Americans, we thoroughly realize that we have no right, under the Constitution of our country, to call upon the same to aid us directly or indirectly in eradicating the Protestantism of Protestant children. This we acknowledge; though, of course, in the spiritual order, we admit of no equality between Catholicity and Protestantism. Were we examining this matter as Catholics and not as Americans, we would boldly maintain that before God no man has a right to be other than a Catholic, since we believe Catholicity is the only true religion." "In the words of *The Index*," continues our contemporary, "the *Examiner* 'would admit both Catholic and Protestant instruction in the schools.' It would also agree to the instruction of children in the Hebrew religion, and, in fact, for the religious instruction of all for whom an honest plea of conscience can be presented." "All parents support the schools: all parents should therefore have the consciences of their children equally respected. In this, however, we do not include infidels and unbelievers. The Constitution is to protect conscience, not infidelity; for the latter, not acknowledging any religion, cannot claim for its followers the protection of consciences which necessarily presuppose religion." The *Examiner* adds, "We hope *The Index* does not at this late day advocate a purely secular system of education." We are left to guess how much our contemporary includes under the term "religion," and what classes of thinkers it includes among "infidels and unbelievers," by what authority it would have decided whether a parent's or child's conscience should be protected, and how different religions could be taught in our schools consistently with their harmony and efficiency. What we "at this late day advocate" is a purely secular education in our public schools, leaving all the different theological doctrines to be taught outside of them at the expense of those who believe in the indoctrination of their children in theology.

For *The Index*.

THE UNPARDONABLE SIN.

Oh, terrible the preaching of the word
Was to the tender heart in days of old,
When Sinai's thunders echoed through the aisles,
And far amid the shadowed arches rolled,
"There is a sin can never be forgiven
In this world, neither in the world to come."
Beneath the crushing horror of the thought
Many a hopeless soul was stricken dumb.

Relaxed the palsying terror of the word,
Relaxed the stern belief of elder days,
No longer yawns the dreadful fiery pit,
No longer children tremble in amaze
To hear the ways of God to men proclaimed;
For Christian charity and love have grown,
And chains no longer hold the inquiring mind,
But with the rack and stake have haply flown.

But still the everlasting truth remains,
And must remain while God himself abides;
That as a man doth sow, so shall he reap,
That God will find him out where'er he hides;
That good still follows good, and evil ill,
In this world, all worlds: oh, when man begins
To know this truth, then must he plainly see
That all sins are unpardonable sins!

HATTIE TYNG GRISWOLD.

BOSTON, JULY 24. 1884.

Finally, for this topic here, who will believe, who can believe, that the dissolution of my organism is the utter annihilation of the entire universe? No one. Yet that is the event which constitutes my extinction; for I am the universe, which is only a congeries of my subjective states, modes of the *ego*, which is the only conceivable substance of the universe, the one great force everywhere and always working and generating and destroying the myriads of forms and motions which constitute the sensible kosmos, as well as all the supersensible experience and action of feeling, thought, and volition. All are known only as the modes of the one *ego*; and, if they live, I live also, and only because I am are they possible.

The Aggregated Monadism of Leibnitz.

The monadistic, not monistic, theory of Leibnitz is so thoroughly and purely an invention, so completely unbased on observed facts, that it is a wonder how it should ever have received so much attention, though it is probably quite as much founded on fact as some other noted systems,—as, for instance, those of Schelling and Hegel. But, when such systems are at many points inconsistent with themselves, the wonder grows that they could ever have been developed to such fulness in the author's mind as well as in the interest of the philosophic public. The theory of Leibnitz is irreconcilable with any rational or scientific doctrine of individual unity. According to it, the individual, so called, cannot even admit of a collective unity, such as belongs to an army or a nation, still less of the unity of a vital organism like an animal body. For these are supposed to be the effect of perpetual interaction of part on part and on environment, so that every part and the total result are thus continuously modified, exemplifying a law of cause and effect all through. All otherwise is it with the theory of Leibnitz; for his monads are all self-sufficient, so that no one can be affected by anything beyond itself, and each is a force only for its own conservation and development, never for operation on one another or others or on aught else. Hence, it is impossible for their aggregation to be ever anything more than so many contiguous unities, like grains of sand in a heap.

Then these monads are entirely unknown, and their infinitely multitudinous and minute existence and separate action are opposed to our conviction of individual unity, and equally opposed to the known action of our modalities in causal relation to each other. Again, Leibnitz makes time, space, matter, and motion to be, not any realities, but merely phenomena; but, if these are all nothing, what is there that is real? Our thoughts and volitions are no more real than matter and motion, which in the last analysis are subjective states; and these two classes of phenomena, the sensible and supersensible, are all we know or ever can know, and so the monads are nowhere found within the range of science or philosophy or common sense or imagination.

Still further, these monads are said to be without extension, and yet are perceived only under the relation of extension because of their aggregation; but how the inextended can be aggregated, collocated, and thence seem to be extended, he does not explain.

The difference between body and mind in this theory is quite pretty,—the difference between sleeping monads and waking monads, which, in the proper place, would be as good as some poetry; and to learn how these sleeping monads may be waked into life, and to see them rising, would be very interesting.

This theory has been much noticed because of the great name of its author, because of its appeal to a certain order of religious feeling, because of its alliance with a certain kind of atomistic rigid necessity in the world, and because of its inconsistent capability of being interpreted either in accord with dualism or modern materialism by judicious selections from its incoherent materials. Besides, it has the real merit of affirming that all things are intrinsic force, though they can affect only themselves.

Organic Atomism.

Far more simple as well as more familiar is the atomistic theory of material organicism, according to Epicurus, Lucretius, and modern evolution. This makes the *ego* to be an organic evolution from the world, changing as changes the action of the evolutionary forces, and perishing with the dissolution of the organism. The human *ego* is thus only an or-

ganic mode of the world-force. It is constituted by the building up of the material atoms in certain relations to each other into the living structure of the human body; and it continues to be the same only while they continue the same forms and relations, which is never a measurable moment at once, and it ends entirely when their organic existence and relations end. Emphatically is it true, according to this theory, as Dr. Maudsley unblushingly, and without any spasm of the larynx, observes, man "never continueth in one stay." This is thorough-paced atomism. Many who reject dualism and every form of spiritual monism are unwilling to avow this; and they prefer to obscure their position and mental action, and wrap themselves in the *nimbus* of agnosticism. This may be to their credit in some aspects, but not in any philosophical aspect. From the lofty position and faculty of immortal duration and ever-rising power and felicity as a supermaterial being down to the rank and condition of a mere congeries of animated material particles, an *ego* ever changing and speedily dissolving away, the descent is awful and horrid. Those who have cherished the loftier view, whose entire moral and spiritual life has wrought in accordance with it, who have found in it an elevating and ennobling enjoyment, cannot abandon it for this low-born theory without the very strongest of reasons. That man so far above himself should erect himself through all the ages, and with growing facility, delight, and grandeur as the human race makes progress, is immensely improbable. Beanstalks do not grow up into the clouds. Heaven-invading agencies must be of stronger and more enduring quality than material atoms organized into animal consciousness, which is constantly perishing as soon as it begins its existence. Such a thing as that could not survive the night for Jack to see it in the morning, much less climb up on it to the land of the giants. "The superior man" will demand something stronger as an argument against his best thought and life than the base and impotent negative that matter cannot prove spirit and immortal life. (Whoever thought it could?) And what else is our science of objective evolution than an utterance like this? It is the evolution of sensible phenomena and of all else from sensible phenomena; but it cannot prove to us that the power which underlies all these phenomena, and gives to them all their significance and importance,—that is, the subject which experiences them,—is not itself immortal. It has no right to speak on the question at all; and, but for its infinite impudence, it deserves to gnash its empty teeth forever.

Again, this ex-animal thinker of low development needs to be reminded of the principle that transient phenomena imply a perduring *ego* as their common subject, so that there is no such constant mutation and dissolution and generation of *egos* as atomism implies; and there is nothing in the world which philosophically implies any limit to the duration of the *ego*. If the principle of subjective continuity through all known and knowable phenomenal or modal changes fail, then intellectually (and morally, too)

"The pillared firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble."

Our opponents may retort that this may be so for aught they know, and they may be willing to believe it. But we are not, and deem we have good reason for believing better things.

It is but right to add that the doctrine we oppose is contrary to a series of facts which are attested as directly and experientially known by a vast number of witnesses in all lands and all ranks of society and all grades of intelligence and culture. Passing by the ghost stories of the olden time, which have helped to keep alive the belief of immortality in the world, the phenomena of modern Spiritualism demand at the very least a suspension of judgment concerning personal extinction by organic dissolution. That there is much fraud and folly connected with this movement there can be no doubt; but let who says there is nothing else beware, lest he be found belying the oracles of the superior gods. It is not according to the spirit of science to say that all men are knaves or fools, because some are such at times. It is not the spirit of science which refuses to analyze, discriminate, and classify, or which draws final conclusions from a few experiments which do not exhaust all the methods and conditions of testing and determining

the question under consideration, as Dr. Tyndall does in his singular paper on this subject. While I have given small attention to the phenomena in question, and have had little experience of them, I think there can be no reasonable doubt of the well-proved existence of very many facts which material atomists have not assimilated nor scarce attempted to explain in accordance with their philosophy; and, till they have done this satisfactorily, they have no right to affirm that these phenomena are not, as is claimed, indicative of supra-mundane presence and agency. Let these dogmatic scientists remember that their own utterances will be short-lived in proportion as they overlook or ignore any class of facts, and the honors of a broader as well as a profounder philosophy will be won and worn by others.

Dichotomy.

On the other hand, if evolution is required to disprove or assimilate the phenomena of Spiritualism in order to be complete, so there is a reciprocal duty binding on the philosophical advocates of Spiritualism to square themselves with evolution, which cannot well be disputed, though its special bearing on the final philosophy may be questioned. Therefore, evolution must be recognized; and all exposition must be in accordance with it. The external world is the source of our bodily organism. Of this there can be no doubt. And with this organism are vitally connected and identified an organic life and *ego*. Is this to be explained consistently with the supra-mundane theory of the existence of the individual as a self-conscious personality after the dissolution of the body?

The advocates of the theory may invent an answer which satisfies themselves. They may suppose or conjecture that, along with the grosser world of the commoner senses, there is also a finer world which the grosser senses cannot discern (except in very rare and exceptional conditions which change their nature and action), and that, out of this finer world, a finer form of the *ego* is developed, which is the real and superior *ego*; that the two *egos* and worlds coincide, so far as the inferior extends, and until what is called death; that the finer world and *ego* survive the dissolution of the grosser, and form then a more exclusively spiritual economy, with laws of action and enjoyment and expression peculiar to itself, so that it and its action can be made known to us in the gross body and world only partially under the limitations of certain poorly comprehended conditions.

Now let it be remembered that this finer *ego* and world, as co-existing along with the common world of our recognized senses, is only a conjecture. No such world is certainly known by us nor any such *ego* or evolving process. It may possibly be true, but that proves nothing. Yet, if the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism are true, and if this theory is necessary and sufficient for their explanation, it is worthy of respect. But, even in that case, it would be far better if Spiritualism could abut on a foundation of known fact, instead of resting on an ingenious theoretic invention, as it would thus become thoroughly philosophical. Here is indicated a defect which probably it can never supply.

This theory also involves a personal dualism which is irreconcilable with the unity of consciousness. It is analogous to the old dualistic doctrine of soul and body. But consciousness and science, physiological or psychological, know of no such a duality. These identify the body and the soul. As before observed, the soul identifies with itself all the motions, actions, pains, and pleasures of the body. Here, the unity is equally constant and perfect.

Further, if a part of what has ever been really *ego*, and especially so great and important a part as the body, can be separated from the *ego* and cease to be such, we may say the same of any other part and of all the parts: so that, after all, this *ego* is only an agglomeration of parts, whether organized or crystallized or merely juxtaposed. All definite conception of the *ego* thus vanishes, except as a varying aggregate of material atoms, of which we can never say it is so and so, because, before our sentence is uttered, it is, or may be, something else. We must steadily hold to an *ego* which is always one and the same through all changes, because this is demanded by experience, by logical consistency and definite conception.

Trichotomy.

All these difficulties are augmented and intensified in the theory of trichotomy. This makes the sensible

organism the outer rind and husk of the *ego*. Within this is its animating force, the soul; and then within this is the reason or spirit,—the principle of pure intelligence, which gives to body and soul the light and authority of general laws and imperative principles. Such a triple *ego* is utterly fanciful. At least, we know nothing of it in this life. We know these three great lines of phenomena, but we know them as modes of the one, indivisible, only known *ego*. This conception is clear, consistent, and ultimate and all-sufficing and the simplest possible, so that nothing more is admissible,—a simple *ego* of many modes, among which are body, soul, and spirit.

Perhaps, however, it ought to be observed that this trichotomy is incomplete. It omits the regnant element of our nature,—the will. Will is the executive faculty, and hence it is often considered as the prime element of personality. These four great classes of faculty are integral parts of our nature as now existing and known. But they are inseparable, and have not merely an organic unity, but a substantive unity, which may possibly change in form, but not in substance. Will implies intelligence and feeling, else it would have neither guide nor motive of its action; and it implies a body of some form and kind as a fasciculus of personal power. So intelligence implies feeling, else there could be no preference of one thought to another, and no comparison of better and best; and feeling may be of various forms, sensible or supersensible. These are one in many, simplicity of substance or force with modal variety.

Logical Difficulties of All Forms and Pluralism.

All the four theories of pluralism which we have criticised involve in common certain logical falsities which through all the ages have been the vampires of the philosophy of pluralistic egotism. Sir William Hamilton, in support of his philosophy of the Conditioned,—a species of agnosticism, which with the Kantians was pure criticism,—reduced these illogical dicta to fifteen, and gave them utterance; and they are all involved in all theories of philosophy except those which explain matter, time, space, motion, and all sensible phenomena as spiritual,—the modes or subjective states of a simple unitary being; and these pluralisms are adduced and adopted by Spencer in his *First Principles* in justification of agnosticism, which is a denial or doubt of the possibility of philosophy. Certainly, no theory can be perfect which does not dissipate these contradictions. As truth is always self-consistent, every theory which involves self-contradictions is somewhere false.

One of these contradictions, as given by Hamilton, is as follows: "A quantity, say a foot, has an infinity of parts. Any part of this quantity, say an inch, has also an infinity (of parts). But one infinity is not larger than another. Therefore, an inch is equal to a foot." In these days there are some who imagine that the doctrine of ultimate atoms removes this logical difficulty as far as it concerns matter, because these atoms are indivisible. But who knows that they are indivisible? No one. The assertion is merely an unverified and unverifiable theory. But, if it were a known fact, it would not remove the difficulty as a conception. It is not an actual and sensible but a theoretical divisibility about which philosophy is concerned. It is a logical necessity that no atom of matter, no quantity of space or time, considered as objective realities, can be so small but it can be conceived as divisible, so that the smallest possible may yet be smaller, and the smallest may have as many parts as the largest. By no physical or dynamic theory of atoms as ultimate actual units can we escape these contradictions. All objective non-egotism is therefore slain by these hair-fine cimeters.

The Ego of Philosophical Realism a Pure and Simple Unity.

Philosophical realism, which is absolute egotistical idealism, is invulnerable to all such weapons. This theory is the most simple and modest, because it affirms nothing but the phenomena of consciousness (including sense), and their necessary logical implications. It is therefore entirely self-consistent, as well as conformable to facts, necessary to the explanation of facts, and sufficient for that purpose.

It exemplifies, first, the unity of consciousness as of a personal individual perduring through all the many forms and conditions of experience, sensible or supersensible, organic or extra-organic or super-organic;

so that, all known things being the conscious modes of one subject, we demonstrate the unity of all at once as egotistic. As this has been previously expounded, it needs no further elucidation here.

There is a class of very striking and extraordinary phenomena which have commanded much attention in recent times, and which in such a connection cannot be wisely overlooked. They constitute what is supposed by some to indicate a change of personality. Persons have been known to forget all at once everything in their past life, so that they have had to begin their education afresh from the very bottom or thereabouts. Then, again, after a while they have suddenly changed back to their first state, and their old knowledge and feelings and habits and dispositions return. While these phenomena are very striking, they present no special logical or psychological problem any more than any other changes of feeling and disposition and lapses of memory. The individual person is the same, whatever be his modal variations, and whatever be the extent or limit of his knowledge or memory of them. That he does not know that he has done so or so alters not the fact. He is, notwithstanding everything, the very one who did it; and he has been the one, the very same, through all the changes which have intervened, however numerous or various or long-continued they may have been. We often forget what we did but a very few moments ago, and these minor but ever-recurring lapses of memory differ from the other only in degree; and as these involve the same principles, and give us no trouble on the score of identity, so neither should those. If in the morning I remember not the circumstances of my going to bed the night previous, which is quite too common with some men, that does not destroy the fact that I my very self did go to bed one way or another, and that I who thus lay down am the one who now gets up. The cases in question are simply unusual examples of modal changes in a perduring subject. For the identification of such persons we have to resort, in some degree, to the connection of circumstances. But, then, that is what we are all doing to some extent most of the time. That I am the one who did a certain act yesterday or last year, I prove to myself and others by the aid of circumstances, without which my memory would not serve me with due certainty.

But observe that I do not in any such case doubt that I am the same person I was yesterday or last year. I am only ignorant, or in doubt, concerning my own history. So, in all other cases, the only rational question is not whether any individual remains the same through successive modal changes, but only what are those changes, and how to determine that an individual now in a certain state or condition is the same individual as the one whom we knew in a very different state or condition, and this may be variously determined at different times; and whether determined or not, or how determined, does not affect the continuity of the individual himself. Every individual is a simple unity of force, a subject undergoing modal changes, the forms and extent of which we cannot anticipate. The plurality is in the modes or activities only; and, because everything is a force ever active, it is always necessarily changing its own modes.

If our personal and conscious existence continues after our bodily dissolution, which I doubt not, and if it is made known by many infallible proofs, as a large number of respectable people affirm, we have still only the same individual under different psychological or subjective states. The sloughing off of the body is only a change in the modes of the soul. It loses nothing, parts with nothing. The body is ever only a mode of mind; and, at death, the mind simply undergoes a change, so that the old bodily modes give place to other modes, just as daily one thought or experience gives place to another. We often say that at death the soul enters on another *state* of existence. That is a literal truth, the whole truth,—all that has occurred: only, the change is wholly subjective, not chiefly non-egotistic, as the vulgar suppose.

WHEN wrought up to a grand enthusiasm of soul over the records of the martyrs for truth's and right's sake, how easy does it seem for us to endure stoically even unto death for a good cause! But, alas! we step out into the street, and the very first pebble we stumble over elicits a cry of pain and a profane epithet.—*Anon.*

DEATH OF EMILY J. LEONARD.

Since the paragraph in another column, mentioning the death of Miss Emily J. Leonard, was written, we have received a letter from Meriden, Conn., from which we give an extract: "Rev. Dr. Chapin, who conducted the funeral, is President of the Scientific Association of Meriden, of which Miss Leonard had been a member from its commencement, and, as he truly said, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, in it. Dr. Chapin is pastor of the Universalist Church here; and he spoke of her attendance on his ministry some years ago and her non-attendance later, owing to the steady divergence of their religious ideas, of which they said but little to each other. He attributed the change to the influence of her studies in nature."

The following paragraphs, clipped from a Meriden paper, have come to us without the name of the journal:—

"Miss Emily J. Leonard died at nine o'clock this morning at the residence of her brother, Eugene Leonard, in East Meriden. The cause of death was heart disease, from which she has suffered about four weeks, having been taken ill suddenly, one afternoon, while visiting at Rev. Mr. Pettee's. Miss Leonard was very well known in this city, and the news of her death will be received with sincere regret. She was born in East Meriden, and was about forty-six years old. Her early education was obtained in the Meriden school. Her father was quite a prominent abolitionist; but he died about twenty-five years ago, and her mother is still living. She was largely self-educated, and had a splendid classical education, having fitted a number of boys for college, and was very much interested in the natural sciences. Her reputation as a botanist was equal to that of any naturalist in the country. She has written several interesting articles on the flora of Connecticut. She was also very much interested in woman's work, and had been connected with several societies for the advancement of the sex. She had held a number of offices in these organizations, and was a member of the National Liberal League, and also of the Woman's Temperance Association. She was a frequent contributor to *The Index* of Boston and to the *Woman's Journal*; and she was quite an authority on political economy, having written articles on this subject. Being an excellent French, German, and Italian scholar, she has made many translations from those languages, among which was Blanqui's *Political Economy* from French into English, used as a text book in colleges, Lalor's *Encyclopedia of Political Economy* from English into French, and a number of other books. Her essays, which have been read before the Meriden Scientific Association, were noted for originality and research.

"Miss Leonard began life as a teacher in the public schools of Meriden, having first taught in the Prattsville district; and for several years she had a private school here, where boys and girls were fitted for college. She was very successful as a teacher; but, of late years, she has devoted herself to scientific and literary pursuits."

"The funeral services over Miss Emily Leonard, who died Wednesday, after a four weeks' illness, took place this afternoon at three o'clock, at the residence of her mother in East Meriden. There was a large attendance of friends, including many people identified with scientific pursuits. Rev. Dr. Chapin conducted the services, and was assisted by Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, of Hartford, President of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Connecticut. Dr. Chapin spoke of the deceased, and praised her work in the field of science. Her efforts were very successful, and her name was honored in scientific circles throughout the country. Her whole life was one of usefulness and activity, and her loss will be a severe one to the cause of science. Mrs. Hooker's remarks were principally devoted to Miss Leonard's work for woman. She was always in sympathy with movements calculated to better the condition of her sex. Mrs. Hooker's remarks were especially interesting from her intimate relations with Miss Leonard. There were many beautiful floral offerings, gifts of the Scientific Association. The ladies of the Association sent several wreaths of wild flowers, typical of the work to which Miss Leonard's life was principally devoted. The bearers were Dr. C. H. S. Davis, Robert Bowman, N. F. Griswold, and F. J. Seldensticker. The remains were buried in the East Cemetery."

A TOUCHING TRIBUTE.

The following touching address was read by George F. Westover, a well-known Chicago lawyer, at the funeral of his fourteen-year-old niece, Dida Westover, who died at the residence of her uncle, E. G. Comstock, of this city, and was buried at Oconomowoc last Monday. The little girl, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Carlos S. Westover, formerly resided in this city, but moved to Graham County, Kan., seven years ago, was brought to this city last week to receive medical treatment for her failing eyesight; and, although in perfect health on her arrival here, she died within forty-eight hours of a brain trouble that baffled the skill of the best physicians in the city. At her grave, her uncle read the following eloquent tribute to her memory: "It requires a lofty heroism successfully to meet the intricate struggles of life; but, in death, there is but one solace: it is human love. The brave man and the brave woman grow stronger and braver, when, unaided and alone, they contend with the adversities of life; but, when the end comes, they lean upon the tearful sympathy of those who are dear. To the man, the woman, or the child upon the dying-bed, and to the grief-breaking hearts that overflow with a new tenderness toward the sufferer, there is really but one present ministering God. That God is Love. The little one who has just left us lived a life of devotion to that one spirit,—the embodiment of all that is most holy and most pure,—the spirit of love. 'She knew nothing of false superstitions.' The horrors of a faith that sends grand men and sweetest women to eternal misery for the color of their opinions never for a moment blighted her fair young soul. Free from hatred, free from bigotry, free from superstition, free from sin, her angel spirit has gone to the eternal source, spotless as the infinity of love from whence it came. Since her infant days, this dear child has lived in the far frontier, on the borders of the great American Desert, with no surroundings but the wild, illimitable prairies. How meet and how pleasing that, as the peaceful end drew nigh and before darkness covered her fading vision, she was permitted to gaze upon the mighty waters, to behold the brilliant sights of the great cities, to listen to the immortal strains of grand orchestral music, and at last to lie down when the birds were singing, in a land of flowers, and to mingle her dying spirit with the breath of roses. Emulating the spirit of love and tenderness of her our departed treasure, we will now return the sweetasket to the dust of earth; but the jewel that gave it life and beauty shall ever be a star in the heavens along our journey, teaching us anew the unspeakable value of loving kindness, and assuring us of the matchless joy of a soul unburdened by superstition and unknown to sin."—*Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNWELCOME TITLES.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Is there no means by which private students who happen to live in university towns can be saved from the title of Professor, which they must share not only with their more learned neighbors, but with pugilists and bootblacks? I saw myself mentioned in a Philadelphia newspaper lately as Professor Higinson (sic); and my neighbor Mr. John Fiske—who never, to my knowledge, was a professor anywhere, though he was for a time assistant librarian at Harvard College—has it fixed upon him apparently for life; and is now also announced, I observe, as LL.D. I do not carry my hostility so far as Dr. William Everett, who declines, I believe, to speak at public meetings, if announced as Professor; but, when those who are entitled to this prefix are generally waiving it and preparing to be called Doctor, it should certainly not be transferred to innocent bystanders.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

GENERAL LOGAN AS A CHURCH MEMBER.—The general's temperament is not very devout; but he has gone through the forms of church membership, and in a peculiar way. Everybody has heard how he joined the church by telegraph. It was in 1869, when he was running for Congress. There is a strong religious sentiment in Southern Illinois, and the prevailing creed is Methodism. During that campaign, it was urged as an objection against Logan that he was

not "a professor," and had never joined the church. He was in Washington at the time; and, when he learned that the fact was strongly influential against him, he telegraphed the pastor of the church at his home in Carbondale to place his name on the roll of membership, and he would be baptized and subscribe to the confession of faith as soon as he got home. And he came very near being excommunicated for profanity. He is an excessively profane man, as everybody who associates with him knows, and violates the commandments in this particular every few minutes. After leaving Carbondale for Chicago, he and his wife took letters to the Trinity Methodist Church of the latter city, and were formally received. About four years ago, a class leader in that church remonstrated with Logan about his habitual use of profane language, and was rudely rebuffed. He wrote out a series of charges and specifications, citing all of the general's intimate acquaintances as witnesses, and filed them with the pastor of the church for presentation at the next society meeting. The pastor at that time was Rev. Mr. Crafts, an author of several well-known religious treatises, who has since gone over to the Congregationalists, and is now presiding over a parish in the northern portion of New York City, near Harlem. The matter was kept very quiet, but in some way came to the ears of Mrs. Logan, who, very much distressed, sought Dr. Arthur Edwards, the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, and one of the most influential men in Chicago. Edwards saw at once that the prosecution would take a political bearing, and would cause a rupture in the church, so he succeeded in getting hold of the documents and induced the author of the charges formally to withdraw them. Edwards is said to have this important historical manuscript now. Logan was badly frightened, and, being admonished, promised to quit swearing, and did so for a while.—*Chicago Cor. Boston Sunday Herald.*

BOOK NOTICES.

THE FATE OF MANSFIELD HUMPHREYS: With the Episode of Mr. Washington Adams in England, and an Apology. By Richard Grant White. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.25.

Most readers in perusing this book will find themselves in doubt as to whom the "Apology," followed by so portentous a dash, is really due,—whether to the English or American reader, both of whom will find things in this book to rouse their ire as well as to flatter their national vanity. Mr. White has won for himself an honorable place in American literature, both as a critic and a writer of good English; but we question whether this venture of his into the region of romance will enhance the lustre of his literary reputation. In the first place, the international motif of his story is already worn threadbare by Howells, James, Mrs. Burnett, Crawford, and others: in the second place, to the readers conversant with the people of both countries (and in these days of international travel there are few who are not so conversant), neither the American Mansfield Humphreys nor the English Lord Toppingham will be likely to be accepted as unexaggerated, unvarnished specimen representatives of their respective countries. We should be loath to believe, and regret that this book of Mr. White's may possibly give some English people the impression, that a gentleman of the highest culture and belonging to the most select society in America could be capable of perpetrating such a vulgar practical joke and piece of buffoonery as the so-called "Episode of Mr. Washington Adams"; while we very much doubt the possibility of a cultured and well-bred English nobleman's forgiveness of any such breach of good manners and good taste. In spite of the somewhat florid and effusive dedication of this work to an English countess, for whom the author apparently has much reverential admiration, we cannot resist the impression that it is as unfair and unjust in its portrayal of the "upper classes" of English society as it is to the masses in America; and even the narrow and conservative clique, moving in a confined geographical orbit, which Mr. White dignifies as the cultured class *par excellence* in this country, will not consider itself particularly benefited or honored by Mr. White's condescending exhibition of its good points, as if he were a society jockey desirous of making a good trade, and so putting his stock through its best paces in order to impress the doubtful mind of the bystander with its highest possible value, while the very intensity of his effort be-

trays to the critical eye his concealed doubt as to his own representations. For the rest, in spite of a somewhat patchwork effect, the story is charmingly told, is rather unique in some of its incidents, and is very readable, as all that Mr. White writes is, and is interesting and indeed thought-inspiring from beginning to end.

S. A. U.

TRAVELS IN FAITH FROM TRADITION TO REASON. By Robert C. Adams. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West 23d Street. pp. 235. Price \$1.25.

This handsome volume contains a narrative of the author's transition from the most rigid evangelical Christianity to the most radical liberal thought of to-day. The account derives added interest from the fact that the author is the son of one of New England's most celebrated orthodox divines, and was carefully reared in the faith of his father, whom he tenderly loved, and of whom he now speaks only with affection and reverence. Captain Adams is a man who has travelled extensively, and had large experience in life; and the part of this experience related is one of interest to the student of religion. The chapters that follow the one from which the book takes its title are full of thought, vigorously and courageously expressed, and indicate that the writer has read widely, and given careful and conscientious consideration to the subjects treated. The fact that the work is composed of papers reprinted from *The Index* will lead many who admire Captain Adams as a plain, forcible writer on liberal subjects to obtain them in this permanent form.

MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD. By M. J. Savage. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin St. pp. 211. Price \$1.00.

This is a volume of serious published substantially as they were delivered; and, although as the author says in his preface, "Many things are necessarily left incomplete, many positions are left apparently unguarded and open to easy attack," they are full of thought and suggestion, presented in a way well adapted to interest and instruct the common reader. The titles of the discourses are: "The Man," "The Woman," "The Evolution of Marriage," "Marriage To-day," "The Child," "The Home," "Society," "Celibacy," "Divorce," "Woman's Sphere," "Careers for Our Daughters," "The Transfiguration of Humanity."

In the *Popular Science Monthly* for August appear two striking articles on the future of religion. The first, "The Ghost of Religion," is by Frederic Harrison, and is a criticism of Herbert Spencer's "Unknownable"; and the second, "Retrogressive Religion," is Mr. Spencer's reply. The number contains other interesting papers, among which are: Grant Allen's "Hickory Nuts and Butternuts"; Dr. C. C. Abbott's "Some Rambles of a Naturalist"; M. J. Fischer's "My Monkeys"; Dr. Beale's "The World's Geysers Regions"; L. J. Vance's "Scientific Philosophy"; Frederic G. Mather's "Salt Deposits of Western New York"; and "The Morality of Happiness," by Thomas Foster. The editor discusses the relations of "Science and the Temperance Reform."

THE *North American Review* for August opens with an article by Justice James V. Campbell, on "The Encroachments of Capital"; Richard A. Proctor treats of "The Origin of Comets"; John F. Hume has an article by the startling title, "Are We a Nation of Rascals?" Judge Edward C. Loring writes on "Drift toward Centralization"; Julian Hawthorne on "The American Element in Fiction"; and Neal Dow and Dr. Dio Lewis on "Prohibition and Persuasion."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE wide-spread popular agitation in England in consequence of the action of the Lords in defeating the franchise bill is taking the form of an attack on their veto power, and threatens to destroy their political power. At Manchester, where forty thousand persons attended the liberal demonstration on the 27th, John Bright denounced the House of Lords as an arrogant and unpatriotic oligarchy, at enmity with the higher interests of the nation. His speech was greeted with loud and prolonged cheering. There seems to be great confidence on the Liberal side. The Cabinet, as a whole, would probably prefer to carry the franchise bill without disturbing the Constitution, although Mr. Chamberlain is outspoken in advocating abolition.

Mrs. E. D. CHENEY, in her lecture on Emerson at Concord last Monday, said: "One of the richest treasures he found in Boston was the old sailor-preacher, Father Taylor. His *bon-mot* in regard to Emerson is here given as I had it from the lips of Gov. Andrew, to whom Father Taylor had said it. It was this: 'Mr. Emerson is one of the sweetest creatures God ever made, but there is a screw loose somewhere in the machinery; yet I cannot tell where it is, for I never heard it jar. He must go to heaven, when he dies; for, if he went to hell, the devil would not know what to do with him. But still he knows no more of the religion of the New Testament than Balaam's ass did of the principles of the Hebrew grammar.' Father Taylor seems to intimate that Emerson could enter heaven, though he did not go through the portals of Christianity."

THE second series of lectures for young people at the Old South Meeting-house are announced as follows: "Sir Henry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by Edward Everett Hale, Jr., July 30; "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by Albert B. Hart, Ph.D., August 6;

"The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by Rev. Samuel J. Barrows, August 13; "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for the Charter," by Prof. Marshall S. Snow, August 20; "Samuel Adams, and the Beginning of the Revolution," by Prof. James K. Hosmer, August 27; "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by Charles W. Slack, September 30; "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by Charles C. Coffin, September 10; "John A. Andrew, the Great War Governor," by Col. T. W. Higginson, September 17. The first six lectures will begin at 3 P.M., the last two at 4.30 P.M. Tickets will be sent free to all young persons addressing Managers of Old South Lectures, Old South Meeting-house, Boston.

A WRITER in the *Indian Messenger* (Calcutta), on the Theosophical Society, remarks: "The whole culture of the Society is professed by its adherents to be based upon the teachings of some *mahatmas* or supposed sages, lurking somewhere in Thibet. But how are their wishes made known? Not to every individual member direct, but only to some advanced *chelas*,—to Col. Olcott, Madame Blavatsky, and a few others. Where is the proof that the communications that these ladies and gentlemen divulge are actual communications from the supposed *mahatmas*? Of course, their honesty is the only proof. Trusting in them, one must accept their words; and, as for the individual conscience of ordinary members, they must implicitly believe what these advanced *chelas* declare to be the truth. Is not this, I ask, creating a priesthood of the worst type? As a sincere hater of all priestcraft and an earnest advocate of the majesty of human conscience, I am deadly opposed to such doctrines."

A SOMEWHAT notable light in reform and American literature has gone out during the past week. We allude to the death of Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, who died at her home near Pittsburg, Pa., July 22, 1884, at the age of sixty-nine. She was an earnest abolitionist and a reformer in every department of morals. She was one of the earliest women editors, publishing in 1848 the Pittsburg *Saturday Visitor*. She made many sacrifices in the cause of liberty, and her strength as a writer and speaker was generally acknowledged. She was among the earliest advocates of the rights of her sex to the ballot. The Springfield *Republican* pays her the following high compliment: "Nothing in the life of Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, who died Tuesday, was more notable than her instant revolt from an injustice which had a general application to public policy. A visit to the Southern States made her an abolitionist as early as 1838. The attempt of her husband to make her services during her mother's last illness a charge upon the estate turned Mrs. Swisshelm into a woman's rights advocate. As such, she found her way into an editor's chair, got a recognition in the reporters' gallery at Washington, and was the first woman to be employed as a regular correspondent to a metropolitan daily. The red light on the rear of all passenger trains is said to be the result of Mrs. Swisshelm's efforts to secure safer travelling

facilities, and during the war she made a new name for herself by hospital work."

SAYS the London correspondent of the *Catholic Review*: "It must be allowed that the present trial in the Queen's Bench, in which Mr. Bradlaugh stands up singly against the whole force of the government to defend himself for having voted in Parliament, is not without a picturesque interest. The court was yesterday crowded to hear and to see the most irrepressible of modern combatants for a 'seat.' Mr. Bradlaugh looked hopefully at his case. Attorney-generals and solicitor-generals are nothing to him, for he has met them and even beaten them before. He cross-examines a witness with as much coolness and as much tact as if he had been bred up to the law. It was very amusing to hear the Attorney-general confess that he was not quite sure whether Mr. Bradlaugh was on his trial, for it was not quite certain whether there was any offence or any offender. It is certainly time that this unseemly subject were put an end to. To ordinary persons, it appears easy for Parliament to pronounce Mr. Bradlaugh not to be eligible, and to require his constituents to elect somebody else. A perpetual quarrel between the dignity of Parliament and the mere presumption of a few hundred electors is not an edifying episode in English history."

TO THE wrong done Bradlaugh and those who have repeatedly elected him to represent them in the Commons and to the outrage on justice involved in the persistent refusal to permit the junior member from Northampton to take the seat that rightly belongs to him, the *Review* writer, in his hatred of free thought, is quite indifferent. He would have the quarrel between "the dignity of Parliament" and the "mere presumption of a few hundred electors" summarily stopped by a Parliamentary declaration that Mr. Bradlaugh is ineligible, because he frankly admits his ignorance respecting matters of which he knows nothing, but of which, we may add, his ignorance is not greater than that of the Catholic Church, with all its arrogant assumption of knowledge and its bloody record of persecution for opinion's sake. What rights would the free thinkers of England have, if Catholicism were dominant there? Fortunately, the old Church, which has for centuries stubbornly opposed freedom and reform, and imprisoned and murdered their advocates, is losing its hold on the masses. Although it still has strength which may last many years and, in some parts of the world, even centuries, yet its power is fast being curbed in the more enlightened Catholic countries. Temporary reactions like that which occurred recently in Belgium are of course liable to occur in any of the old Catholic countries; but the railroad, the telegraph, the daily paper, and a thousand other secular agencies, are fast undermining the old faith, and the ecclesiastics, from the petty priest up to the pope, are alarmed at the hostility of thousands and the indifference of yet larger numbers to the claims and authority of the Church in which their fathers were faithful devotees.

AN OFF-WEEK: MONTREAL, QUEBEC, AND THE SAGUENAY.

Our subject has much the sound of an advertisement in an excursion guide-book; but it is, at least, a gratuitous piece of advertising. To see the Saguenay was our object, and two interesting cities came in the way.

Montreal is, comparatively, a modern city. Though it has a few ancient features remaining,—here and there some old specimens of architecture and old customs,—the city and its business are, generally, of recent enterprise and growth. Except for hearing the French language spoken on all sides, one might easily imagine himself in a city of the United States. Canada has been an English colony for more than a hundred years. English has been the official language of the government. The leading newspapers are in English. Many of the inhabitants are English. And the close proximity to the United States has led to close and constant social and business intercourse with the English-speaking people of the latter country. And yet the great bulk of the people of Canada still speak French and know no other language. In the principal cities, of course, both French and English are spoken. But the country people, as a rule, know only French. It is not uncommon to find even intelligent business men in the cities who have never learned English. The captains of the two large steamers in which we journeyed on the St. Lawrence could only talk in French; and, even at this season of large travel from the States, French was the prevailing language of our fellow-passengers. This persistence of the French language, in spite of the strong influences against it, is an illustration of the slowness with which social evolutions go on among the masses of people.

Both Montreal and Quebec illustrate, too, the persistence of old religious doctrines and customs. In the United States, we hear much of religious progress. We see it all about us in the Northern and Western States. A new Orthodoxy is coming. But, in Canada, the signs of progress in the churches are scanty. Montreal, especially, is a city of churches. Though the Catholics prevail in the population, the Protestants vie with them in the number and cost of their church edifices. There seems to be a church in nearly every street. And, with one exception (the Unitarian), these Protestant churches are of evangelical belief, the strongest of them being Presbyterian. At McGill University, the geological department has a Biblical inscription over the door. In the streets and on public conveyances, the Catholic priests are everywhere conspicuous throughout this region. As in the Catholic countries of Europe, they wear in public their official robes and seem to glory in them. In general, they look robust, sleek, well-fed,—especially the older ones. Not many of them, apparently, in these days do penance by tormenting the flesh. On our Saguenay steamer, a company of six or seven of them, who came on board at one of the landings, were the jolliest party on the boat. They were hilarious with jokes and laughter. After a time, they every one took a pipe from their pockets and went to smoking, emitting an incense not of the most fragrant nature. One of the company was a bishop. He led both the hilarity and the smoking. The others did not appear to be awed by his presence, after going through their obeisant ceremony of dropping upon one knee and kissing his hand at the first meeting. It looked odd to see other passengers of the boat who spoke with him—well-dressed gentlemen and shrewd business men, including the captain and steward—greeting him in

this worshipful way. It was a little thing; but it told the story of an old and powerful religious faith still existing among the people of this country.

On this same boat, we made the acquaintance of a young man who was our neighbor at table, and who in the course of conversation revealed his Catholic faith. He is clerk in a business house in Montreal, is about twenty-one years of age, and has graduated from one of the Canadian Jesuit colleges. His father, an uncle, and an older brother are all physicians, and all Catholics, as are all his relatives. This young man in character is not unlike the average young men of our time who are of good family and position. He is keen, bright, has evidently the promise of good business abilities, is fond of sports and society, and well posted in all that similar young men are most interested in. Yet, in religion, he is a mere child. He has never had a doubt or a question of the infallibility of the Catholic Church. He has never seen the inside of any kind of Protestant church. He believes that the Catholic religion was given by the Almighty, but that the Protestant religion had only a corrupt, bad man—Luther—for its originator. He believes that miracles are still performed by Catholics. He has seen persons who have been marvellously cured of various diseases at the now famous shrine of St. Anne, twenty miles below Quebec, such diseased persons, as he alleges, having merely kissed the finger bone of the saint, which is there said to be preserved as a holy relic. And he affirms that, at the Jesuit college where he studied, he has frequently seen rain produced in a dry time by a procession of devotees being formed and going to the church to pray for it. And this, we may presume, is a fair sample of an educated Catholic young man, with whom traditions and sentiment are stronger than the faculty of thought. Surely, there is much educating work still to be done before dogmatism and superstition will give way to rational thinking.

In the midst of this kind of religious belief and teaching there is at Montreal a Free-thought Club of recent origin, which is already doing a good leavening work for Liberalism. Its members are persons of intelligence and character, who cannot fail to make their cause respected. They have a small but well-chosen library, a reading-room, conversation-room, and lecture-room. The first three are open every day throughout the year; and, in the last, lectures are given on Sunday for most of the year. We had the pleasure of meeting and addressing in an informal way such of the members of the club as could be got together at short notice on a summer Sunday. So long as this club is conducted in its present judicious manner, it must have a quiet pervasive influence for good in the community.

In Quebec, it may be doubted if the word *Liberalism* has ever been heard. It is a city of unique interests. Among American cities, it is unique in its situation, in its romantic history, in the architecture of its buildings, in its streets and vehicles, in the customs of its people. It is still a walled and citadel-guarded town. To come to Quebec from the United States is really to go abroad. It is to go also into past centuries. The town still preserves features of its old French origin as well as of the graft of English life upon it. It is in its structure a combination of French and English fashions of the eighteenth century. In looking out over the city from the room in which we are writing this article, we experience something of the same sensation in writing here for such a paper as *The Index* as we once had in reading a freshly received copy of Garrison's *Liberator* in the

Vatican at Rome. It is pleasant, however, for once to sleep under the protection of a walled city,—especially as the wall now admits free entrance and exit, and never closes its gates, and hasn't even any gates to close, and so only suggests that the real protection to-day comes from those more peaceful adjustments of social rights which have taken the place of the old barbarian struggles for supremacy. And perhaps Quebec's wall, in which the gates have become free archways, may symbolize the greater change that will come to it ere long, when rational thought shall break through the cordon of its religious superstitions.

Of the Saguenay we are going to attempt no description. Had we put faith in the advertisements, that "the scenery of the lower St. Lawrence, from Quebec to the mouth of the Saguenay, is as charming as the river Rhine," and that that of the Saguenay itself is "unequaled in sublimity," we should have been inevitably disappointed. But we have learned to take any piece of natural scenery for what it has in itself, without making any invidious comparisons with something elsewhere. There are not two Rhines and there are not two Saguenays. Nature is not so poor an artist that she is obliged to copy her own works. Her pictures are all originals, and she has no chromos. And, on this principle, we have found the forty-eight hours' journey up the Saguenay and back to Quebec full of delight. The scenery is sublime, and it is charming. In spite of the cold and the rain (partly by the help of the latter), nature has lavished a whole gallery of paintings upon us, both wild and picturesque. Mounts Eternity and Trinity, nearly two thousand feet high and rising precipitately side by side from the very river, are especially noble peaks. The Catholics have sacrilegiously defaced the latter with crosses and a statue of the Madonna half way up its steep sides. But not even does this tinsel much belittle the natural grandeur of the mountain. One can look away from it. The devout Catholics on the steamer made the sign of the cross as we passed the statue. Protestant eyes were more fixed on the mountain itself. And, if it were a question of worship, which was the more worthy of adoration,—the puny, man-made statue, even with all the ecclesiastical story behind it, or the mountain itself, with the whole story of the ages sculptured in its rock-ribbed and forest-clothed sides?

WM. J. POTTER.

THE NONCONFORMIST IDEAL.

Leicester is a flourishing town, and, politically, a typical English borough, which for twenty-two years has been represented in Parliament by a typical man. Peter Alfred Taylor's resignation removes from the House of Commons a distinct personality not likely to be replaced. I have heard him compared to Joseph Hume, for whose absence or illness politicians used to watch and wait, if they wanted to carry any mean or dishonest measure through the House. Taylor is the representative of an old, educated, and wealthy English family, who in Puritan times adhered to the popular cause, and even changed their name from aristocratic Taylard to Taylor. He did not seek a seat in Parliament for any personal ambition, but in order to further the causes dear to him. He was brought up under the religious ministry of W. J. Fox, the Theodore Parker of London; he was the early and life-long friend of Mazzini; he was the foremost worker for the Poles, the Italians, and other oppressed peoples; he was a thorough republican. He is a very able speaker, acute, epigrammatic, clear, simple, and, on themes nearest his heart, he is eloquent; but he

never had any idea of speaking to show how well he could speak or for "buncombe," and he never aspired to office. Had he been more ambitious, he might have been a Cabinet Minister. But what he entered Parliament for he faithfully pursued: he challenged every magisterial oppression in the country, he advocated woman suffrage, he defended religious liberty from Sabbatarian and other oppressions; and, during the late civil war, he was the staunch friend of America and the cause of emancipation. Why has he left Parliament? Not on account of age or infirmity, for he is by no means aged or in failing health. I have just read a provincial paragraph which suggests that Taylor finds the old causes to which he devoted himself no longer actual, and that he cannot adapt himself to the new questions and party classifications. As to this, it may be said that some of the causes which inspired his early efforts are triumphant. The American negroes are free, the Italians possess their country, France is a republic, and, he might add, England is almost a democracy. I suspect, however, that Peter Taylor finds the Independent Bench in the House of Commons, on which he has always sat, virtually ceasing to exist. Radicalism had advanced so far that Gladstone incorporated it in his government, or, rather, incorporated many of its chief representatives; for, alas! it has largely turned them into Quaker guns, and one can hardly recognize on the Treasury Bench the same men that once spoke so gallantly for the rights of the weak, whether dusky tribes abroad or women and heretics at home. Gladstone's patronage even silenced John Bright's thunders against war. With Peter Taylor, the last representative figure disappears from the Independent Benches on the liberal side.

Taylor left Leicester such a stronghold of radicalism that no Tory ventured to try to succeed him. The man he was known to prefer—the Rev. J. Allanson Picton—walked over the course. Picton has no doubt been heard of in America as the man who a few years ago was expelled from the Congregational Union for heresy. He used to preach in the Congregational pulpit at Leicester; and the theological condition in which he left the chapel there may be judged by the fact that his successor therein has just accepted a call to a Unitarian church in Birmingham, much to the regret of the Leicester society, who would gladly retain his services. This preacher—Joseph Wood—says that his opinions have long been in advance of those generally held by Unitarians. His views are, in fact, Pictonian, which means that they are ultra-broad and pantheistic Congregationalism. But Allanson Picton may be regarded as the real type of English Congregationalism, just as one may regard Renan as the typical Catholic. Where Renan stands, all Catholics will one day stand; and where Picton moves, all Independents are steadily following. He is an excellent man, a vigorous thinker, a speaker whose strength, if not polished, is not without a vein of poetry as well as of humor. I have an old personal liking for Picton, which I must try to forget just now; for I wish to deal with him as the representative man that he is. He is the flower of English Congregationalism, whose anger even marks him as the successor of its outlawed founders. I find in his recent Address to the Electors of Leicester what appears to me the nonconformist ideal of England,—the New England still sought by the Pilgrims who never left their native land. It is this: Manhood suffrage; abolition of hereditary legislation; abolition of primogeniture, landed entails, and game-laws; disestablishment of the national Church, and devotion of its endowments to secular (including moral) education; education to be compulsory,

secular, and free; steady reduction of military expenses, promotion of international arbitration, and a general non-intervention policy (especially, it must fairly be added, when the intervention is by the Tory party).

A characteristic omission from this address is any allusion to the woman question. Over four hundred clergymen of the Church of England have petitioned Parliament for the enfranchisement of women, but I have not heard of any such petition coming from the nonconformist quarter. The nonconformist ideal is Salic: manhood suffrage means masculine suffrage. It is almost realized. The Franchise Bill, which the nonconformist accepts as an "instalment," gives votes to two millions, of whom half cannot write their names. The wife-beaters are included, but not the beaten. Gladstone crushed with one hobnailed heel the proposal for woman suffrage, and with the other that for a reading-and-writing test. The "instalment" certainly involves the speedy enfranchisement of all males, and, as I think, ends the prospect of female suffrage,—unless the peers rescue the English woman on whom Gladstone's hobnails are visible. Granting this a pessimist view, apart from the woman question I distrust this unfiltered democracy. There being no States in the United Kingdom, though it has room for seven or eight, the coming democracy can have no checks and balances. It will be democracy tempered by snobbery, such as I saw at the Antipodes, and didn't like. Nay, it will be worse; for Young Australia is sober, but the doom of England seems to be subjection to a popular breath heavy laden with alcohol. Last year, the lower classes alone consumed over \$400,000,000 in drink, while their families were without proper food and clothing.

The "abolition of hereditary legislation" is the natural corollary of the enthronement of numbers. The only assembly in the country that is not dependent on the popular breath is to be swept away. One who does not believe in the vulgar corruption of Hesiod's tribute to the consensus of races into *Vox populi, vox dei*, knowing that the truth is always in a minority, might be expected to try to reform the independent assembly rather than abolish it. The House of Lords rehabilitated by life-peers made of great men, rid of bishops, its English peers made representative of their class as are its Irish and Scotch peers, its veto made suspensory, would be a better institution than any of its foreign imitations. But reformation of the House of Lords is just the thing most repugnant to the nonconformist ideal. The worse that House is, the better nonconformist radicals like it. They pray for its suicide, not for so respectable a reason as that there may be one Chamber, but that they may substitute some elective Stork for the hereditary Log. They aim to make an Upper House dependent on flattery of the masses, thereby losing the one single advantage of the Two-Chamber system. In this country, the ignorant mass—for Gladstone is too near his end to wait for a generation from the new schools—will be absolute master. Manhood suffrage means that all the educated put together shall be hopelessly swamped by the ignorant millions. I cannot admire this part of the nonconformist ideal.

As to the land, it would seem that in a little country like this the only need is to tax land heavily so that every owner shall have inducement to cultivate it, and not reserve it for sport, etc. But I fear that the nonconformist ideal does not sufficiently include the picturesque and sanitary necessities of the country, and that it looks forward to seeing the land covered by one vast city.

However, I would not be doctrinaire on the land

question. I understand the next subject better,—disestablishment of the Church, and turning its funds to the work of secular (including moral) education. That is the nonconformist ideal. But, surely, if the nation were enlightened enough to adopt the policy of devoting the wealth of the Church to secular (including moral) education, it would be equally up to utilizing the admirable machinery of the Church itself for culture of the people. The Church is as much a formation here as the chalk hills; its agencies have been evolved and matured through a thousand years; it has means of reaching every cottage and hall, every man, woman, and child in the country. So long as it is established in the State, it is owned by the people. Liberal thought may fairly hope to inherit it from Protestantism as Protestantism did from Romanism, and in the end turn every church and cathedral into a centre and source of moral, intellectual, and artistic culture. But, disestablished, all this is at once sectarianized. To convert its wealth to secular education were no easier than to abolish the creeds or make them optional, and so convert and humanize the invaluable machinery of the Church. Why destroy what can as easily be utilized? The nonconformist cannot appreciate this; and no wonder,—the Church in his eyes bears the burden of its historic iniquities. He cannot see a church or parsonage without remembering the slit-noses and pierced tongues of his ancestral Independents. Those old scores have not been paid off. But, for all that, I do not like his ideal of church reform. I cannot conceive of a perfect England which should include a swarm of disestablished priests, any more than of a divine cosmos with a host of fallen angels in it. To regenerate England means to regenerate the Church also, completely to humanize it; and the clergy are far nearer to the secular ideal than are the nonconformist ministers.

With the rest of the nonconformist ideal—that education should be compulsory, secular, moral, free, that the militant age should pass away, the international tribunal arise, and every nation mind its own business—I sympathize; but the democratic avalanche in England, burying all claims of woman to equality, swamping culture, and endangering intellectual independence, seems to me one among the catastrophes which have already given the year 1884 a sinister aspect.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

July 12.

SPENCER, HARRISON, AND RELIGION.

II.

Mr. Harrison has very little fault to find with the account which Mr. Spencer gives of the progress of religious ideas. He would prefer to call them theological ideas; but, with this abatement, he considers Mr. Spencer's statement sound and good. It is the last word of theology, its dying word. The idea of deity has now, as Mr. Mark Pattison has rather oddly said, been "defecated to a pure transparency." But Mr. Harrison contends that that which is "defecated to a pure transparency" can never supply a religion to any human being but a philosopher constructing a system. "It is quite conceivable," he says, "that religion is to end with theology. . . . But, if religion there is still to be, it cannot be found in this no-man's land and know-nothing creed. Better bury religion at once," he cries, "than let its ghost walk uneasy in our dreams." But Mr. Harrison does not believe that religion is to end with theology. He believes that Mr. Spencer's religion is no religion, but the ghost of religion. But he also believes that a religion is still possible for man, and nothing else is so important, so absolutely indispensable to

his well-being. He is a positivist, a follower of Auguste Comte, not only in his philosophical, but pre-eminently in his religious teachings; and his religion is like that of Comte, the Religion of Humanity. It has, and has had, no other expositor so earnest and so eloquent as he. "Almost thou persuadest me," I have said a hundred times, as I have read his glowing page. It is not, he insists, religion, but theology, that has avoided anthropomorphism more and more. Unless religion is to be anthropomorphic, there can be no working religion at all. It must be more than anthropomorphic: it must be *anthropic*; that is to say, not merely human in its forms of thought, but human in the objects of its thought and worship. "It must give up explaining the universe, and content itself with explaining human life." Having failed in the superhuman world, it must return to the human, here to find again all the certainty, the human sympathy, the claim to command and to reward that have made religion glorious in the past.

How shall we choose, if choose we must, between these different and antagonistic doctrines of religion that are urged upon us by two of the most conspicuously gifted thinkers of our time? However it may be with others, the balance of my own approval does not waver long. It hastens to incline to the Spencerian side. It is not Mr. Spencer, it is Mr. Harrison, who charges it upon another, who is himself justly chargeable with having sought to keep the name and save the prestige of religion for an idea and a method to which they do not properly belong. Mr. Spencer's worship of "an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed" may be a very miserable religion, but that it is more truly a religion than Mr. Harrison's worship of humanity,—I do not see how any one who has read aright the history of religion can have any doubt of this. The right of any man to call himself religious is one I do not care to challenge, when it is seriously affirmed; but, if the worship of humanity is a religion, it is the first religion in the course of history that has not had a superhuman element conspicuously present. The early ghost worship, or ancestor worship, as it is named more commonly, had little of the nature of religion. In the strictest sense, the god-idea, the religious consciousness, was not fairly born until the world of ghosts had gradually become a vast, mysterious realm of life, an incalculable store of energy on which the savage mind could draw, in order to account for any natural phenomenon that appealed to it for a solution. From then till now (the religion of Comte excepted), religion has always had a superhuman element; and this element has been so prominent that it is a very doubtful matter whether a so-called religion which seeks to free itself from every superhuman element is, properly speaking, a religion. It may be of much greater practical value than the worship of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed, but is it so much of a religion? It seems not so to me.

It is not even the ghost of religion. It is a substitute for religion,—an arbitrary substitute. It is a system of sentimental ethics, borrowing the livery of Religion's court, hoping in this way to better serve mankind. The ideas of God and immortality have been too persuasive and appealing to the human mind and heart, for a void in place of them to tempt the advocacy of any, but the most heroic souls. To be able to offer men in place of them a *quasi* God, a *quasi* immortality, is vastly pleasanter than their unqualified denial. And it cannot be denied that the substitutes of positivism for the God, and immortality of tradi-

tional religion are very grand and noble substitutes. It is certainly a pleasant thought and an inspiring one that what we call death is transformation from objective to subjective life. That when we are no longer visible and palpable, we shall survive in the fond memory of those whom we have loved and who have given us reciprocal affection; and that, when we no longer survive in this way, we shall be included, if we have acted worthily, in the thought of all the multitudinous unknown who have contributed to the making of life more beautiful and blessed,—it is a more inspiring thought that having done our part it cannot be undone forever,—that it has entered into the moral substance of the world, and can no more be destroyed than the atoms that make up our material frames. George Eliot's mighty song, "Oh, may I join the choir invisible!" is at once the loftiest expression of this thought and the amplest proof that it is capable of appealing grandly to the imagination and the heart. Mr. Harrison does not and cannot overrate the inspiring quality of this thought. Nor does he overrate, nor can he overrate, the inspiring quality of the positivist thought of the great Being, collective humanity, which has been and is and is to be. In Comte's own carrying out of the details of that scheme of worship which he devised for the service of this Being, there was a plentiful admixture of absurdity; but the absurdity is not intrinsic to the scheme, and it is even less so to the fundamental thought. This is a fountain of the purest inspiration. The gist of it is here: that the immeasurable service that has been rendered us by good men and women of the past puts us upon our honor to do all we can to *earn our living*, to pass on the boon of life to those who shall succeed us, better and fairer than it came to us. Only as we do this shall we be incorporated in that Great Being which is made up of the excellent alone.

Noble and grand as are these substitutes for God and immortality which are tendered us by the religion of humanity, are they,—if less religious than Mr. Spencer's recognition of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed, because they have no superhuman aspect, the invariable note of all traditional religion,—are they more adequate to the demands a true religion makes upon the various life of man? So Mr. Harrison insists. Every note of a true religion is wanting, he assures us, in Mr. Spencer's scheme of thought except wonder and mystery; and these are among the lowest, not among the highest signs by which religion conquers. "The roots and fibres of religion are to be found in love, awe, sympathy, gratitude, consciousness of dependence, community of will, acceptance of control, reverence for majesty, goodness, creative energy, and life. Where these things are not, religion is not." That they are not in Mr. Spencer's worship of the unknown God he strenuously insists, and as strenuously that they are all to be found in fullest measure in his own Religion of Humanity.

But those who give the closest and the calmest possible attention to the matter will be of quite a different opinion. The rhetorical energy of Mr. Harrison's fulmination is, for the most part, addressed to one of Mr. Spencer's terms, one of the best known of the many he has made familiar,—*"the Unknowable."* His wit and fancy never tire of playing round this term and tricking it with various emblems of contempt. Not that he doubts the fitness of this term to express the mental aspect of the realm of cause,—if cause be not itself a grand misnomer,—the realm beyond phenomena, but that to him it is an absolute negative, and as such utterly incapable of exciting any of those high regards and generous emotions which

it invites in Mr. Spencer's view and which constitute his body of religion. "To make a religion out of the Unknowable," he says, "is far more extravagant than to make it out of the equator. We know something of the equator: it influences seamen, equatorial peoples, and geographers not a little; and we all hesitate, as was once said, to speak disrespectfully of the equator. But would it be blasphemy to speak disrespectfully of the Unknowable? Our minds are a blank about it." And so on. And it is not to be denied that here and there in Mr. Spencer's writings there are expressions, not a few, that seem to elevate the Unknowable *as such* into an object of religious reverence. To do this were surely as absurd a thing as Mr. Harrison has painted it. But these expressions are not representative of Mr. Spencer's most habitual thought nor of its worthiest implications. The abyss of his Unknowable is not one of total gloom. Some rays of clear light do escape from it. Some visions of solemn beauty do gleam within it. He does not fling us into bottomless negation, and leave us there. The conditions which Martineau has insisted on are realized in the completeness of his thought. There is "some alternation of light and darkness, of inner silence and a stir of upper air."

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

INTUITION.

"Sometimes," says Locke, "the mind perceives the agreement or disagreement of two ideas immediately by themselves, without the intervention of any other; and this, I think, we may call intuitive knowledge." Whewell would restrict the use of the word "to those cases in which we necessarily apprehend relations of things truly as soon as we conceive the objects distinctly." Lewes defines intuition "as mental vision or as the perception of relations."

That two objects placed beside two other objects form a group equal to four can be readily seen by the eye. If a large group, say five hundred objects, are placed beside the same number of other objects, although the mind cannot learn by the eye instantaneously that the total is equivalent to a group of a thousand, intuition sees the equivalence of the ratios with the same lightning-like swiftness in the latter case as in the former. Intuition is not limited merely to the perception of objects, nor are its decisions always demonstrable to sense.

That intuitions have a higher validity than other truths many believe, but without any good reason. The truth respecting the square of the hypothenuse in the forty-seventh proposition of Euclid is as certain as that expressed in the axiom, "If equals be taken from equals, the remainders are equals," although one truth we discover by reflecting and reasoning, the other by intuition. The axiom is self-evident, because there are no other relations implied beyond those specified in the terms of the statement; and the mind therefore, in apprehending the terms, apprehends the equations of the terms. To a mind possessed through experience of all the relations expressed and implied in the terms of its proposition, any truth is self-evident. Intuition perceives "necessary" truths, because truths so distinguished express relations which are simple, constant, and familiar, and from which therefore all contingencies are excluded. "Contingent" truths are perceived not intuitively, but by reasoning, because the relations they express are complicated, because there is a possibility of variation in the terms, because all the co-operant factors cannot be discerned beforehand. But truth is truth; and it is our discovery of it, and not the truth itself, which is contingent.

Intuition enters into all our judgments. It sees

relations which are beyond our powers of demonstration. "Intuition," says Lewes, "is of much wider range than demonstration, because the fund of experience on which we rely is too complex, and drawn too much from the forgotten past, for us to be capable of showing all the successive steps which demonstration requires." Our intuitions of space and time, to which our relations have been constant through our entire existence as a race, and to which the relations of all ancestral life were equally constant, are constructed of experiences which lie so far back in the forgotten past that their elements can scarcely be detected. We have rational intuitions and moral intuitions. The elements of which they, too, have been built up are so difficult to find in the experiences of the past that many yet regard these intuitions as primordial endowments rather than products of growth and development. Viewed in the light of modern psychology, the quickness with which intuition sees relations which do not admit of sensible demonstration is not surprising. But it is so common to mistake inference, prejudice, and even passion for intuition that we hear made for it all sorts of extravagant claims, which are by no means confined to the ignorant. What absurd speculation has not been defended on grounds of intuition?

Organic evolution makes the study of intuition a part of the study of heredity. For metaphysical phrases, like "*a priori* forms of thought," are substituted words like "aptitudes," "tendencies," "inheritances,"—words that indicate our dependence upon the past whence we derive our physical, intellectual, and moral nature. If evolution, now established upon an impregnable basis and accepted by the leading thinkers of the world, be true, then the human body and the human mind, correlated through every stage of their growth, have been evolved from lower forms of life. This clearly implies the experiential origin of all knowledge. The mental faculties as well as the physical organs are products of evolution. The ability to perceive the truth of an axiom as well as the ability to walk erect has been acquired. Neither is extra-experiential. The aptitude, the predisposition to do both, comes to the man of to-day as an inheritance. Does any one who holds to the theory of evolution suppose for a moment that man slowly learned to walk erect, but from the first possessed intuitive power by which he could perceive axiomatic and moral truths? "It is the vice," says Spencer, "of the older psychology, and of the Kantian psychology included, that it habitually deals only with the consciousness of the adult; ignoring the obvious fact that the developed apparatus of thought possessed by the adult is not possessed by the infant, but is slowly evolved; and ignoring the further fact that associations unquestionably established and consolidated by experience are so carried by us into all our thinkings that we are constantly in danger of attributing to the undeveloped mind ideas which only the developed mind possesses."

But, when Kant wrote, there was no science of psychology based upon evolution. Were he living to-day, it is altogether improbable that he would have any intellectual sympathy whatever with those who say, "Back to Kant." In the light afforded by discoveries made since he wrote, he would see the defects which make his philosophy inadequate to meet the requirements of to-day until revised and supplemented so as to accord with evolution. He would doubtless, with his great intellectual powers, see as clearly as any man living that our ideas of space and time, and our rational and moral intuitions, although irreconcilable with the experience-philosophy which he opposed, are in harmony with the larger philosophy of evolution which recognizes in the individual mind the *a priori*

element for which he contended, but instead of stopping there finds that the element which is *a priori* to the individual has its origin and explanation in the experience of the race.

No man would be quicker to see or more ready to acknowledge the great truth indicated in the following extract from Herbert Spencer:—

"Thus, the truth that a straight line is the shortest line between two points lies latent in the structures of the eyes and the nervous centres which receive and co-ordinate visual impressions. We cannot think otherwise, because, during that adjustment between the organism and the environment which evolution has established, the inner relations have been so moulded upon the outer relations that they cannot by any effort be made not to fit them. Just in the same way that an infant's hand, constructed so as to grasp by bending the fingers inward, implies ancestral hands which have thus grasped and implies objects in the environments to be thus grasped by this infantine hand when it is developed, so the various structures fitting the infant for apprehensions of space relations imply such apprehensions in the past by its ancestors, and in the future by itself. And just as it has become impossible for the hand to grasp by bending the fingers outward instead of inward, so it has become impossible for those nervous actions by which we apprehend primary space relations to be reversed, so as to enable us to think of these relations otherwise than we do."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EMERSON AND THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

I.

On Wednesday morning, July 23, brief addresses on Concord's great author were delivered by Dr. W. T. Harris and Rev. G. W. Cooke. Passages from Mr. Alcott's diary, giving his early impressions of his friend and benefactor, were also read, with this sonnet by Miss Emma Lazarus:—

TO R. W. E.

As when a father dies, his children draw
About the empty hearth, their loss to cheat
With uttered praise and love, and oft repeat
His all-familiar words with whispered awe,
The honored habit of his daily law,—
Not for his sake, but theirs, whose feeble feet
Need still that guiding lamp, whose faith less sweet
Misses that tempered patience without flare,—
So do we gather round thy vacant chair,
In thine own elm-roofed, amber-rivered town,
Master and Father! For the love we bear,
Not for thy fame's sake, do we weave this crown,
And feel thy presence in the sacred air
Forbidding us to weep that thou art gone.

The lecture that evening on "Emerson as an American," by Mr. Julian Hawthorne, may be found in the August number of the *Manhattan Magazine*.

Thursday morning, Dr. Bartol told a large audience how religious Emerson really was, though he had doubts of the divine Personality, and broke with organized religion on account of disagreement with the forms of the Church rather than with her faith. It was by his advice that the Doctor had himself remained in the pulpit. He was extravagant in his optimism. There is not a verse of his which does not cheer and exhilarate, and never does he pander to despondency and despair. His yea was always yea, and his nay, nay; but his yea was more emphatic than his no. We see in him how the prophet must not cease to call the priests to account, how he must not break the idols, but put them out of the way. He can be popular only with a class. He lacks rush and passion, does not flame or even flow, but rather climbs where few can find a footing. His growth was not that of a flower, but of a gem. His sermons prefigured the style of his essays. All words are dynamites, few of which go

off in most hands; but Emerson always explodes his. Our three greatest characters in America have been Washington, Lincoln, that lily out of Illinois mud, and Emerson. The lecture closed thus: "Others might not agree with him. He agreed with himself, and had here below the manners of the sky."

That evening, Dr. Harris pointed out that Emerson has shown how groundless is the fancy of the unfitness of scientific ideas for poetry. Then, after a minute and masterly analysis of *Nature*, he spoke of the superiority of evolution to that view which the essay in question places in the mouth of "my Orphic poet," though the words thus quoted were really original with Emerson,—a fact confirmed by Miss Peabody and others who are the best authorities.

Friday morning, Mr. John Albee said Emerson does not climb. He alights on a summit and descends, or else he stays on the summits, passing from one to another, as in "The Over-Soul." What care he gave to revision must have been to single sentences, for the connection is in God. His *Essays* are his most characteristic works and the most read; but we could never tell from the title of any of them what we can find there. Half of them present his ideals, and the rest show how these are to be realized. No books take so much for granted in the readers. He touches on a thousand subjects, and leaves them all illuminated. A prize is in every package. The following sonnet, by Mrs. E. C. Kinney, the mother of E. C. Stedman, closed the lecture:—

EMERSON.

"Like some old Titan of majestic height
His march has been with grand and solemn tread,
The brain profoundly working, while the head,
Circled by mists, was often hid from sight.
Yet from its cloud, when great thought flashed to light,
That mighty brain by the elect was read.
The many saw not, turned away instead:
His brightness veiled to them was only night.
But, as he walked, anon on either side
Fell pregnant seeds of thought, which, being read
In minds long barren, showed the tender shoot
That later blossomed. Clouds might genius hide;
Yet everywhere the great man planted foot
His work remains, and shall through time abide."

Miss Peabody mentioned how much more rapt and impassioned Emerson's manner as a lecturer was before his visit to England in 1847 than afterward, and described his political address soon after in aid of Palfrey as Independent candidate for Congress. Mr. Charles Malloy, of Waltham, said the *Essays* had been his education. The first volume which fell into his hands he learned by heart, and other books had been only commentaries.

That evening, Mr. Edwin D. Mead showed, mainly in Emerson's own words, how completely he identified religion with morality, and justified the law of duty from the nature of man. Kant's ethics are a chronic crucifixion, but Emerson's are a joy and an inspiration. His method of ethical culture differs widely from that of Mr. Salter, "one of the finest philosophical minds in this country." Mr. S. H. Emery, Jr., Director of the School, and Rev. R. A. Holland, D.D., of New Orleans, then complained of Emerson as not sufficiently religious.

On Saturday morning, Mrs. Howe told how Emerson had been the teacher and critic of society, while not taking so aggressive a position as Margaret Fuller. Mr. Malloy described an interview with Emerson forty years ago, when a newspaper in which he lamented the indifference to his transcendent genius left out the unfamiliar adjective, and substituted "tremendous." Mr. Sanborn quoted his friend's remark about an ill-looking fellow: "In his boyhood, he fell into the fire, and somebody was misguided enough to pull him out."

Thus closed the first series of sessions.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

The Diderot Centennial, July 30, 1884.

BY F. M. HOLLAND.

America still owes France a debt not to be repaid. Who can say how the Revolutionary War would have ended, if we had not had La Fayette and Rochambeau and their king's ship-loads of powder and guns, if Franklin and Paul Jones had found no welcome, if the French alliance had not finally told Great Britain that Europe would not suffer her to crush her colonies? Let us try to pay a slight part of our dues to France by gratefully remembering a Frenchman who helped us in our struggle simply because he loved liberty everywhere, and had no narrow prejudices, not even against England, whom he honored as the mother of truth, and whom he resisted only because she had become a tyrant. As early as 1769, we find Diderot assisting Franklin to make that powerful vindication of colonial rights, Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*, known in Paris, and telling his many readers: "I know of no work better fitted to teach the nations their inalienable rights, and inspire them with a mighty love of liberty." "Fortunate it is that tyrants are even more weak than they are wicked. They disappear. The lessons of great men bear fruit, and the spirit of the people grows great." How men ought to feel toward kings, Diderot had already shown in his terrible satire, *The Political Principles of Monarchs*,—a collection of maxims, among which are these: "Keep the nation in confusion, that the throne may stand firm." "Take little care of morality, but much of military discipline." "It is expedient that one man should die for the people and all die for the king." "Woe to him who serves his king too gloriously." We shall see that some of the most famous protests in favor of political liberty, which appeared under the name of other authors, were largely Diderot's work. It is well to remember also how he said: "In almost all countries, the cruelty of the laws against women is added to the cruelty of nature. They have been treated like

feeble-minded children. In civilized nations there is no vexation which the husband may not inflict with impunity upon his wife." "Women, how I pity you! There is but one relief for your sufferings; and, had I been able to give laws, it might perhaps have been obtained. You would have been freed from all servitude, and honored everywhere."

But we cannot realize Diderot's merits, unless we understand the tyranny under which he wrote. From his birth in 1713 to his death in 1784, he was under a social system, according to which the tillers of the soil usually lived on the blackest and coarsest bread, but often had to eat grass until they starved. Taine estimates that six millions, more than one-third of the population, died of hunger and cold in 1715. All that century, down to the breaking out of the great revolution, the working classes were in a desperate struggle against famine. Every great city had frequent bread-riots, until their end was reached by that in which the starving women took their imbecile king captive. And why were these millions of frugal laborers in abject and hopeless destitution, more fatal than any pestilence? It was because more than half of the soil was owned, and most of the rest was systematically plundered, by idlers and spendthrifts, who cared for nothing but dress and debauchery. The people ate grass, in order that cardinals might have kitchen furniture of silver, and princes gorge themselves with the costliest and daintiest of viands. Millions toiled in rags; while marquises paid thousands of dollars for coats they would only wear once, and duchesses spent hour after hour at toilets in which the hair was dressed so as to make the wearers tower up into monsters. Furniture and architecture grew ever more gorgeous, but the day laborers had to lodge like swine. The peasant had to let his crops be destroyed by the game which the master wished to hunt. Children went untaught, and were stunted with drudgery and privation, in order that an army of idle menials might be marshalled and arrayed in state. We complain of our rich men; but what should we say if they paid no taxes, but themselves taxed the tillers of the soil; if they monopolized every place worth having in the Church, the army, or the state; if their main occupation was the grossest vice; and if they were above the law, even when they wantonly drove over children in the streets or took women from their husbands by force? France was a great beehive, in which all the honey was eaten by drones; while it was the workers that were stung to death. And even a swarm of bees would not suffer such repression of individual liberty and spontaneous activity. Self-government had long been abolished, and despotism was thoroughly organized to check all progress. France was beginning to struggle for more light, but the king and his bishops were leagued together to keep her in darkness. Popular education there was none. The clergy opposed all schools but their own, in which the main object was to insure loyalty and faith. Every new book of the least originality was condemned at once. No freedom, except obscenity, was permitted on the stage. An author who wrote anything worth reading was promptly sent to the Bastille. Despotism recognized in knowledge her deadliest foe.

Diderot, too, on his side saw that the only way to remove tyranny was to teach the people; and to this great work he gave his life. Vainly did the Jesuits try to enroll him among them, and his father offer to make him either a lawyer or a physician, and disinherit him when he refused. Friendless in Paris, almost penniless, sometimes having to pass a holiday without food, he went on teaching mathematics to whoever could learn, and

caring little what was paid him. Stupid pupils he never visited twice, however rich. A lucrative place as private tutor he gave up after three months, because he could not bear confinement. He had to write for pay, and even to compose sermons for a missionary. But among his earliest publications was Shaftesbury's *Vindication of the Sovereignty of Ethics over Theology*. Carlyle speaks of "its notes of anxious Orthodoxy and bottomless falsehood"; but this is utterly unjust, for Diderot takes pains to remind the reader that Hobbes was a good citizen, though an atheist, and says plainly: "No dogma which leads to gross violations of nature's laws ought to be respected by conscience. When nature and morality cry out against the word of the priest, obedience is a crime." In 1746 appeared the *Philosophic Thoughts*, wherein Diderot shows that, supposing matter to have been in existence and motion according to its own laws from all eternity, there was a greater probability that such an arrangement as the present should at some time have established itself than that chaos should last forever. Here we also find such telling sentences as: "A single demonstration has more force than fifty miracles." "If God who gave us reason asks us to give it up, he is like a juggler who tricks us out of all his gifts." "To prove the gospel by a miracle is to prove an absurdity by an impossibility." "The God of the Christians is a father who cares a great deal for his apples, but very little for his children." "Man is what God and nature made him, but neither God nor nature has made anything that is not good." Three years later, Diderot published another work which brought him the highest honor ever conferred on an author by Louis XV.,—the *dungeon*. This was really due to a contemptuous allusion to that curse of France which Carlyle, in his essay on Diderot, calls the strumpetocracy. The prisoner stanchly refused to betray his publisher. Ostensibly, these four months at Vincennes were the penalty for testing the strength of the evidence for belief in God. It is first urged that the evidence most relied on would have but little force to a man who had always been blind; and an English mathematician thus afflicted—Saunderson—is made, in imaginary quotations from a Life fabricated for the purpose, to confess his inability to believe in what he can neither see nor touch. Then the blind philosopher is made to take the much stronger position that monstrosities, malformations, and misfortunes like his own show that the world is not the result of a supernatural creation, but of a natural process of development, according to which the matter at first took on imperfect forms which have all passed away, while "those only have survived which had no important inconsistency, and which were able to support and propagate themselves." Thus is the doctrine of the survival of the fittest foreshadowed in the *Letter about the Blind*, which might be called materialistic, if it did not so fully demonstrate man's inability to understand matter, motion, or spirit, that Morley justly calls it, in his *Diderot and the Encyclopedists*, "the first effective introduction into France of these great and fundamental principles: that all knowledge is relative to our intelligence; that thought is not the measure of existence nor the conceivableness of a proposition the test of its truth; and that our experience is not the limit to the possibilities of things." France learned from England that the way of knowledge is not through metaphysical introspection, but through scientific observation of the world around us. Diderot labored as Locke and Bacon had done, and as Mill and Spencer were yet to do, to make known the great fact that it is not within a man, but without, that he must look for truth. He

meant that men should take the world as it is, and not as they had been told they ought to fancy it.

For this end, Diderot had already begun his great literary work; and imprisonment did not make him falter. He had agreed with Voltaire, Rousseau, Buffon, D'Alembert, Euler, Condorcet, and many other writers, to bring all the scientific and industrial knowledge of the age into a series of readable articles, arranged alphabetically and illustrated by whole volumes of plates. This was the great Encyclopædia. Its main purpose was to diffuse practical information, especially of the useful arts. Diderot spent day after day in work-shops and factories watching machinery work; having machines taken apart and put together; getting sketches made of looms, tools, wigs, tailors' patterns, ploughs; and writing down the way to make stockings, rouge, gunpowder, confectionery, and glass. His best preparation lay, however, in his possessing, as Carlyle says, "the most encyclopedical head that perhaps ever existed." No branch of knowledge or phase of thought was overlooked. The old fantastic systems of metaphysics were keenly criticised, but theology had to be treated very cautiously. Nothing is falselier than the common censure of the Encyclopædia as atheistic. In fact, Christianity and the Bible were spoken of with great respect; and, in the article against intolerance, it was admitted that the government might justly banish atheists. Even the celibacy of the clergy was defended in some places, though attacked in others. Scepticism was denounced as criminal, and damnation acknowledged to be eternal. Here and there, for instance, in the articles on Crusades, Epicureanism, Jesuits, and Theosophists, the tone was bolder, though not what would now be called irreligious. Boldest of all were the attacks on torture of criminals, game-laws, conscription, impressment of laborers, exemption from taxation of privileged classes, and similar abuses which were rapidly making inevitable the Reign of Terror. All honor to the Encyclopædia for saying, "Better that society produce little and distribute it equally, than that much be produced and so unequally distributed as to divide the people into two classes, the one gorged with riches, the other perishing in misery." Even before these words were published, the government found out that the people were likely to learn too much. The first volume appeared in July, 1751; but scarcely had the second been printed, when, on Feb. 21, 1752, the official censor of books, Malesherbes, went to the publishers with a warrant for seizing on all the plates and manuscripts for completing the rest of the work. He found nothing; for everything had already been deposited in the safest possible place, his own house, by his intimate friend Diderot, who had been duly warned. The Jesuits now tried to get out the next volume; but their boasted learning proved so insufficient that the government had to ask that the work be resumed by the original editors, Diderot and D'Alembert. The latter at last retired, weary of the incessant struggle against the priests and the police; but Diderot was indefatigable and indomitable. He had got out seven volumes, when, in March, 1759, his friend Malesherbes told him plainly, "To-morrow, I shall send to seize your papers." "But what shall I do with them?" "Send them to me." The four thousand subscribers were not permitted to receive the remaining copies, though already paid for, before 1765; and, then, their copies were taken away for a while by the police. The publisher had meantime suppressed all the boldest passages in the ten volumes printed after 1759, conduct for which he is not so culpable as is the leader of all this persecution of knowledge, Louis XV. Diderot knew nothing of

the mischief until it could not be undone, and then his rage and sorrow would scarcely let him sleep for weeks. But, despite these mutilations and many errors and omissions, these twenty-eight volumes of text and plates were the noblest offerings yet laid before the altars of Labor, Science, and Liberty, the holiest divinities in modern thought. We do not read Diderot's Encyclopædia now, any more than we do Garrison's *Liberator* or Paine's *Common Sense* and *Crisis*; but such authors we should not forget.

Another work of great immediate value was what Carlyle calls, "with some few exceptions in the German tongue, the only pictorial criticisms we know of worth reading." The Encyclopædia Britannica speaks of these accounts of the paintings still to be seen in Paris as "the incomparable salons," "essays which founded the art of picture criticism and which have hardly been surpassed since." Goethe says that Diderot's *Essay on Painting* is "a magnificent work, and a torch of powerful illumination." Lessing, too, learned much from this master, who taught him the fundamental idea of the *Laocoön*. Among the embattled words most successful in striking down the idols of the day was Diderot's saying, "I would give ten Watteaus for a single Teniers." Nothing pleased him better than sympathetic delineation of poverty, as nothing provoked him to sharper censure than licentiousness of purpose. And from him the artist may learn how to paint nudity without immodesty. (See Morley's *Diderot*, p. 284, Am. ed.) Moral aim is also predominant in his dramas, in fact too much so for artistic effect, though his *Father of the Family* had some success on the stage, and was translated with warm praise by Lessing, who often said that he owed his own ability to make the life of untitled people pathetic to Diderot. The latter's novels, however, were too much in harmony with the coarse tastes of his age and country. The extravagant praises of virginity and imbecile blame of marriage, common in the Roman Catholic Church, have provoked writers partially emancipated from her control to such indecency as is almost unknown in nations which have broken her yoke. The free thinker was especially tempted to protect himself from her tyranny by pandering to those passions in his readers which resisted her most persistently. Diderot paid his patrons in their own coin for protection against the Church, as Molière, Vanini, Montaigne, Rabelais, Ariosto, and Boccaccio had done before him. The free thought of England and America has been comparatively pure, even in the eighteenth century. To-day, thought is led by writers who, far more justly than any knights in history or romance, may be said to be without fear and without reproach. We must make all due allowance for the fact that Diderot wrote in an age when people were sent to the galleys for selling copies of D'Holbach, and beheaded for singing blasphemous songs and neglecting to take off their hats to bread consecrated by priests. But we cannot spend hour after hour over his novels, as Goethe did; though the most popular of them, *The Nun*, gives a powerful exposure of the evils inseparable from life in a convent.

To see how Diderot really thought about religion and politics, we must turn either to his private letters, in which, for instance, he says, "The Christian religion is, to my mind, the most absurd and atrocious in its dogmas, the most unintelligible, the most metaphysical, the most puerile and unsocial in its morality, considered not in what is common to it with universal ethics, but in what is peculiarly its own, and makes it the most intolerant of all," or in his contributions to works by friends whose social rank enabled them to publish

with impunity what he could not. For instance, it was by his aid that Abbé Raynal made himself temporarily famous, and anticipated Gibbon in showing how successfully the Church might be attacked by writing her real history. In doing this, the sufferings of Christian slaves were told with a pathos which did much to inspire Toussaint L'Ouverture and other champions in the great deliverance, which we have seen worked out so gloriously. In vehemence of protest against all tyranny in Church or State, the *History of the Indies* is far surpassed, however, by D'Holbach's *System of Nature*, where we see how Diderot was able, as he says, to sabre theology. "Il faut sabrer la théologie," are his words; and his pen was a sword smiting both priests and kings. That these oppressors were so provoked at the publication of the *System of Nature* in 1770 as to force Diderot to leave Paris until the storm blew over is easily to be explained by its saying: "Society is now in a state of war of the sovereign against all, and of each of its members against the others. Man is bad, not because he is born depraved, but because he is made so. The great crush with impunity the poor, and they in return seek to requite the wrongs which they have suffered." "Whole nations are forced to toil, to water the earth with their tears, merely to keep up the luxury, the fancies, the corruption of a handful of useless imbeciles. Thus have political and religious errors changed the universe into a vale of tears." "Nature invites man to love himself, and increase his happiness. Religion bids him love a dreadful God, really worthy of hatred, despise himself, and sacrifice to his terrible idol the sweetest and most lawful pleasures. Nature tells man to take his reason for his guide. Religion teaches that this reason is corrupt, that it is a faithless guide implanted by a treacherous God, to mislead his creatures." "Nature says to man, 'Seek glory, labor for esteem, be brave, active, and industrious.' Religion says, 'Be humble, meek, and poor of spirit; live in retirement; busy thyself with prayers and ceremonies; do nothing for thyself, and nothing for others.'" "Nature commands the wicked man to blush for his vices and crimes. Religion says, 'If thou hast sinned against thy God, remember that he is easy to appease and of great mercy, go and kneel before his priests, and wash away thy sins with prayers and offerings.'" "Nature says again to man, 'Thou art free, and no power can justly strip thee of thy rights.' Religion cries out that he is a slave condemned by God to groan under the rod of his representatives, and bound to obey these tyrants without a murmur." "If the nature of man were consulted in regard to politics, this would do more than all the religions in the world to make the nations happy." "Natural evils demand natural remedies. Ought not experience to have long ago undeceived mortals as to those supernatural remedies, those prayers, sacrifices, fastings, and processions that the peoples of the earth have so vainly opposed to the woes that overwhelmed them?" "If people consulted experience instead of prejudice, medicine would furnish morality with the key to the human heart." "Man will always be a mystery for those who insist on looking at him with the eyes of theology." "Let us recognize the plain truth, then, that it is these supernatural ideas that have darkened morality, corrupted politics, hindered the advance of science, and extinguished happiness and peace even in the heart of man." (See Morley, ch. xiv.) Of Diderot's acknowledged works, the ablest is a literary and musical satire, *Romeau's Nephew*, which the Encyclopædia Britannica pronounces "his undoubted masterpiece." Carlyle says, "It looks like a sibylline utterance from a heart in fusion."

Goethe, who translated it into German, "not merely with readiness, but with passion," remarks, "People can see, I hope, that I threw my whole soul into it." Morley, too, has translated it; but much of the fire has already burnt out. Diderot usually was so absorbed in his subject as to care little for style and even less for arrangement. His oven, according to Voltaire, was so hot as to burn all it baked. Like Margaret Fuller, he talked much better than he wrote. Carlyle calls him "the vividest, noblest talker of his time." "He who only knows Diderot in his writings," says Marmontel, "does not know him at all. When he grew animated in talk, and allowed his thoughts to flow in all their abundance, then he became truly ravishing."

This brilliancy in conversation was largely due to the fact that no one ever felt a keener and more generous interest in his fellow-men. His daughter tells us that "three-fourths of his life were employed in helping whoever had need of his purse, of his talents, of his management. His study, for the five and twenty years I knew it, was like a well-frequented shop, where, as one customer went, another came." None of these visitors brought any money, but many of them took some away. One young man handed Diderot a lampoon against himself. "Why do you show me this?" "I am starving, and I hope you will pay me a trifle for suppressing it." "I will tell you what to do with it. Dedicate it to the Duke of Orleans. He is a bigot, and will pay handsomely for having me attacked." "But I don't know how to write the proper dedication?" "I will do it for you." Thus, Diderot helped his calumniator make twenty-five louis d'or. Another visitor took leave of the benefactor thus: "Do you know the history of the antlion? It is a little insect of great industry. It digs a hole in the sand like a reversed funnel, covers the top with fine, light sand, entices foolish insects to it, takes them, sucks them, then says to them, 'M. Diderot, I have the honor to wish you good day.'" No such treatment stopped Diderot in his work of reconciling brothers, hunting up pupils for starving teachers, giving manuscripts his magic touch that turned their lead into gold, settling law-suits, writing advertisements, finding purchasers for books, doing all sorts of jobs without any pay except from his own rich heart. When we think also of his devotion to his great task of spreading knowledge and undermining tyranny, we must mourn over one sad blot on a noble life. His relations with women were too much like those of the kings and cardinals of the day, and he had to leave it for Baron d'Holbach to rise so high above the behavior then fashionable as to vindicate the moral tendencies of intellectual liberty. The temptations and dangers which beset social reformers and scientific thinkers a century ago have almost ceased to threaten us. We can walk in safe paths with clean garments. But it is because men like Diderot were ready to drain marshes and slay dragons. Thus began the work which is already seen to bless the earth.

For The Index.

A HUNDRED DAYS ABROAD.

BY GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

CHAPTER. XIX.

My first words in the Anthon Memorial Church were that "the best way to advance co-operation in America was not to attempt it,—that is, with the ideas prevalent concerning it." Within the period of my first visit, in 1879, several attempts have been made in New York, in which the expense of maintaining the shops was defrayed, not from the profits of cus-

tom, but from capital. The members who subscribed it were not pledged to make their own purchases at the stores at the peril of losing their shares. The dependence for business was upon the general public, who had no motive for buying at the co-operative shop rather than any other. There appears to have been little local propaganda of the principle of co-operation in the neighborhood previous to opening the store,—making converts who would become purchasers. A small outlay of loan capital at the beginning, leaving the growth of the store to depend upon profits created by purchasers, has not yet entered into the American mind. On this plan, failure would bring no disaster and no shame; and the experiment could be repeated in another neighborhood, where better chances of success were present. English success, I explained, was brought about by setting the purchaser above the stockholder (shareholder is the English term). It was that device which first made the stores grow.

Horace Greeley, founder of the *New York Tribune*, understood all about co-operation. He was the only master of the question among American public men. In previous writings, I have quoted evidence from his pen of this. While in America, last year, a *Tribune* was shown me of April 10, 1867, in which the Editor reviewed my *History of Co-operation in Halifax*, which, he told his readers, "was no less interesting than the account of co-operation in Rochdale noticed in the *Tribune* years ago"; and added, "if any publisher in this city will reprint Mr. Holyoake's pamphlet (*History of the Halifax Stores*) we shall be glad to give him our copy." This was a very practical proof of interest in it. No one in England—not even the great store itself, to which I had devoted time and trouble to write its history—took as much interest as this. Yet the career of co-operation in Halifax is as remarkable in incident as the career of Rochdale.

Co-operation, I maintained everywhere, was now, as in the beginning, the precursor of self-supporting—not State supported—communism. In the end, capital, accumulated by economy, would carry out what philanthropy fails in: only, social life will not begin by having "all things in common." It will end that way. Co-operation, I said, was a scheme for the redistribution of property without dynamite or petroleum, by taking care that property created in the future should come into the hands of those whose industry shall produce it.

Co-operation is not a philanthropy, nor a new scheme of benevolence, nor a form of Utopian sentimentality, but a business, which has to pay like any other business. But it is a business saddled with morality. That is why few people touch it. Co-operation is not an emotional contrivance for helping others. It is a manly contrivance for enabling others to help themselves; and, as half the world want to be helped by somebody else, co-operation is not popular, except among the independent and industrious.

With the view of giving to New York State aid-seeking socialists an idea of the practical success of this device of self-help, I said: "There is Mr. John Gledhill, our first purchaser in this country: he has lately been elected one of the Board of Managers of the New York Produce Exchange. That means known capacity of business usefulness. He has been joined in his English work by Mr. J. M. Percival, who has been concerned in co-operation from its origin. They buy American produce for us in England, to the amount of \$2,000,000 a year. In Ireland, we have several buyers, who purchase \$5,000,000 of butter and eggs. From the continent of Europe, we import \$5,000,000 worth of butter, eggs, flour, and other produce. The two buying societies of England and Scotland purchase commodities to the amount of \$25,000,000, for which they pay cash. Besides these two buying societies, we have in England and Scotland from one thousand two hundred to one thousand five hundred societies who turn over \$100,000,000 annually, nearly all of which is paid for over the counter."

In Pontiac County there is a new paper announced to be called the *Equity*. It has no relation to co-operation, but it has the true name of it. Down in Kansas and New Mexico, Colonel Johnson told me that a form of real yet simple co-operation prevailed of this kind. Persons who had no lands, and perhaps little knowledge of breeding, bought flocks, and consigned them to a farmer who had lands, but little or no stock. He reared, grazed, and attended to the increase of the stock, he taking half the lambs

and half the wool for his pains, and the other halves go to the stock-owners.

The Philadelphia Industrial Co-operative Society is apparently the most important in America. It has four stores in the city and four branch stores elsewhere. Its thirty-second quarterly report declared a dividend of six per cent., which was described as lower than their average. The society has no educational fund. This is probably because an education fund is not needed in America, where everybody is so wise that they have nothing to learn. No society which has had one ever gives it up, no society which begins without it ever goes back to it. Those who live in the dark are subject to diseases, as are those who live in cellars. There is an intellectual small-pox, as well as a bodily one; and the ignorant are very subject to it, and have it very badly. There is an art association, though it has no literature.

The students of Harvard University have set up what they call a co-operative society, which is simply a civil service store for buying cheap and selling at cost price. This is very useful as far as it goes, but is not teaching thrift to the students, which is a personal virtue, so long as there is remedial misery in the world. The virtue of wise thrift is much needed in American families, among well-to-do more than among ill-to-do persons, who often have too little to save any. This Harvard co-operation misses the morality of co-operation, and does nothing to amend the veracity of what Lord Tennyson calls "the great liar,—Trade." How can it be expected that co-operation—which is designed to save money for the purchaser—can be popular in a country where they establish protection laws to render commodities dear?

The Co-operative Dress Association in New York occupied the whole of a lofty and splendid building. The stock in the rooms showed both affluence and splendor. There were real co-operative features about the place. Its café was well devised, and its provisions were good. Soon after I saw it, word went over the land and the water also—for the news appeared in English papers—that "Co-operation had failed again." The *New York Tribune*, which remains the best exponent of co-operative principle (of which it never loses sight) in America, at once explained the career of this association, which ought to be widely read, not merely in the United States, but in Europe. The story of the *Tribune* will be useful in England. It is as follows:—

The association—we speak without disrespect for its founders and promoters—was a foredoomed failure from its beginning. It was not based upon the principles of co-operation, but upon those of competition. It was a joint-stock, competitive dry goods and millinery store, differing in no wise from other dry goods and millinery stores, except as its ownership was scattered among some hundreds of persons who gave no attention to its affairs; and its management was in the hands of either hired persons or inexperienced persons, and was a shifting management at that. There is no trade so largely dependent upon acquired skill and individual responsibility as the trade in ladies' dress goods. There is none so beset with the vicissitudes of fashion and caprice, and none, therefore, which requires such quickness of vision and firmness of nerve to meet exigencies. The grocer knows that sugar and tea and coffee and butter and eggs will always be in demand at prices something above the cost of production. The dry goods merchant never knows whether the articles on his shelves to-day will bring as much six months hence as they have cost him. Some will bring more and some less; and his success or failure depends upon his ability to get rid of the whole lot at an average profit, and keep his stock so full all the time that his customers shall have little or no occasion to go elsewhere to find what they want. The most eminent professor of this art in the United States was the late A. T. Stewart; but Mr. Stewart's skill was an acquirement, a growth, an accretion of forty-years development, and in no sense a divination.

For these reasons, the Dress Association was destined to certain failure; and it is matter for congratulation rather than regret that the capital was only \$250,000. If it had been twice as large, it might have lasted twice as long, but would have ended in the same way. It may be added that, if want of capital was the cause of the failure, it is another and signal commentary on the badness of the management, since more capital was offered in the beginning than was accepted, and a large sum was returned to subscribers after it had actually been paid in. This error, if it be one, is ascribed to the London expert in joint-stock store-keeping who was brought here to set the machinery going, and who of course brought with him only London experience, which is a very different thing from New York experience. If Mr. Pulbrook, an early manager, was wrong, those who brought him here were still more so.

This is a very instructive account. When it is added

that "six thousand leading men and women throughout the country were the holders of its capital," any reader can see how large a number of persons were interested in co-operation, and how great a pity it was that they should have reason to distrust it.

Mr. Joseph Medhill, proprietor of the *Chicago Tribune*, on giving evidence before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Education, thus spoke on "Co-operation as a Labor Remedy," which shows that the policy of associative production is no better understood in America than distributive:—

"At one time," Mr. Medhill said, "co-operation was hopefully regarded as the solution of the capital and labor contention; but, after many trials and failures, its advocates are becoming discouraged, and it is fading out as a feasible remedy for the ills of labor. Certain obstacles, deeply grounded in human nature, are encountered. The fundamental idea was to pay the workmen the full market price for their labor, regardless of the question of profit and loss by the manufacturer, and, if the works made any profit over interest on capital, to divide it with the operatives; but, if the factory lost money, then let the stockholders stand it. The trouble was to find capitalists who were willing to invest their money on these terms, as the final outcome pretty certainly led to bankruptcy. Where the experiment was tried, it was found that the workmen themselves soon became dissatisfied with the results of co-operation. If the mill made losses or small dividends, they found fault with the management or suspected its honesty, and appointed committees of investigation, who quarrelled with the owners. Disputes also arose as to who should be discharged in dull times, and about wages when the shop was not finding ready sales for its wares. Another source of discontent was the payment of equal wages and equal dividends to inferior or negligent workmen, who manifestly did not earn their money in the eyes of the better workmen, and thus reduced the profits and dividends of the establishment. On the old plan, the trades-union lodge insist that all workmen shall be paid alike, regardless of skill or value of service, as the loss from unfaithful or deficient work falls on the employer alone. Many other causes of weakness and disintegration manifested themselves; but, probably, the worst of all was the ignorance of the foreign workmen, which bred suspicion, destroyed confidence, and rendered harmony and steady united effort of worker and employer impossible. The co-operative experiments have therefore all failed, except in a few cases where the conditions happened to be peculiarly favorable. When these people are better educated in the future, and both sides have studied the subject more thoroughly, co-operation may succeed to some extent at least. Till then, we must wait and hope."

The wildness of idea which pervaded these efforts at co-operative partnerships would be incredible on any authority less than Mr. Medhill's. No wonder they all failed. The wonder would be if they succeeded. Associative education is widely wanted.

My impression is that there is more associative literature in America than in England. There is less co-operative practice, owing to the impetuosity of the people, which never pauses long enough to succeed in it. Of social life to which co-operation is intended to lead, there is far more in America than here, and far more books and publications concerning it. The first co-operative book of mine which was published in America was published by Samuel Leavitt. He sent me a book of his own, one of several of which he is the author, entitled *Peacemaker Grange*. The subject is really "co-operative living and working": it contains the illustrations of the Familistère of Guise, from *Harper's Monthly*,—very interesting illustrations they are.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MYTHS AND THE PERSONALITY OF DEITY.

Editors of *The Index*:—

I read, with great interest, the address on "Mythology and Religion," by C. E. Vredenburg, published in *The Index* of May 29 and June 5, and was, in the main, much pleased with it; but, on one point (where he tried to disprove a personal God), it seemed to me his reasoning was faulty. He says that mythology is "simply an explanation of the material world by ascribing personality to the objects and forces of nature. If such an explanation seems strange to us, let us remember how very slowly and painfully the knowledge has been accumulated that makes it seem strange, and that the mythical conclusion is the simple and obvious one to man in his childhood stage. The conception of an impersonal, self-sustaining universe is one which the mind is very slow to form, as may be seen by the tenacity with which the alternative belief in a personal God is retained." And,

further on, he says that, to the "myth-maker of old," "the very idea of will is unknown and unthinkable apart from the purely human will." "He knows and can know no other"; and then argues from this that a personal God is merely the human image "seen reflected from the surface of the universe," and that increasing light and knowledge will show it to have no foundation in fact.

Now, it seems to me that the only scientific conclusion, from his premises, is that it is *very probable*, if not certain, that there *is* a personal God. For man now, no less than in the myth-making age, has and can have no absolute *knowledge* of any power but the human will,—his *own* will; and, arguing from the known to the unknown, he must, so it seems to me, suppose the universe animated by a will similar to his own, but infinitely greater, since the universe is infinitely greater than he.

The "myth-maker's" mistake was not in accounting for the manifestations of power which he saw by supposing them the result of the action of will, but in ascribing *separate wills* to the different objects of nature: whereas, we have learned, through the doctrine of the correlation of forces, that there is only *one* force in nature; and I cannot see why it is reasonable or scientific to lay aside the only power we *know*, and import another idea from without, to account for the phenomena of nature.

If I am wrong, I shall be glad to be set right.

Yours, for the truth,

E. D. BURLEIGH.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.

"H" writes, in regard to Mr. M. J. Savage's Easter sermon: "Its proof that Jesus never appeared to his disciples after his death is well stated, especially the point that 'extraordinary facts require extraordinary testimony both as to quantity and quality.' This principle the preacher follows faithfully, as he urges that Spiritualism must still be called upon to furnish adequate proof, which he thinks may yet be found. He does not mention the repeated failure of spirits to make use of such opportunities, as the sinking of the 'Florida' and the sudden deaths of so many soldiers and others at times and places never revealed. *Facts*, a Spiritualist monthly, says that if mediums do not choose to prove their honesty this is 'no reason why a circle of interested individuals should be broken up or rudely disturbed by one individual, who is suspicious of fraud, to the inconvenience of twenty others who have paid their money and are not disposed to be interrupted.' Further, to protect believers from being disturbed by exposures of trickery, much stress is laid on the difference between personation and materialization, the distinction in brief being that mediums who are caught at it personate, but those who don't get caught materialize."

FREE THOUGHT AMONG EUROPEAN REFORMERS.

In the review of "The Woman Question in Europe," which appeared in a recent number of the *Tribune*, the writer, referring to France, says: "Here we find, very frankly avowed, the free-thinking and anti-religious tendencies which are commonly attributed to the Continental advocates of female emancipation; and Mr. Stanton quotes with warm approval a very advanced leader on the movement, Mlle. Deraismes, who writes, 'Every woman who desires to obtain her rights, or who wishes to escape from tutelage, should second the free thinking movement.' The "free-thinking and anti-religious tendencies," to which your reviewer refers, are not limited in France or, for that matter, on the Continent generally to the "advocates of female emancipation." The Frenchmen, whom we, as liberty-loving Americans, admire and applaud, those who are bravely contending for Republicanism, the separation of Church and State, non-sectarian public schools, the right of association, a free press and free speech,—the foundation principles of the United States,—have, with scarcely an exception, "free-thinking and anti-religious tendencies." Even the deism of the Republicans of 1793 and 1848 died out with Laboulaye and Henri Martin. Grévy, Ferry, Brisson, Clemenceau, *et al.*,—not to speak of Gambetta and others among the dead,—who are the very backbone of the Third Republic, hold the same theological views as those "commonly attributed to the Continental advocates of female emancipation." It would be very easy to explain why it is

that the Republican leaders in France are to-day free thinkers, but that is not to my purpose. I simply wish to show your reviewer, and one or two of his *confrères* who have made somewhat similar statements in examining this book in other newspapers, that "free-thinking and anti-religious tendencies" characterize, not only the "advocates of female emancipation," but all the noble reformers and Republican statesmen of France, and, I may add, of every Continental country. So that the true American, whatever his religious views may be at home, is bound to "second the free-thinking movement" when he is on this side of the Atlantic; for, here, free thinking and progress are synonymous.—*Theodore Stanton, in New York Tribune.*

We can imagine the man who "denies his soul immortal" replying: "It is quite possible that you would be a knave, and love yourself alone, if it were not for your belief in immortality; but you are not to force upon me what would result from your own utter want of moral emotion. I am just and honest, not because I expect to live in another world, but because, having felt the pain of injustice and dishonesty toward myself, I have a fellow-feeling with other men, who would suffer the same pain if I were unjust or dishonest toward them. Why should I give my neighbor short weight in this world, because there is not another world in which I should have nothing to weigh out to him? I am honest, because I do not like to inflict evil on others in this life, not because I am afraid of evil to myself in another. The fact is, I do not love myself alone, whatever logical necessity there may be for that conclusion in your mind. I have a tender love for my wife and children and friends, and through that love I sympathize with like affections in other men. It is a pang to me to witness the suffering of a fellow-being; and I feel his suffering the more acutely because he is *mortal*, because his life is so short, and I would have it, if possible, filled with happiness and not misery. Through my union and fellowship with the men and women I have seen, I feel a like though a fainter sympathy with those I have not seen; I am able so to live in imagination with the generations to come that their good is not alien to me, and is a stimulus to me to labor for ends which may not benefit myself, but will benefit them. It is possible that you might prefer to 'live the brute,' to sell your country, or to slay your father, if you were not afraid of some disagreeable consequences from the criminal laws of another world; but, even if I could conceive no motive but my own worldly interest or the gratification of my animal desires, I have not observed that beastliness, treachery, and parricide are the direct way to happiness and comfort on earth."—*Christian Union.*

LILIAN WHITING writes to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*: "Boston is full of pilgrims to culture from the West and South. Clergymen, teachers, students, amateur or professional writers throng here in the summer. Coming from the inland, Boston is comparatively cool,—not to say sometimes arctic, when we have a genuine, classic east wind turned on,—and there are people to whom seashore hotel life would be inanity and weakness. These pilgrims locate themselves in quiet boarding-places, get the advantage of the 'marked down' summer rates; and they haunt the libraries and investigate Harvard, and take brief trips to Nahant and Nantasket, to quaint old Marblehead and beautiful Beach Bluff, and sail down Boston Bay by moonlight. They have the liveliest times imaginable, and with economy and quiet, too, unless they are apt to go to Trinity Church to hear Phillips Brooks. The city does not know much about these true scholarly tourists, but the librarians learn to recognize them as those whom culture has marked for her own. Except the ultra-fashionable set at Newport, it is quite the fashion to do something during the summer,—to accomplish some specific intellectual work. There is little imitation of the people who make amusement a serious pursuit. They are left to their devices, but people with different tastes pursue the even tenor of their own way and work toward their own achievements."

MORAL decay in the family is the invariable prelude to public corruption. It is a false distinction which we make between public integrity and private honor. The man whom you cannot admit into your family, whose morals are corrupt, cannot be a pure states-

man. Whoever studies history will be profoundly convinced that a nation stands or falls with the sanctity of its domestic ties. Rome mixed with Greece, and learned her morals. The Goth was at her gates, but she fell not until she was corrupted and tainted at the heart. The domestic corruption preceded the political. When there was no longer purity upon the hearthstone, nor integrity in her Senate, then, and not till then, her death-knell was rung.—*Robertson.*

ALL the old abuses in society, universal and particular, all unjust accumulations of property and power, are avenged in the same manner. Fear is an instructor of great sagacity, and the herald of all revolutions. One thing he teaches, that there is rottenness where he appears. He is a carrion crow; and, though you see not well what he hovers for, there is death somewhere. Our property is timid, our laws are timid, our cultivated classes are timid. Fear for ages has boded and mowed and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be revised.—*Emerson.*

If only we could realize the cost of any great thought to him who gives it expression, we should put an added value on that which attracts and impresses us, as we read it or as we hear it spoken. "The ink of it is a brave man's life-blood," wrote Carlyle of Hugh Miller's last work. And there is rarely anything spoken or written so as to lay hold on the life and heart of others, unless more or less of the life-blood of him who utters it has gone into its composition or its expression.—*Sunday-school Times.*

WHOSOEVER hath his Minde fraught with Many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser than Himselfe; and that more by an Houre's Discourse then by a Dayes Meditation.—*Lord Bacon.*

THOSE who, without knowing us, think or speak evil of us, do us no harm: it is not us they attack, but the phantom of their own imagination.—*La Bruyère.*

For The Index.

DIGNITY OF LABOR.

The mythic story of a race encursed
To labor, by a vengeful king, because
One rash progenitor forgot his laws,
Was held as sacred, till it grew and burst

The bounds of man's credulity. It finds
But few believers in these grander days,
When dignity of work and progress slays
The sloth engendered by ignoble minds.

The doctrine is immoral and must fail
In all society where deeper thought
Hath entered or where human love hath wrought
Its strong and living chain with most avail.

MEDORA CLARK.

MADISON, WIS.

For The Index.

THE HIGHEST LOVE.

Love lays the foundations of worlds, and her hand
Forms the billows of ocean to cradle the land;
And she buildeth the hills out of atoms of sand.

Love weaves the fair curtains looped up by the stars,
She maketh the swift wind and lightning her cars;
And the blossoming clouds of the morning are hers.

Love nothing despiseth, nor counteth as vain:
What is she improves; in her hand, loss is gain;
E'en the smoke of a battle she turneth to rain.

Love "thinketh no evil," she "seeks not her own":
From the peasant who reaps to the king on his throne,
She exacts not her tithe till the harvest is grown.

Through ages unnumbered, she plants and she sows,
Then patiently waits till the blossoming rose
And the lilies of life all their beauties disclose.

The soil planted first in each bosom is self;
And its flowers are man's pleasures, its fruits are his pelf,
While justice and truth live in books on the shelf.

But, ah! 'twill be shown in the growth of each soul
That the highest self-love seeks the good of the whole,
And this heaven-born truth every act will control.

BELLE C. BUSH.

BELVIDERE SEMINARY, BELVIDERE, N.J.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF DANIEL W. DINGLEBE. By J. R. Munroe, M.D. *The Iron-Clad Age: Indianapolis, Ind.:* Paper covers. Price 25 cts.

This amusing extravaganza gives evidence of considerable imaginative power on the part of the author, though the part Daniel W. Dinglebe has to play in it is a very subordinate one. It purports to depict some of the possibilities of a century and more of progress in this world, and the scene is laid in the Western country in the year 1907, when woman's rights and free love (which the writer seems to think have congenialities in common) are accepted facts; and, as he is the editor of a free-thought journal, he turns the tables on Christian writers by affirming that the Church of that future sanctioned all the fashionable immoralities, and "plenty of Scripture was quoted to fortify all this"; and one of the personages of the story declares, "You'll notice now that the infidels are about the only people that are keeping up the old-fashioned homes and maintaining the old family circle." Young and handsome women are dashing members of Congress. Men do women's work; but, "as soon as this work was packed off on the men, they began inventing machines to lighten the labor. A man would rather sweat a year over an invention than to do an hour's hard work." Light is so cheapened and perfected that all the cities are at night kept light as day by means of immense electric globes stationed on high towers. Every man owns his private air navigator. "Dynamite and lightning" are the motor powers. Matches are rendered needless by pocket electric lighters. Railroads run at the rate of three hundred miles an hour. Cars are rendered accident proof by india-rubber contrivances. When by some unforeseen accident people are cut or maimed in any way, they are cured by "Dr. Stackpole's Substitute for Man's Flesh, Blood, and Bone," the "component parts of which are chemically identical with the human body"; and the inventor is experimenting in hopes of eventually turning out human beings by his process. All the necessities of life are imitated through improved chemical knowledge and improved machinery. These are a few of the whimsical ideas which enliven a rather incredible and fragmentary story with all sorts of startling episodes scattered through it.

THE August or midsummer number of the *Century* is a very entertaining one. The especially seasonable articles are "A Glance at British Wild Flowers," by John Burroughs, beautifully illustrated by Alfred Parsons; "A Summer Holinight," by Edith M. Thomas; "Americans at Play," by Edward Eggleston; and the poems, "A Song of the Mocking Bird," by Maurice Thompson, and "A Bar Harbor Idyl," by Edward A. Church. As befits a midsummer number, there is more than usual space devoted to fiction. Two new serials are begun, "A New England Winter," by Henry James, and "A Problematic Character," by Hjalmar H. Boyesen. Mr. Cable's "Dr. Sevier" is continued. Frank Stockton gives one of his characteristic stories in "The Remarkable Wreck of the 'Thomas Hyke,'" and "Ivory Black" has an artistic story entitled "An Effect in Yellow." Three timely biographical sketches are given: of "Chinese Gordon," by W. T. Stead, a personal acquaintance of Gordon's; "Carmen Sylva," the literary Queen of Roumania, by Helen Zimmern; and an authentic paper on "Gen. Sam Houston," by Alexander Hynds. Among the illustrated articles, we note the third of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's series on "Recent Architecture in America" and "On the Track of Ulysses," by W. J. Stillman. Among the more serious papers are I. L. Rice's article on "Work for a Constitutional Convention" and Washington Gladden's "Three Dangers, Intemperance, Divorce, and Business Gambling." "Topics of the Times," "Open Letters," and "Bric-à-brac" contain readable shorter articles and poems of interest.

THE *Atlantic* for August has the following table of contents: "In War Time," by S. Weir Mitchell; "The Twilight of Greek and Roman Sculpture," by William Shields Liscomb; "The Zigzag Telegraph," a contribution to the scientific mind mysteries of to-day, such as clairvoyance, mind-reading, etc., by Lloyd G. Thompson; the second number of "A Cook's Tourist in Spain"; "Dinky," a story by Mary Beale Brainerd;

a sketch of "Nathaniel Parker Willis," by E. F. Hayward; "The Edda among the Algonquin Indians," a chapter from a forthcoming book by Charles G. Leland; "Bugs and Beasts before the Law," by E. P. Evans; "An Old New England Divine," being extracts from the quaint and heretofore unpublished diary of the Rev. Ezra Stiles; "The Anatomizing of William Shakspeare," by R. G. White; and an essay by Edith M. Thomas, entitled "Where It Listeth." "Studies in History," by Henry C. Lodge, and "The Life and Times of Frederick Denison Maurice" are the books noticed at length. The "Contributors' Club" is not remarkably brilliant this month.

THE *Catholic World* for August has the following interesting articles in addition to its two serial stories by Rev. J. Talbot Smith and E. G. Martin and the legend of "Ta-wan-dah, the Last of the Pecos," by Rev. J. H. Defouri: "Phases of Faith and Unfaith," by Prof. St. George Mivart; "Two Miraculous Conversions from Judaism," by Rev. A. F. Hewitt; "Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh," by Margaret F. Sullivan; "Cattle-Ranch Life in Colorado," by W. T. Larned; "Ruskin as a Teacher," by Agnes Repplier; "The Last of the Irish Bards," by Alfred M. Williams; "The Cost of Monarchy and Aristocracy in Great Britain," by W. F. Dennehy.

THE vacation number of *Wide Awake* (August) does not show much evidence of any vacation taken by its editor or contributors. Every contribution is so excellent of its kind that it is nearly impossible to note the particularly good ones. Among the most notable, we may name the account with portraits of the children of the Prince and Princess of Wales; "Our Royal Neighbors at Sandringham," by Mrs. Raymond Blathwayte; and the ninth of *Aesop's Fables* versified; "The Shepherd Boy and the Wolf," by Clara Doty Bates. Miss Phelps' story of "A Brave Girl" comes to a satisfactory conclusion in this number.

BABYLAND for August is, like all of D. Lothrop & Co.'s publications, as perfect in its way as any magazine of its kind could be. The babies who miss seeing and hearing about their lovely companions in this number we consider have been defrauded of their legitimate "babies' rights."

PROSPERITY is consistent with intense worldliness, intense selfishness, intense hardness of heart; while the grander features of human character,—self-sacrifice, disregard of pleasure, patriotism, love of knowledge, devotion to any great and good cause,—these have no tendency to bring men what is called fortune.—*Froude.*

BELVIDERE SEMINARY.

The plan of an Industrial School which was sent by the Misses Bush, of Belvidere Seminary, New Jersey, to the widow of Wendell Phillips, has received her approval and permission to name the institution, when established, the Wendell Phillips Memorial Industrial School.

The plan has also been highly commended by some of the most eminent educators in this country, and active measures are being taken to insure its success.

Its originators respectfully solicit such aid and influence in behalf of their enterprise as the friends of Wendell Phillips may be pleased to offer. They will confer personally or by letter with any one interested in their plan, and will very gratefully receive donations, in large or small amounts, of money, books, stationery, pictures, chemical and philosophical apparatus, or charts and specimens needed in the study of the Natural Sciences. All parties responding in any way substantially to this call will be considered founders of the institution.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

At a conference held last week in St. James Hall, London, composed of delegates from five hundred liberal associations and clubs throughout the country, Mr. John Morley, who presided, in a speech of vigorous eloquence said, "No power on earth can henceforth separate the question of mending the House of Commons from the question of mending or ending the House of Lords." The statement brought the thousands present to their feet with enthusiastic cheers. Sir John Lubbock moved a resolution condemning the action of the Lords. This and other resolutions, including one declaring it to be necessary to destroy the power of the Lords to thwart the will of the people, were carried unanimously. The Tories are not idle; and their programme, it is affirmed, is to fight the Franchise Bill during the autumn session in the Commons, and not to allow it to reach the House of Lords before Christmas.

Mr. JOHN FISKE's lecture before the Concord School of Philosophy last Thursday, instead of forming a part of the discussion of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, was devoted wholly to an exposition of the theory of evolution, in its physical, psychical, and social aspects. The discourse was, it is unnecessary to say, able and brilliant, although it contained nothing new for those who are acquainted with the literature of evolution, including Mr. Fiske's own published works. But as Mrs. Harriette R. Shattuck, in her report in the evening *Transcript* of this city, says: "Those of the audience who expected to hear from Mr. Fiske either a refutation of immortality or an argument for it were equally disappointed. At the close of his fine exposition, he merely stated his own belief as a matter of faith, not pretending to deduce it from the theory of evolution." It is probable that the directors of the school desired and expected a discourse in which should be presented Mr. Fiske's views as to the teachings or implications of evolution regarding immortality; but Mr. Fiske had his own tastes and preferences, and he followed them. Rev. A. P. Peabody, Rev. R. A. Holland, Prof. Davidson, and Dr. W. T. Harris read elaborate and brilliant papers in defence of immortality.

JOHN STUART MILL said that the kind of testimony on which men were declared insane was ludicrous and frightful. According to a London despatch, on July 28th, in the court of the Queen's Bench, a verdict of £1,000 was rendered in favor of a Mrs. Weldon in a suit for damages against a physician who had signed a certificate for her seclusion as a "person of unsound mind, a fit subject for care and treatment," under which an attempt had been made to take her to an asylum. Mrs. Weldon conducted her own case in court. "A recent trial in England," says the London *Inquirer*, "shows that there are psychological experts—as 'mad-doctors' are now called—who can see undoubted proofs of insanity in what common-sense people regard as more or less harmless eccentricities. And, in some cases, the experts themselves are not free from suspicion of lunacy on their own principles. There is no doubt that some of the private lunatic asylums are presided over by men of the highest character and professional skill, but the dangers of abuse through the lax administration of the Lunacy Commissioners are admitted; and the remedy, as we ventured to point out in a recent review of Mrs. Lowe's *English Bastilles*, is to abolish private asylums, and to allow none but public institutions under careful government inspection."

A FEW weeks ago in the *Herald* of this city appeared a notice of Capt. R. C. Adams' *Travels in Faith*, which, unlike the reviews one is accustomed to read in the columns of that paper, was grossly unfair, unjust, and false. Whatever the reason or motive of such a notice, it is evident that, screened behind the impersonality of a daily journal on which many editorial pens are employed, the writer indulged in recklessness of statement which would have been guarded against, had the article appeared over his own name. The notice says: Capt. Adams "has been not a little notorious for articles in the religious press, both orthodox and liberal, in which he has cast severe reflections on his father and mother, and emptied the cesspool of his own coarseness and blunders into the lap of the public." One of these falsehoods is particularly atrocious, when the fact is considered that Adams' references to his parents in this volume, and in all his writings in which allusions to them occur, are marked by affection and reverent regard for their memory. Compared with such slanders as the above, mere depreciation of the book—such as the statement that it "is a reckless and luckless jumble of notions and opinions which are of value to nobody, and which, as a New England man, he ought to be ashamed to have written"—need not be noticed. In another column may be found a very fair review of *Travels in Faith*, copied from the Boston evening *Transcript*.

In his essay read at the Concord School of Philosophy last week, Rev. Dr. Peabody argued for immortality from the alleged fact of the resurrection of Christ. Prof. Thomas Davidson, in some remarks following the essay, regretted that, in support of the doctrine of immortal life, an appeal had been made to a doubtful historic event, when

the doctrine admitted of *demonstration* on purely philosophical grounds. We were assured by persons present that Prof. Davidson would undoubtedly keep good the promise he had made to demonstrate immortality with mathematical certainty. Those who spoke thus did so, it seemed to us, in the exuberance of their zeal from lack of acquaintance with the theories and the history of speculative philosophy during the past twenty-five centuries. We were not therefore surprised to read the following in a report of Prof. Davidson's essay by an intelligent member of the school and a disciple of Dr. Harris: "If proof can be conclusive when the argument from which it results is based on premises which are an assumption, and which need as much proof as the conclusion, then his [Prof. Davidson's] proof was conclusive. Prof. Davidson's logic seemed a chain of definitions with no fact as their basis. One felt inclined to apply to it the reply of Hamlet to Polonius, 'Words, words, words.'" From the abstract reports of Prof. Davidson's lecture which have appeared, it is of course impossible to judge as to the fairness of these strictures. It would be interesting to know what he thinks of the "demonstrations" of Rev. R. A. Holland and Dr. Harris who thought his reasoning inconclusive.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Advertiser* casts doubt upon the genuineness of the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles,"—the famous manuscript which Bishop Philotheos Bryennios, metropolitan of Nicodemia, claimed some months since to have found ten years previous in the library belonging to the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople. It was published last year by Bryennios with preface and notes; and the claim made for it was that it was a manuscript of the eleventh century, restoring to history a treatise belonging to the early part of the second century, which was quoted from and valued as high authority by early Fathers of the Christian Church. Hitherto, scholars have expressed surprise that the document, if genuine, was not discovered until 1873, since the library in which it was alleged to have been found had been ransacked by many scholars for years; but the *Advertiser's* correspondent, while forbearing to pronounce the work a forgery, gives some additional reasons for regarding its genuineness with suspicion, which he says is common among the scholars of the East. He thinks Bryennios competent, as respects ability, learning, and position, to construct such a work. He thinks American theologians have been too much in haste to credit the testimony of the metropolitan of Nicomedia. Prof. E. C. Smyth, of Andover, in a letter to the *Advertiser*, expresses the opinion that Bishop Bryennios' "conduct and character alone should shield him from suspicion, unless there is evidence against him very different from anything suggested by your correspondent." As the Springfield *Republican* remarks, "Whether this remarkable treatise is to pass into history as a true copy of one of the most interesting primers of the Christian faith or as one of the most ingenious of pious frauds yet awaits for further evidence."

WORK AND REST.

It has been calculated that if every human being of suitable age were to work four hours a day, the aggregate result would be amply adequate to supply all the needs of human life, even according to the most civilized standards of human need. Possibly, this calculation implies some curtailment in the matter of certain so-called luxuries; as, for instance, it might shorten the wine and cigar bills of some men, and cut down the extravagant ornamentation of dress indulged in by some women. Yet all wholesome wants and elevating tastes might still be supplied.

But suppose such a change in the industrial habits of people were to be at once inviolably decreed and that every capable person were to be compelled accordingly to work four hours a day, no more and no less, would the change be a benefit? Most probably not. And for the reason that the great majority of people would be entirely unprepared for such a momentous revolution in their methods of living. They would have a large amount of time thrown upon their hands, which they would be unable to put to any profitable use. Three-fourths of the active hours of every day would be holiday. And multitudes of people have not yet learned how to use aright the few holidays we have in this country. On the evening of the last Decoration Day in Boston, the day of all days that should be holily kept, we saw in half an hour's walk on two of the most frequented streets several badly intoxicated men, and this though the liquor saloons were ostensibly closed. In the present condition of society, leisure hours to very many people are either a burden or a moral peril. People either suffer ennui and lassitude on account of them, or else, their appetites being sensual, they indulge in animal gratification, and call that having a good time. To use leisure time well requires a certain amount of mental and moral education already. To limit work to four hours daily would mean for large numbers of people merely idleness for the remainder of the present working-day. They would not need the time for rest, and they would not be capable by their mental tastes and habits of using it for any other good purpose. Before they could profitably employ so much time, their mental and moral natures need to be much more effectively developed. And this is the general work of education,—a work which doubtless requires for its objects the gradual lessening in many cases of the hours of physical toil in order to secure the needed time for intellectual culture.

But idleness is never the kind of rest which human beings in general stand in need of. Where there has been overwork, it may sometimes be necessary as a medicine,—necessary for restoring the proper conditions of health. But, in a normal, healthful state of things, idleness, or the condition of nothing to do, has no place. Sleep is the natural mode of rest for the human faculties, when tired. But for the faculties to be awake and yet not active is something unnatural, monstrous. It betokens either disease or imbecility. The trouble is that, in idleness, the faculties usually are active, and that, not being turned by inward disposition to good, they easily slip to the wrong. Idleness is the bane of humanity. It is the season when temptations entrap their prey. Occupation is salvation to thousands of souls. Nor does it matter whether it be the poor or the rich who have this misfortune of idle hours. The kind of temptations may be different for the two classes, but the result is much the same. Some of the newspapers have recently reported the sad fate to which a number of wealthy young men of good families in New York have, in recent years, been brought

through the misfortune of having nothing to do. Several of them have gone from one gilded form of dissipation to another, until they have become common sots of the bar-rooms and streets. Genteel leisure may have more refinements surrounding it, but it is as full of danger as plebeian leisure.

Fortunate are they who, having no need to earn their daily bread, have yet resolved to earn the right to life by making their lives useful to their fellow-men; who, able to live without a single day's labor, have yet fixed upon some noble purpose, and voluntarily marked out for themselves a career to which they have heroically adhered, as if their daily sustenance depended upon it. Fortunate, too, are they who are kept in pure and honest ways by the necessity of honest toil. If they are deprived of some of the opportunities of those who are not necessitated by their lot to a life of toil, they escape also the peculiar perils of that kind of leisure.

Work will doubtless become more equalized among different classes of society as the world progresses, and some species of drudgery, it may be hoped, may be abolished by improved facilities and methods. But work in itself is the condition of human progress. It holds the warp and the woof of human destiny. Worth, character, success, happiness, all depend upon it. Nature offers its bounties to man, but as it were in the rough ore. If man would secure the full benefit of them, and attain to the full measure of his possible power, he must put forth his own energy of body and mind, in order to supplement and fulfil nature's purpose. And there is honor in all honest and needful work to this end. The leisure that is wanted is only leisure from excess of hard physical toil, so that mind and heart may more equally share in the productive and beneficent activity.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE COST OF MY ORANGE.

Every fruit, nut, or berry is an invitation. The invitation is not to man, but to birds and to lower mammals. Looking at the feast which Nature spreads, man might say that no seat at the table was reserved for him. If the vision which Peter saw had been a bloodless feast of fruits from Nature herself, the voice which he thought a voice from heaven would have been an invitation spoken in colors and odors to birds and bears and apes. And, if the man Peter had reached forth his hand, an uninvited guest, he would have seized an apple as bitter as a crab and an orange as unsavory as the wild apple. There is nothing good but a good man, and very little good for man except what he has made good.

My orange is very good. What was its cost? To make it an orange was the cost to Nature of countless forces and countless ages. To make it a good orange was the cost to man of incessant battle for a thousand years against Nature. My orange was not one of the fruits of paradise, if paradise was Nature in the morning flush. Bons passed over the globe before there was flower or fruit. Ethereal pulsations which our senses translate into heat and light beat against the world, and translate themselves into animals and plants. We all sit on the same throne with the Emperor of China, who calls himself "the Son of the Sun." Now, it appears from recent investigations that short and quick pulsations poured into space by a young sun are potent for the building up of weeds that do not flower, and that longer and slower pulsations issued from an older sun are more potent for the creation of flower and fruit. In corroboration of this view of the chemistries of the sunbeam, the geologic record tells us that

the morning of Nature had long passed before the earth was gemmed with a flower. The ancestor of my orange tree was a pre-carboniferous cryptogam. In the age which followed the carboniferous, it was a succulent weed bearing a yellow flower. Grant Allen has shown that yellow was probably the color of all primeval flowers, and that the yellow buttercup is probably very near to the pattern of the primeval flower. The parts of the flower, as every one knows, are modified leaves. The inner whorl of leaves forms the pistils. Now, in the buttercup, the pistils do not coalesce, but remain separate. This condition is very simple. It is called "*apocarpous*." The remote ancestor of my orange flower was probably yellow and certainly apocarpous.

The buttercup has no fruit. The seed is packed in a close-fitting pod, which does not split. Seed and pod seem as one. This form is called "*akene*." The ancestor of my orange, when the seed was evolved from the flower without an encasing rind of fruit, was an akene. The akene is prophetic of the legume. The pea is later than the buttercup.

In the struggle for life, plants have come to have something like rational beings. Why is it that in early spring so many weeds push into flower, only to have their bloom nipped by the frost? If the weed were rational and vocal, would it not say: "I have all the days of summer before me. I can ripen my seed and cast it into the ground, and see myself in weedlets long before the coming of winter. Why then should I not patiently wait the going of winter?"

This is not the voice of the weed. Its conduct, seemingly irrational, is prompted by a deep vegetable philosophy. Put in a human way, the language of the weed is this: "The struggle to live and the struggle for room to live in are very sharp. The willow stands at the water's edge, not from choice, but for sanctuary, driven there by competition. I want room. The plot of earth which I have pre-empted is not enough for my progeny. My neighbors, too, need room. Every weed wants to pre-empt the ground about it for its seeds. Now, we have found by experience reaching through many ages that the battle is to the swift, and that possession is nine points in our law. I find it better to incur the risk of frost, if I can gain time and cast my seed into the ground before my neighbor."

In struggle for room was the first impulse toward fruit. That plant or shrub which can disperse most widely its seeds has the advantage. For light seeds, the wind is a carrier. For seeds of greater bulk, other carriers are wanted.

The most fascinating chapters of botanical science are those in which Darwin and others have shown how flowers secure the attention of insects, and their service in impregnating the stigma with pollen. Equally fascinating would be the chapters in which another Darwin would show the many contrivances by which seeds have drafted the bird or mammal into service to secure their dispersion. To make the wind a servitor required only the evolution of a little sail or tuft of floss. To make the animal an unwilling servitor required only the development of little spikes, barbs, hooks, or harpoons. Sandspurs, burs, and beggarlice are as cheap, physiologically, as they are mean.

No animal will knowingly serve a plant for nothing. Nor will the plant serve the animal gratuitously. Now, the delicious pulp of my orange is of no immediate use to the tree. To produce it is a heavy draft on the tree's vitality. It were better for the tree as an individual to bear its seeds, as it did bear them once, in a pod. It were physiologically cheaper to arm them with spikes or barbs,

and thus send them abroad in the hair of mammals. But a time came in the history of the orange-tree when neither of these methods would secure the dispersion of the seeds. An investing rind of fruit was developed, an invitation to hungry mouths. The fruit was digestible, the seeds were not. Dispersion of the seeds was secured at the expense of growing the fruit.

The orange passed from the apocarpous condition through "variation" and "survival of the fittest." The seed-vessels coalesced, thickened, and became a sort of berry.

This is not a conjecture. The grape, too, is formed by a thickening of the seed-vessels; but, unlike the orange, it carries no vestige of a pod. The thin, longitudinal segments are the heirlooms an orange holds from a remote podlike ancestor. If proof were wanting, we have it in the tendency of all oranges to "split," and in the atavism seen now and then in an orange with the segments more or less completely separated at the apex. This is a lapse toward the apocarpous condition.

The orange which came from the labors of Nature to the quadrupedal and quadrumanous mammal was only "the promise and potency" of our orange. We know where Nature left off, but we do not know when man began. Prof. Heer has shown that the lake-dwellers of Switzerland in the times we call "Neolithic" and "Bronze" cultivated wheat, barley, oats, peas, and beans very inferior to those cultivated now in Europe. The Romans cultivated the pear; but, from Pliny's description, Darwin infers that it was such a pear as we would hardly tolerate now. DeCandolle has found in an ancient mosaic at Rome the representation of a melon; but, as the Romans say nothing about the melon, Darwin is led to infer that it had not yet become a delicious fruit.

The palate of paleolithic man, perhaps, was satisfied with the paleolithic orange. But, as man improved, his senses improved. When he rose above nature, his chief industry was to lift nature to the level of his improved tastes. He had a hard task with the orange. Fertilization and the plough and hoe and rake and pruning-knife have wrought a slow amelioration in the ill-flavored fruit. Sports of better flavor came; and these were "selected" by man, as long before the pulpiest pericarps had been selected by nature.

As man was working upward, Nature was increasing her enemies, and launching them against his work to thrust downward. The wild apple-tree has hardly an enemy, while ours has a hundred and seventy-six enemies. I do not know of any mortal enemy to the wild orange of Florida. Count the enemies of the Homosassa or Jaffa, and you are counting one item of cost, in human toil, of my orange. Nature is against it. Florida receives it into her sandy bosom with reluctance. She gives it room, and that is all. Her gopher burrows for it. Her white ant, a lapsed species, kills it by subterranean bites. Her "scale," another lapsed insect, fastens in countless billions on its leaves and bark, and sucks its life-juices. It is a fact of deep significance that all the deadly foes to the tree which is rising above its old level are species which have sunk below the level held by their ancestors. A heavy item in the cost of my orange is the killing of what, in a beneficent order of things, would never have lapsed, or lapsing would not have lingered to torment other organisms. The vilest superstitions—that is, things that "stand over" beyond their time—are infestations.

Another item, which scores high in the cost of an orange, is the correctives applied to the tree itself. I know something of

but no intelligence moves with the sap of an orange. The treelet has no idea that it will ever be a tree. Its growth seems a reminiscence. Its young shoots are angular, succulent weeds, which stop to rest before they round out and grow firm. They droop and sprawl, as if they were components of a vine. Most of them must be removed, and what is left must be directed.

With enemies in the ground and enemies in the air, the tree is an enemy to itself. Its thorns are terrific. They are simply aborted branches, and are not developed as an armor of defence to the tree. They spear and tear the leaves. They spear and spoil the fruit. They might have wrought for the very destruction of the tree. Here is a fact significant alike to the naturalist and the orange-grower.

During a wind storm last October, a large number of oranges were speared by thorns. The exuding juices attracted swarms of insects, and the insects attracted wood-peckers. The birds, in taking the insects, got incidentally a taste of orange. They liked it. A woodpecker discovered this luxury something as a Chinaman discovered roast pig. And it reasoned better than the Chinaman is said to have reasoned. It saw that the pulp had exuded from thorn-wounds, and it inferred that its place was inside the rind. A few birds, more progressive than the rest, were observed to peck unthorned oranges for the pulp. The habit cannot become general, as the anatomical structure of the woodpecker is fixed and is not adapted to orange-eating. If this habit had been acquired in early times, it might have deflected the lines of evolution, both of woodpecker and orange. If any case occurs in which birds devour the fruit without scattering the seeds, the end for which the fruit is would be defeated.

And, now, you have the delicious orange at a cost to you of three or five cents. But, if you have followed me through this paper, you have counted costs which may modify your views of nature, and shape in you a better philosophy. If the religion-makers of the race had been tillers of the soil and growers of fruit, all religions would have been what Buddhism is,—pessimistic.

W. D. GUNNING.

EMERSON AND THE CONCORD SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

II.

On Monday morning, July 28, two remarkably interesting essays were read by Mrs. Cheney and Miss Peabody. The former spoke of Emerson in Boston: first, as a school-boy, taking out the first volume of a novel for six cents from a circulating library, but never reading the second, because his aunt told him his mother could not afford such an expense; then, as a pastor; and, finally, as the lecturer, exercising an immense influence over the city's growing mind, though at first often undervalued. Thus, a young lawyer said to a lady, "I don't remember a word of Mr. Emerson's lecture last night, do you?" "Oh, yes: he said that shallow brains have short memories."

Miss Peabody opened her treasure of reminiscences by relating how Emerson said: "Without much faculty of verse, I am a poet; and I can't live anywhere but in the country. . . . My holiday home was always in Concord." She once asked him whether he would have developed as he did, if he had not had his Aunt Mary; and he answered: "Oh, that would have made a difference. Aunt Mary? Why, she was as great an influence as Greece or Rome." When nineteen, he gave lessons in Greek to Miss Peabody, who was a year younger; but scarcely a word beyond what was absolutely necessary passed between the shy stu-

dents, until she asked for his bill. Then, he called on her with his brother William, and said he had no bill; for he found he could teach her nothing. A dozen years later, when she told him how his hearers at East Lexington said, "We are a simple people; and we cannot understand any preacher but Mr. Emerson," he answered: "If I had not been cut off entirely from the pulpit, perhaps I might have made something of the sermon. Henceforth, the lyceum must be my pulpit." As he was correcting the proof-sheets of his Divinity School Address, she advised him to use a capital, when calling Jesus the friend; but he replied, "No: directly I put that capital F, my readers go to sleep." She also advised him to insert a passage which had been omitted in delivery, and would have disarmed some of Dr. Ware's objections; but he said: "No: it would be shabby to spring this passage now upon Dr. Ware. I must abide by what I delivered." Among his other sayings were these: "Whoever would preach Christ in these times must say nothing about him." "I feel myself to be in the midst of a truth which I do not comprehend, which comprehends me." When Miss Peabody asked him if there were not something in God corresponding to our human sensibility, he answered, "No."

That evening, Mr. Sanborn spoke of Emerson's equality as a poet with Dante, Shakspeare, and Milton. His prose, like Milton's, is the prose of a poet. In purity of will, also, he resembles Milton, who excelled in verse as he did in prose. Matthew Arnold's estimate of Emerson is peculiarly incorrect, in putting his poetry below Gray's, to which Mr. Sanborn considers it far superior.

Mr. Mozoomdar had been promised for the next morning; but he did not come over from Calcutta or send a word to be read aloud. So the lecturer was Dr. Harris on Emerson, Goethe, and Carlyle, preachers of the nineteenth century doctrine, which is the rise of the individual out of prescription into self-determination. Goethe looks at man as the result of institutions, and recognizes self-renunciation of the individual to the universal, which idea Carlyle accepts also. Emerson puts man above institutions. Our piercing seer discovers in Goethe only the self-seeker, and thinks him incapable of self-surrender to heroic devotion. Emerson could forgive things in Burns that he could not in Goethe, and was impatient of his velvet way of living. He sees clearly enough the place of Goethe in literature, but is not able thoroughly to account for it. Goethe alone has seen the contrast of the modern to the middle age. Carlyle spends his entire literary career in favor of individualism, as manifested by men in power or supported by institutions. Emerson, on the other hand, upholds personal morals.

Mr. Snider then spoke of Goethe as the emancipator of men from the modern Mephistopheles of negative culture. His life was inadequate to his works; but Emerson's life was above his works, though he was the fountain of American literature, and there are more centres in him than in any other man of the nineteenth century. He is our highest example save one.

That evening, Prof. René de Poyen Belleisle spoke extempore in French with great enthusiasm, and with remarkably thorough knowledge of Emerson's works. Referring to Mr. Burroughs' complaint of lack of unity, he made prominent the fact that Emerson was ever faithful to the highest of unities, that of aim. He always spoke as a reformer, and every word was meant to make men better. "Whenever I read *Nature*, I feel as if I were looking at the glory of the dawn," said the lecturer, whose own translation of "The Rhodora" into French was especially charming.

"The mind which stirs between
The wings of bees and building wasps";

Walt Whitman, H. G. O. Blake, and W. E. Channing all failing to appear or contribute anything for the next morning, a long hour was occupied by readings from Mr. Channing's generally ignored poems and accounts of Thoreau. That Transcendental Robin Hood was then portrayed in his relations to the Emerson household. These grew more intimate after the death of Charles, its most practical member, and then again during Mr. Emerson's journey to Europe. This last was the cause of his leaving the Walden hermitage. Little as Thoreau cared about money, no one could get the better of him when he was making bargains for others. Seldom was he false to his own words, "Staying at home is the heavenly way." He once wrote to a publisher: "I can sympathize with the barberry bush, whose business is solely to ripen its fruit, not to sweeten it. I mean only to earn enough to purchase silence with." Equally characteristic is Emerson's saying to Miss Peabody, when he had to go out to look at a load of wood, "We must see to those things, you know, as if they were real." Dr. Harris gave a powerful and lucid exposition of "Uriel," "The Elements," and "*Brahma*," which he illustrated by parallel passages from the Bhagavat-Gita. Mr. Sanborn closed by reading a poem sent for the occasion by Miss Amélie Veronique Petit, of Cornell University, and containing the following lines:—

"Great with the greatness of a gentle life,
Great with the greatness of a true, pure heart,
And of the spirit that upholds the right,
He lived; and, now, a grand, benignant teacher
Of highest truths, he sleeps as Plato sleeps.

... He lives,
Ever will live while thought immortal is,
While spirit outlasts sense, and truth supreme
And purity and love outshine the stars."

The last lecture of the Emerson week, that written for Wednesday evening, July 30, by Rev. G. W. Cooke, of Dedham, told how the Concord philosopher looked at nationality. Emerson was at once American and cosmopolitan. To him, all the nations were parts in the great anthem we call history. Nothing was dearer to him than his own country; and he created her literature through his appeal for insight into to-day. Zealous as he was that America should be American, he was equally desirous that we should not be partisans for her, but that she should remain the universal benefactor, hospitable to all the nations. To be true Americans, we must be faithful to humanity. Genuine democratic spirit bids us consider the rights of all men.

In this series of lectures, very little was said of Emerson's views of art or his relations to scientific thought, but otherwise his position was elaborately defined in every respect. Mr. Mead and Mr. Albee spoke in full sympathy with his views; but other speakers were unwilling to accept his antagonism to the Church, and inclined to suppose that he went backward in later years. It may be well to remember that he kept his place to the last among the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association, that he published that extremely radical essay, "The Preacher," in 1880, and that, less than eighteen months before his death, he read carefully his Address at the Divinity School in 1888, and said he thought so still. When asked in his closing years what his views were, he would simply point to his books. It is best to do so now. Brilliant, learned, and reverential as are the men and women who have spoken and written about him at Concord and elsewhere, they have only made plainer the fact that he is his own best interpreter. The commentators can do nothing better than collect parallel passages from his own works. All that is necessary for any reader to understand him is to keep on reading.

The audiences have been much larger this summer than in previous years; and the school is certainly to be congratulated on having ceased to waste its time on childish fancies or meaningless abstractions, and presented so interesting and inspiring a theme.

F. M. HOLLAND.

SPENCER, HARRISON, AND RELIGION.

III.

The last word of Spencer is that "we are ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." There is no absolute negation here. Though unknown, yet well known, is that Unknowable of which we can predicate eternity and infinity and the origination of all things that are. Mr. Spencer does but give a negative answer to the Old Testament demand: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?" But too often he has seemed to claim for the Unknowable as such religious inspiration. It is as devoid of it as Mr. Harrison contends. "The doctrine of evolution asserts, as the widest and deepest truth which the study of nature can disclose to us, that there exists a Power to which no limit in time or space is conceivable, and that all the phenomena of the universe are, whether they be what we call material or what we call spiritual phenomena, manifestations of this Infinite and Eternal Power." * Surely there is no lack of knowledge here. We cannot know anything aright without knowing it of God. The old claim of theology to be *Scientia scientiarum*, the Science of the sciences, was never made so good before as it is now. And it is what we know that makes the Unknown and the Unknowable the boundless continent of religious sentiments and aspirations. What makes the unknown so quickening to our awe, our gladness, and our trust, is that the little we do know is so wonderful, so marvellous; and we proceed to people all the vast unknown with the benignant forms and forces that have been openly revealed to us. When Charles Lamb was fifteen and Mary twenty-six, they saw the sea for the first time, and were not a little disappointed because they expected to see "all the sea at once, the commensurate antagonist of the earth." But, when we stand on the sea-shore and look seaward, is it only, as he said, "a slip of salt water" that we see, or only

"Eastward as far as the eye can see,
Eastward, eastward endlessly
The sparkle and tremor of purple sea"?

It may be all we see, it is not all we feel. Surely, what fills us with a joy so keen that it is almost pain is not alone the flashing tumult of the great expanse of waters: it is also that beyond where sky and water meet, with the mind's eye, we see the ocean reaching on and on, and beautiful with the same unspeakable beauty as the little space that lies within our field of actual vision. It is the beauty of the known that makes the beauty of the unknown so sure and so entrancing. And, just as surely, the soul's normal delight in the infinite God is not produced by any purely negative unknown. No more is it by any positive known. No, but by our warrantable conviction that all the infinite unknown is, equally with the little territory that we know, the haunt of beauty, order, symmetry, and law.

Of such an Unknowable as this, unknown in itself as all things are, not less Mr. Harrison's Humanity than Mr. Spencer's Infinite and Eternal Energy, but known as infinite and eternal, known as the Source of everything that is, known as it manifests in all things we can see or hear or apprehend in any way with sense or mind, better and

better known with every new advance of science, —of such an Unknowable as this it is hardly so allowable to speak disrespectfully as of the equator. To make a religion out of our relation to it is hardly as extravagant as it would be to make a religion out of our relations to the equator. There is nothing sweet and good in Mr. Harrison's Religion of Humanity that is not here as well. George Eliot's "Choir Invisible" is here, "whose music is the gladness of the world." The motive, "other men have labored," is here to shame our negligence in entering into their labors; but, with more generous inclusions, all souls, not merely all saints, accounted parts of that Grand Humanity which demands our highest service and our deepest love. Herbert Spencer's *Data of Ethics* is but a single chapter in his doctrine of religion, and Positivism is not a whit more exigent than that in its demands for sympathy and mutual furtherance between man and man. All that is valuable in ethical Positivism is in ethical Evolutionism too. But the Religion of Humanity does not involve all that is best in the religion of the evolutionist, save when it lapses into some woful inconsistency, as it does when Mr. Harrison declares: "Humanity is the grandest object of reverence within the region of the real and known. *Humanity with the world on which it rests as its base and environment.*" "You should see Vich Ian Vohr with his tail on," says Evan Dhu to Waverley, in Scott's romance. And here is humanity with a tail on, such as no comet ever swung through heavenly spaces,—the world on which it rests as its base and environment." With this trifling addition of the infinite and eternal universe to Mr. Harrison's Humanity, it answers quite as well as Mr. Spencer's "Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed," for the principal object of religious admiration, awe, and trust.

The God of Evolutionism does not invite to wonder and to mystery alone. It does invite to these, as Mr. Harrison allows; yet not for a mere unknown, but for an Unknown shot through and through with gleams from the great sun of knowledge which is mounting steadily the morning sky of human history. It invites to these with a persuasion that grows every day more irresistible. But it invites no less to every one of those attitudes and beatitudes of mind and heart which Mr. Harrison declares to be the roots and fibres of religion, and, to a degree, toward which the Religion of Humanity, without its universe annex, must ever strive in vain. It invites to "love, awe, sympathy, gratitude, consciousness of dependence, ... reverence for majesty, goodness, creative energy, and life." It is not "a religion only to stare at." It is a religion that is a principle that responds to Mr. Harrison's demand that it shall be capable of "affecting human life by acting on the human spirit," and capable of expressing itself in institutions looking to these ends.

It is Mr. Harrison's insistence that a religion is worthless which does not directly concern itself with human conduct. And Mr. Matthew Arnold has told us, with considerable iteration, that conduct is three-fourths of human life. If it were seven-eighths, or even a larger fraction, a religion that had no concern with human conduct, if such a thing were possible, might not be worthless. It might "sustain and harmonize our thoughts about the world we live in and our place in that world," and this alone would be no trifling boon. The religion of evolution does exactly this; for it is part and parcel of a science and philosophy that exhibit all the parts of the great whole of things as linked and orderly, so that, as George Herbert sang,—

"Each part may call the farthest brother."

* *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, John Fiske, p. 301.

A religion that did no more than so sustain and tranquillize our thoughts upon the bosom of an everlasting faithfulness,—which Science names the invariable law,—would not, I think, be wholly unconcerned with human life. But the religion of evolutionism is concerned with human life in a more obvious manner. "For clearly, when you say of a moral belief that it is a product of evolution, you imply that it is something which the universe through untold ages has been laboring to bring forth, and you ascribe to it a value proportionate to the enormous effort it has cost to produce it."* There are those who consciously oppose themselves to evolutionism, who claim for ethics a religious source and aim, and imagine that in doing this they are antagonizing the philosophy of evolution. But never has a system of ethics been conceived that is more fundamentally religious than the ethics of the consistent evolutionist. He is not talking rhetoric, but science, when he declares that the distinction between right and wrong is rooted in the deepest foundations of the universe. When Wordsworth in his "Ode to Duty" sings,—

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong,"

he is not more poetical than scientific. For the same Unending Genesis that evolved the original nebula into suns and stars has wrought into the inmost substance of the universe the principles of right and wrong. "Human responsibility," says Mr. Fiske, "is made more strict and solemn than ever, when the Eternal Power that lives in every event of the universe is seen to be in the deepest possible sense the author of the moral law that should guide our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guarantee of the happiness which is incorruptible,—which neither inevitable misfortune nor unmerited obloquy can ever take away."

It is no ghost of religion, that appeals to us with thoughts and sanctions such as these. It is a veritable religion, capable of "affecting human life by acting on the human spirit" as no substitute for religion can do, even one so high and noble as the so-called Religion of Humanity. For it not only gives to moral sanctions

"an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat,"

but, seeing that the moral law is rooted in the foundations of the universe, the universe is moralized by this perception: the infinite dark of the Unknown orbs itself into a Sun of Righteousness with healing in its wings.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. CHARLES WATTS informs us that he expects to arrive in America the first week in September; and he wishes applications for lectures to be addressed to him at 248 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ont., care of Mr. A. Piddington.

The *Sunday School Times* remarks that "what is wanted for keeping the world moving is not the capacity for finding easy ruts, but the quick eye and skilled intelligence which will enable one to break new paths where necessary, and to lead wisely rather than to be led unwisely."

In a recent speech, Col. T. W. Higginson said: "Many think that it is easy to get out of a party, but very hard to get in again. The reverse is true. It is hard to get out of a party. We have to sever old ties and read newspapers. But to get in again is easy. It is like going through an oiled door."

* *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, John Fiske, p. 303.

"Not as adventitious, therefore," says Spencer, "will the wise man regard the faith that is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter; knowing that, let what may come, he is thus playing his right part in the world,—knowing that, if he can effect the change he aims at, well; if not, well also, though not so well." Nobler far are these words than any that defend or excuse a temporizing policy.

In his *Outlines of Psychology with Special Reference to the Theory of Education*, Mr. James Sully relates that a little girl less than five years old, after watching her father, a clergyman, some time while he was writing a sermon, put to him the following question, "Papa, does God tell you what to write in a sermon?" With some little hesitation, the father replied in the affirmative. Whereupon, he was ignominiously nonplussed by the further question, "Then, papa, why do you scratch it out again?"

MR. BLAINE'S proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution—presented by him in the House of Representatives in December, 1875—was as follows: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations."

THE *Indian Messenger* says: "True leadership and true faculty of organization are always to be tested by two things: first, by the leader's ability to develop and foster real individual worth within the community; secondly, by his tact and ability to utilize all the available worth for the continued progress of the movement. But these were just the two things in which the late Mr. Sen was deficient. He strenuously opposed the idea of a constitutional mode of church government, which, perhaps, is the best means of fostering individual worth in a church; and he also pursued a policy of keeping at a distance every one who had intelligence and independence, and who dared to signify his dissent from his views."

THE *Haverhill Laborer*, published in the interests of the Knights of Labor, Frank K. Foster, editor, says: "The way of reform is through knowledge. The philosophy of progress must be made to supplant that of fossilism. The labor press must do its share in effecting this revolution. The results of competition must be exhibited in all their foulness, the possibilities of existence under a just system of distribution and exchange be pictured in their full beauty. Our earth sweeps through its orbit with almost inconceivable force and velocity, yet so nicely adjusted are the elements of nature that we perceive no motion whatever. So also may it be in the world of social change, that because of our finite perception we can hardly comprehend the velocity with which the race moves on toward new conditions and new possibilities."

In England, the same as in this country, the Protestant clergy, as a class, oppose every effort to increase opportunities and means of popular Sunday enjoyment, without going either to church or to the dram shop. In Swansea, after permission had been obtained from the town council for the band to play in the afternoon, and when the police reports bore unequivocal testimony to the improved conduct of the lower classes from the time the playing commenced, the local clergy, church and nonconformist, put their heads together, got up a demonstration against the open-air concerts, and brought sufficient influence to bear upon the town council to secure the reversal of its decision.

It is fortunate that they cannot stop the singing of birds and the blooming and perfume of flowers on Sunday. The fact that they are a source of pleasure to those who go through the parks, and in the fields and woods on that day, would be a great temptation to the orthodox clergy to suppress them, if they had the power.

FANNIE BRIGHAM WARD writes from Mexico to the *Springfield Republican*: "They mix religion with their drinks, as with everything else in this Catholic country, in a manner which elsewhere would be considered somewhat sacrilegious. Every pulqueria has a picture of the Blessed Virgin or its patron saint hung up above the barrels; and a little shrine, with crucifix and burning candles, is crowded among the bottles. The names of these shops are frequently more religious than appropriate. For instance, one opposite my window is called *La Cantina del Merced*,—the saloon of mercy: that on the nearest corner is christened 'The True Faith,' and a little further down the street is another dedicated 'To the Mother of God'! Another rejoices under the rather ambiguous title *Vamos al golfo de Mexico*,—'Let us go to the Gulf of Mexico'; and scores of them are dedicated to Jesus, St. Joseph, St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, Santissima Maria, and all the other virgins, saints, and angels known in the calendar."

MR. B. W. BALL writes us in regard to a colored artist: "Providence, R.I., is proud of her colored artist, Mr. E. M. Bannister, and has reason to be. He would be a man of mark personally in a group even of distinguished men. His head is simply superb,—the head, in one word, of an artist and poet. Genius beams from every lineament of his face. His portraits and landscapes indicate his capabilities as an artist. I am no art critic, and therefore can only express a sort of indiscriminate and indiscriminating admiration of several portraits and landscapes which Mr. Bannister was kind enough to exhibit to me at his studio, No. 2 College Street, Providence. I particularly remember a flock of sheep in a secluded nook, looking across the water to Newport. The artist's talk was as interesting as his pictures. Mr. Bannister is not only a credit to his own people, but he is a credit to the country also.

"Up! and the dusky race
That sat in darkness long,
Be swift their feet as antelopes,
And as Behemoth strong."

A FRIEND who was active and prominent as an abolitionist, in a letter referring to some statements recently made in regard to the religious belief of abolitionists, writes: "If being 'of the Garrisonian school' means, as I think it does, insisting on the duty of an immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, Theodore Parker belonged to it, as he held that position from the beginning. As to the Garrisonian abolitionists agreeing with Parker in theology, I don't see how any general statement can be made. Some agreed with him, and some did not. Most of the abolitionists, having been born and educated under the orthodox faith, naturally adhered to the traditions of the elders, and did not venture to think for themselves about theological matters. But, of those who did venture to inquire about the foundations of Orthodoxy, I feel sure that the majority found Parker to be right, as I did. I feel sure also that those church members who became abolitionists became so through outside influence, and in spite of vehement opposition from church and clergy."

WE have the writer's permission to give the following extract from a private letter from Mr. Charles Froebel, of New York (243 East 19th Street), whose fine essay in this number of *The*

Index and another from the same pen, to appear next week, will command wide attention and be read with great interest by many thinkers: "In the course of a changeable life in the Old World and in this, no more than three consecutive years of which—between my tenth and thirtieth—were ever spent in any one place; in the alternate occupations of a student of nature, mining adventurer, day laborer, merchant's clerk, soldier, and during the last ten years teacher of chemistry,—in personal intercourse with all classes of society from the man of standing to the outlaw,—I have had considerable opportunity for study and observation. Undoubtedly, the formation of my mind has been most powerfully influenced by the writings of Goethe and Spencer (and, of course, Darwin). But, next to these, I feel sure, I owe more to the literary works of my father [Julius Froebel] than to any other living author. The list of my most valued teachers would still be incomplete, were I to leave unmentioned the name of a well-known American scientist, James D. Dana. It was, if I recollect aright, in some of the older editions of his *System of Mineralogy* that I found the germs of far-reaching views in regard to the laws of form and isomorphism,—the very laws which, when fully developed, will be required to complete the laws of evolution."

THE *Independent*, commenting on the action of the mayors of Toulon and Marseilles in refusing the petitions of the Catholics for permission to parade the streets and have public prayers for the abatement of the cholera, remarks that the "influence of an organized gathering, in a solemn procession of ten thousand people, all earnestly believing in prayer, and beseeching God to remove the plague, would, we believe, be more helpful than harmful. Even those who do not themselves do much praying would get the impression of a mysterious force of some sort that was being invoked against the pest, and would themselves be encouraged to resist the contagion. . . . The prohibition also assumes that prayer is a feeble influence, or, perhaps we should say, God is a feeble factor in controlling pestilence. That means, of course, that God takes very little interest in pestilence; that he sits on a distant and desert throne in the undiscovered polar regions of the universe, where no explorer's fleet, however freshly its sails may be filled by the breath of prayer, can reach him, and whence no message goes forth to control the execution of the laws of the universe, which he may once have imposed, but has now forgotten. We can take no such view." Another and a more sensible view is that of the *Springfield Republican*, which thinks the prohibition simply "means that the mayors in question think that great congregations of excitable and terror-stricken people in times of infection are dangerous, and that the efficacy of prayer can be resorted to in the stated places of worship or in separate residences. A deacon, in an obscure church in the interior of New York State, once began his prayer in this way: 'O Lord, thou hast doubtless read in yesterday's papers,' etc. The deacon's assumption was perfectly correct; and there is no doubt that the Lord has heard of the cholera plague, and does not mind a public procession in the premises."

We have never seen any of the performances of the "Georgia wonder," Miss Lulu Hurst; but not a few who have, and after reading numerous "scientific" expositions of her powers, are of the opinion that the notoriety she has gained is due to her physical strength and dexterity, the extravagant claims of her managers, and the superstitious credulity of the people. Says the *New York Times*: "The present 'Georgia wonder' is now

fairly well understood. She is a strong girl, with a knack, greatly increased by practice, of twisting umbrellas and billiard cues out of the hands, and chairs from under the bodies, of weaker and less wary persons. The interest, however, of seeing an 'investigator' stood on his head in the flies of a theatre, or a cotton broker sitting on the floor with unexpected precipitation, is not a scientific interest, but an interest of the same kind as that which attends a competitive examination in climbing a greased pole or catching a soaped pig, or the running of a foot-race by pedestrians whose bifurcation is dissembled by bags. It is perhaps well that we should be occasionally reminded what abysses of gullibility are yawning all around us. When we are too prone to forget it, some 'Georgia wonder' appears, and by brandishing a cotton broker in the faces of a theatre full of people brings out in full force the human capacity for belief. The more credulous write letters to the newspapers, explaining that the cotton broker was brought to grief by 'odid force,' or that the muscular power which enables a girl to smash an umbrella is not her own, but that of her deceased grandmother. It has been sufficiently shown that, when the Georgia wonder encounters a trained athlete who is stronger than herself and equally quick, neither odid force nor the spirit of her grandmother has the slightest effect upon him. In the mean time, her season in New York has had the effect of bringing out the latent credulity of a large part of the public."

A MONUMENT, erected to Nathaniel Sylvester, shipmaster, merchant, and banker of two hundred years ago, was unveiled recently on Shelter Island, N.Y., which is opposite the town of Greenport, L.I., in the presence of five hundred spectators. Among the inscriptions on the stone are the following: "Of the sufferings for conscience' sake of friends of Nathaniel Sylvester, most of whom sought shelter here, including George Fox, founder of the Society of Quakers, and of his followers, Mary Dyer, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and William Leddra, who were executed on Boston Common; Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, despoiled, imprisoned, starved, whipped, banished, who fled here to die; Daniel Gould, bound to the gun-carriage and lashed; Edward Wharton, 'the much scourged'; Christopher Holder, 'the mutilated'; Humphrey Norton, 'the branded'; John Rous, 'the maimed'; Giles Sylvester, 'the champion'; Ralph Goldsmith, 'the shipmaster'; Samuel Shattuck, of 'The King's Missive,'—these stones are a testimony. The Puritan in his pride, overcome by the faith of the Quaker, gave Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill to history. The blood and the spirit of victor and vanquished alike are of the glory of Massachusetts." Prof. Louis Dyer of Harvard College, a descendant of Mary Dyer who was executed on Boston Common, read the following original sonnet, dedicated to his famous but ill-fated ancestor:

"Long shalt thou live, who wert in haste to die;
In law's despite was shown thy loyalty;
In love's defiance stood thy constancy;
Thy weakness lent thee strength and voice to cry,
'Silence no earthly price from me shall buy!'
Most pleased in prison, in straitest bonds most free,
Thy death was life, defeat was victory:
The truth was with thee, God thy strong ally,
When right, outraged, required thy wrongful death;
When mercy was for mercy's sake denied;
When cruelty to earth called kindness back;
When even for those who most thy name deride,
Freely for freedom spending thy last breath,
Dying thou bought'st what living thou didst lack.

"Because for liberty thou didst forget
Thyself and thy dear life, shall we no more
Remember thee? Can we, who careless live
This life of freedom which thy death did give,
Who see this sun which saw the slain of yore,
Thy debtors still can we deny the debt?"

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

The Religious Confession of an Evolutionist.

BY CHARLES FROEBEL.

The True Relation of Religion to Science, Metaphysics, and Esthetics in Human Nature.

The human intellect demands a positive knowledge, the human heart a positive faith. A momentous discussion—borne on one side by the loyal defenders of a time honored religious belief, on the other by the aggressive warriors of scientific thought—is permeating the literature of our time. Deny it we cannot. We are living in the midst of a mental war of such magnitude, and having for its objects of contention possessions of such vast psychic interest, as to make it impossible to overestimate the importance of the struggle. For, although hostile intentions have been on both sides disavowed, though the churchman has declared his respect for "real science," and the scientist his reverence for "true religion," yet the "real" science of the former would be regarded by but few of its calmest thinkers as anything but a crushed and humbled science, despoiled of its fairest, rightful possessions; while the "true" religion of the scientist would be rejected by the generality of the most dispassionate votaries as scarcely more than the disembodied shade of a religion robbed of its most cherished treasures, in fact but a philosophical system, and no religion at all.

The animating spirit of the opposing armies, though masked by pretended concession, is thus discovered to be one of uncompromising hostility, explicable only on the hypothesis that each power is endeavoring to occupy domains which are rightfully subject to the sway of the other,—that the priest is arrogating to himself the function of the scientist, and the scientist is seeking to usurp the office of the priest.

At present, science occupies seemingly impregnable positions. The power of the churches, imbued with the spirit of perhaps valiant but strategically incompetent commanders, stubbornly refuses

to change its base of operations to that vantage-ground directly opposite to the weakest defences of science, which but awaits unopposed occupation. This vantage-ground is that of a truer appreciation of the relations subsisting between certain "psychical phases of being," among which religion and science are to be classed as divisions. This appreciation, with the proper recognition of the further fact that, besides these two, there are other phases, between-lying philosophical domains,—which religion and science must, in the course of their struggle for supremacy, alternately invade,—is as yet wanting. When it shall prevail, it will inevitably lead to a complete change in the relative position of the contending powers, and before long to the conclusion of a lasting, beneficent, and honorable peace.

It will hardly be disputed in our day, by either sincere priest or scientist, that the entire range of man's psychical life is the resultant of relations subsisting between his essential nature and its environment. What our personal religio-partisan view of the true character of that nature (or soul) and its environment may be—whether the latter be thought of as a state of human consciousness, or a condition of the universe or deity, limited or unlimited in extent, finitely or infinitely near or distant in space or time, or both—is of no consequence in this connection. But what these *relations between man and his environment necessarily* must be may serve as a sound basis for their proper definition and classification.

The essential nature (soul, etc.) of the human being is manifested solely through the influences which it receives from or distributes to its environment. In the course of this process, the—always more or less complex—influences involved may or may not be subjected to a disturbance of their integral character. Coming from without, they may be integrally received or synthetically combined by the feelings to unconscious (aesthetic or religious) impressions of the beautiful, or, passing through the analytical prism of logical cognition, they may appear in consciousness as (scientific or metaphysical) spectra of the true. Proceeding from within, they may be analytically and consciously dispersed (by the will) or synthetically and unconsciously gathered (by impulse), and projected into the focus of action. Evidently, therefore, we must assume the existence, on the one side, of an unconscious, emotional, synthetical phase, and, on the other, of a conscious, logical, analytical phase, of human existence.

The power of understanding (*i.e.*, of entering into relations with) the "infinite" has been generally held to be denied to finite human nature. But, when we consider that the infinite differences of magnitude necessarily existing between infinitely small and finitely large portions of psychical processes constitute an incontrovertible fact of that nature, we may certainly question whether these very differences ("innate non-relations") do not furnish a reliable set of measures for any infinite environments. Be this as it may, the higher mathematics holds itself competent to deal with the powers of the infinite, and has therefore actually brought us into relations with these. And, for these reasons, we cannot forbear to assert the existence of not only a finite, but likewise of an infinite phase of psychical being, all forms of finite, logical, and emotional life inhabiting the domains of science and aesthetics proper being assigned to the former; all infinite forms, citizens of the empires of metaphysics and religion, to the latter phase.

To recapitulate, we emphatically claim that all psychical phases of human life consist of sets of relations subsisting between the essential nature

of man and an environment which may be finite or infinite in extent, and that these relations are mediated either by the unconscious synthetical action of the feelings or by the conscious analytical activity of thought. We are thus compelled to recognize four fundamental phases of psychical life:—

RELIGION. (Infinite Synthetical Phase.)	METAPHYSICS. (Infinite Analytical Phase.)
ESTHETICS. (Finite Synthetical Phase.)	SCIENCE. (Finite Analytical Phase.)

Each of these phases may evidently appear either in a receptive or expressive mood.

The Duties of Religion and Science.

All religious creeds which would sway humanity are bound to the eternal obligation of presenting plausible explanations of the ultimate origin and destiny of things. But, in faithfully performing this duty, they must necessarily bring an infinitely remote origin and end into relations with present finite existence, and thereby enter the sovereign domain of science. They can only approach its confines by a system of logically connected explanations of the various aspects of the infinite,—a road traversing and lying wholly within the empire of metaphysics. Or when, as often happens, this highway is impassable, they are compelled to seek expression for the intangible infinite meanings of their system through the tangible finite symbols of art, for this purpose occupying more or less permanently portions of the realm of aesthetics. Thus it would appear that the religious power has not only at all times encroached upon the legitimate domain of science, but that it has likewise frequently occupied the intermediate sovereign territories of aesthetics and metaphysics, drawing therefrom auxiliary support against its hereditary enemy. Such has been the aspect and condition of psychical affairs at various times in the world's history: such it must be again and always, whenever a vigorous faith in the strength and beauty of early youth enters the field of the present.

But when, in the eventful course of human development, the aggressive *ethical* spirit of creeds is broken by opposing *natural* forces, there comes a change. No longer able to sway men's hearts with the magic spell of an enthusiastically felt faith, the hand of religion falls powerless by her side. No longer able to sustain men, in the midst of their life's wreck, by a beacon of transcendent hopes,—waning day by day in spiritual strength and the number of its adherents,—a creed exists only because that stronger, bolder, purer belief, which sooner or later must seize upon a throne so unworthily occupied, has not yet been born or attained its maturity. And we need not be astonished to behold at such times psychical forces other than religious, extending the limits of apparent sovereignty beyond their legitimate boundaries. No wonder that even now the scientific power, overrunning the territory of metaphysics, is making inroads upon the religious state. No wonder that political effort is now but exceptionally directed in the interest of the Church. No wonder that an emotionally chilled art no longer tenders her devout interpretations. And no wonder that religion has been compelled either to surrender the greater part of her dogmatic claims or at least to abstain from openly asserting much upon which she may still in secret insist. For just so long as she endeavors indiscriminately to maintain possessions to which she has no title, as well as of those to which she has, her efforts will be so enfeebled by the extent of the psychical territories she seeks to control that she will find herself despoiled of everything, till she is poor indeed,—in fact, no religion at all, but the mere dethroned claimant of a metaphysically garrisoned dependency of science.

To avoid this disaster, religion must acknowledge her limitations. She must admit that while she claims that region which science terms "the unknowable," as her legitimate inheritance, yet the forms dwelling in this region are for her no more knowable than for science: she must acknowledge that on this field, not science only, but she as well is agnostic,—unable to know. For it is in the form of *belief* and not in that of *knowledge* that she must and can maintain her rights. To the charge of science, "You do not know!" she must reply, "My cognition springs from sources of higher authority: I believe!" When science insists that she has no tangible reasons for her beliefs, she must answer that she has more tangible wants, affections, and desires. And, when she occupies that position, religion will no longer be vulnerable. Like the wonderful shadowy form of some oriental tale, the arrows of science will pass through her leaving no wound; the sword of reason may seem to cleave her; but she will stand there still unharmed,—the eternal! the mysterious! the all-beautiful!

From the vantage-ground now held by science, she has been able not only to reasonably state the natural laws which have directed the evolution of still prevailing religious creeds, but even to indicate the critical conditions which scientific thought will in the near future be prepared to dictate as ultimate terms of peace to her antagonist. This much science has accomplished, but she can and must do even more before she lays down her arms. She must demonstrate to the churchman not only to what *external* laws of the great analytical power of thought he must conform his creed, but also what *internal* laws of the equally great synthetical power of feeling must inform his system of beliefs, if he would desire it to further dominate mankind. This latter internal law is that of the duty which religion owes to humanity,—that of supplying the means of consolation for the defeats of intellectual and physical power.

The first-felt wants of the human being seek for immediate physical satisfaction. The babe's tiny hand clutches at the object of desire, be it bottle or moon; and, only when unconscious impulsive effort at physical acquisition has proved a failure, thought is born. The integral impressions received from the environment are analytically broken, and philosophically dispersed in that wonderful spectrum of conscious knowledge ever growing in complexity, and the range and delicacy of distinction of its component tints. Then, by the application of this "spectrum of the tangible" to technical invention, the domain of physical power is slowly but surely extended, until, when the latter's necessities limits are reached, thought continues on alone, carving out of the physically unapproachable regions of desire an independent state. Then logical cognition is added to cognition, truth to truth, until even here an impassable barrier cries, "Halt! thus far shalt thou know, and no further!" But, beyond this barrier, the human heart still feels a claim: belief takes the field, and does not stay its advance till it has extended man's psychical sway to those remotest confines of possible dominion never trod by physical or intellectual force.

While the victorious advances of physical, intellectual, and even emotional prowess are each in their turn checked by barriers insurmountable to their power, in the reverse order this is not the case. Knowledge may enter the domain of physical possession when and wheresoever it pleases, for the latter is but its most powerful vassal. Belief may pass at will over the territory of both: it but confirms their title. Its authority is the highest, it is supreme.

To restate our position. The external condi-

tions of peace with science, to which religion must conform, are those of the former's fundamental primary ideas. Without her sincere acceptance of the scientific premises of the indestructibility of matter, the persistence of force and the continuity of motion, and of their first logical resultant, the thesis of evolution, religion will not be permitted to recuperate her power. The internal conditions which, if she would re-establish her sway over the human heart, must inform religion, are those of a promised satisfaction of the ultimate wants, affections, and desires of humanity,—infinite power, infinite wisdom, and infinite love and happiness. The beacon of religion must light the path where the rays of knowledge can never penetrate.

The Relation of the Evolutionist to Ultimate Religious Parties.

In the consideration of the questions here discussed, let it not be forgotten that science herself has been but lately transfused with the blood and spirit of evolutionist ideas. Hence all this heat and enthusiasm of the young convert:—

"Dies ist der Jugend edelster Beruf!
Die Welt, sie war nicht, eh' ich sie erschuf."

Hence these assaults on even those religious citadels which are in reality impregnable; hence, in short, this not unfrequently maintained opinion that all forms of mental life but those of science are to be forever swept away.

As it is susceptible of proof that absolute falsehood is but a negation, and therefore never met with in any system of opinions, we may here inquire upon what misinterpretation of fact the above error is founded. In order to accomplish this purpose, we must cast a passing glance at the constitution of those ultimate religious parties which have no special relation to ephemeral denominational issues, but are characterized by their attitude toward the central ideas of all creeds,—those of a supreme power, of an immortality, and of a moral law. The first of these three is the most important, and must evidently be taken as the psychographical standard in the survey of creeds.

While it is not the intention, in this article, to enter upon a detailed discussion of the origin of beliefs, yet their genetic relationship must be cursorily taken into consideration. Proceeding from the thesis that the human race are the descendants of a base animal ancestry, it necessarily follows that the dark ground from which all religious beliefs sprang must have been that of an unconscious atheism. At a later stage, that of the savage mind swept and swayed by the ever-changing beneficent or injurious action of nature, a chaotic form of pantheism ("palæo-pantheism") necessarily prevails. Later still, with a higher civilization, the abstractions of the original pantheistic chaos arrange themselves in accord with the musical rhythms of trained sympathies, and subject to philosophic law and order,—a poly-pantheistic divine hierarchy. And, with the birth of this conception of divine organization there likewise springs into being the idea of the essential unity of all these abstractions in the form of one supreme God. But, at this stage of development, a curious phenomenon occurs, due, apparently, to the first great widening of the intellectual gulf between the highest and the lowest minds. For, as all are not able to assimilate this philosophic conception of a divine unity composed of an organization of personified abstract powers, those who are not are compelled to choose, according to their affinities, between a polytheistic system, deprived of the tie of personal unity, and a monotheistic creed, in which the abstract forms of natural power, robbed of their life to enrich God, become mere dead instruments in his creative

hands. Of such character appears to have been the process by which the polytheism of the Greek and the monotheism of the Hebrew were differentiated from the poly-pantheism of the Egyptian. This differentiation carried in its train the fateful consequence of the expulsion of the monotheistic deity from the material universe. Thus, while the Egyptian and Greek, holding to a material world, animated by the divine principle, were *endocosmic theists*, the Jew and his religious descendants became *exocosmic theists*, and introduced the antagonism between God and his creation. Thus arose the two great ultimate religious parties, which still divide the religious world between them.

The European and American religious world has been retarded in its development by the exclusive domination of one of these two systems; and, as this no longer performs its duty to the heart of humanity, we are growing weary as death of its senile rule; and a radical change is impending, in which the other ultimate party, which has been out of power for nearly two thousand years, may again be called to the council chambers and throne of the religious state. For nothing is more certain than that the religious ideas of the entire world are now undergoing the throes of a revolution, in the course of which all forms unfit for further life must inevitably perish, while some shadows of beliefs may rise from the past to ephemeral existence, others to know the bloom of a second youth; and the new faith of the future is born to a promise of blinding glory.

Protestant Christianity is no longer a "ditheism." At least, I believe, the devil and the torments of hell are now but rarely appealed to even from the orthodox pulpit. Along with the disappearance of the evil principle, the belief in the divinity of Christ and in the necessity of his redeemership for the salvation of mankind has faded considerably in the mind of the liberal Christian illuminated by modern ideas. The faith in the "exocosmic" god is fading away much more slowly, yet even atheism has in these days made rapid advances. The want of an individual personal immortality such as has ever been taught by the Christian priest is still strongly felt even by those who, like many of our Spiritualistic friends, have broken with the Satanic, divine, and redeemership elements of the Christian creeds. Yet there are not few who already turn from this dogma with a feeling of relief to the Nirvāna-doctrine of the Buddhists. Last of all, the moral law of Christianity is adhered to still by a large majority of even the most liberal of those who in all other things are no longer Christians.

Regarding the thesis of evolution as the very soul and essence of modern scientific thought, it is plain that the mind which projects it has a pantheistic bent and that either the lens of this thesis must be broken, or that only those religious forms which are synrhythmic with its ideas can live within the intense heat and light of its focus. Of all the forms now prevailing in Europe and America, but four—"Atheism," "Spiritualism," "Western Buddhism," and "Unitarian Pantheism"—deserve our consideration. It is certainly a most remarkable fact that all of these modern "heresies" are essentially pantheistic in character and for this reason perfectly compatible with evolutionist ideas. Their pantheism is the sun around which they revolve, the planets of a new religious system.

The atheist denies the existence of the exocosmic God of the Christian and places his dependence on those scientific "rocks of ages," the conceptions of matter, motion, force, space, and time. But the atheist is apt to forget that with the first advent of favorable emotional conditions these

very "rocks" may take upon themselves an independent religious life of their own, leading him through a pseudo-scientific polytheism nearly akin to that of ancient Greece, into a poly-pantheism similar to that of the Egypt of old. For the Christian doctrine of immortality the atheist substitutes a firm faith in the indestructibility of matter, the continuity of motion, and the persistence of force, scientific conceptions undoubtedly capable of assuming a high order of religious value. His moral law finds its expression in the doctrine of action for the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

All those whose mental inertia compels them to adhere to the belief in a personal continuous immortality, when they have broken with the other elements of the Christian creeds, instinctively turn to Spiritualism. And probably no other phase of modern religious development is more deserving of philosophic analysis and interpretation. Swedenborgianism, to which it bears a close relationship, is, I believe, the only Christian form which attaches great importance to the observation of Nature. Spiritualism, pursuing allied paths, appears to be a case of mental reversion (atavism) to a chaotic pantheism, nearly related to the ancestor-worship and fetichism of the savage. The latter, being distinguished as "palæo-chaotic," the former should be designated as neo-chaotic pantheism.

As already stated, the religious development of Europe and America has been retarded by the exclusive authority of "exocosmic theism." But, even as in the Middle Ages the study of the Greek and Latin classics contributed materially to the renaissance of independent thought and the advent of the Protestant Reformation, so also in our day does the study of the Indian classics contribute no inconsiderable influence toward the further emancipation of thought from its dependence on modern Orthodoxy and the advent of a new *pantheistic reformation*. The two prevailing religious forms of the Indian classics—Brahmanism and Buddhism—are both pantheistic. And, as the latter contains philosophical and ethical treasures, which may well accord with some of the views of our most advanced Liberals, it is not at all improbable that a "Western Buddhism"—a Buddhism freed from all those elements of belief which are in too great discord with our thought and feeling—may soon attain to great prominence in modern life.

Unitarian Pantheism.—An Evolutionist's Creed and Hymns.

None of the creeds of antiquity, let it be distinctly understood, can return and hold its own among us in its original form; for religious beliefs, like all other forms, are subject to the law of change, and

"Like suns and motes are borne afar
Past thoughts ne'er visited anew.
No form to its full like returns:
The soul but to its change is true."

The modern beliefs, sketched in the preceding portions of this article, will all undoubtedly play an important part in swaying the hearts and minds of a large portion of humanity for some centuries to come. But to the select few who, recognizing the eternal truth that man is but a part of universal living nature, feel their hearts swell in sympathy with her purpose,—the ultimate happiness of all being,—to those whose love goes forth to the meanest thing that breathes, who in the trees and flowers greet their slumbering sisters, and who tread tenderly on the rock lest they give it pain,—a system of "Unitarian Pantheism," closely assimilated to that of the "Creed" and "Hymns" here following, can and must be the only enthusiastically acceptable form of belief.

I have pondered the truths of my faith—for

such I hold them to be—for years, before attaining to the crystalline clearness of my present convictions. To say that I am ready to defend them, by word and deed, against the assaults of all who may DARE to accept my challenge, is but a faint echo of the strength of my feeling.

Creed.

I. I believe in a *Universal Being*, manifesting itself to Human Cognition through the following Attributes:—

1. A presence in each point and immensity of space, and therefore *Infinite, Omnipresent, and Omniform*.
2. An existence in each moment and æon of time, past, present, and future, and therefore *Eternal*.
3. An ultimate cause of all causes and an ultimate end of all ends, present in each special cause and end, and therefore *Free and Omnipotent*.
4. A self-perception of all change and motion, past, present, and future, all eternally persisting with like distinctness, and therefore *at Rest*.
5. An ultimate difference in all likeness, and therefore *Omniquality*.
6. An ultimate likeness in all difference, and therefore *Omniconcrete*.

II. I believe in an *Immortality* of all things and relations that have been and shall be; that the entire past persists through the remotest future, and the entire future existed through the remotest past; that these things and relations are removed from simultaneous and equivalent human cognition only by the unequal distinctness of their persistence,—a defect and limitation of human consciousness. And I believe that the entire present is but a negation,—a gate through which the waves of the universal being flow from the eternal future into the likewise eternal past, and from the eternal past into the likewise eternal future.

III. I believe in an immutable and eternal *Moral Law*, not a mere matter of individual opinion or interpretation, but inherent and innate in all things and relations; eternally binding on all parts of the universal being; manifested to human feeling (emotional cognition) as a system of hopes, desires, and purposes,—memories of the future more or less distorted by imperfections of emotional power,—to human thought (logical cognition) as a system of relations subsisting between the compelling causes of the past and the liberating purposes of the future,—between beauty, truth, and happiness in existence. And I believe that the release and redemption from evil of all parts and portions of the universal being is only possible through the universal (pan-empneustic) cognition of this law:—

1. Thou shalt love above all things *Beauty*, her "daughter" *Happiness*, and her "servant" *Truth*, and worship them in each thought and feeling, word and deed, of each moment of thy life.
2. Thou shalt own the sway and yield undivided allegiance to *Liberty*, ruling by the divine right of the future, and bear her standard and sword in her eternal strife with Compulsion, the illegitimate usurper from the past.

Hymns.

UNIVERSAL BEING.

"I, the All-Being's spirit, free,
Omnipotent,—revealed in thee,—
From every point of boundless space,
From every tiniest atom's face,
Shine forth! In all existence cast
Eternal,—present, future, past,
Cause and effect, mean-purpose, linked,
Each self-perceiving, like-distinct;
Unceasing change, fore'er at rest;
A difference on all likeness pressed;
A likeness in all difference seen;
A love, all that I am, between;
My forms infinite, unperceived;
And yet but One,—Myself believed.

IMMORTALITY.

The spoke the wheel, revolving, whirls;
The chord vibrating music-pearls;
The flash the cloudy anger hurls!
My sense, for one brief moment free
From reason, feels in unity
Past, present, future states combined,—
A part of the All-Being's mind!
Change's all-blinding lightning-flash,
Unceasing motion's thunder-clash,
Life's never-ending billow-dash,
In the All-Being's spirit free,
Are but as one in unity;
A rest eternal, never stirred
By motion, change, thought, deed, or word.!

BEAUTY.

Mysterious force! all-ruling through desire,
A burning passion's voice, I call on thee.
Breathe in me, spirit of eternal fire:
With flame-acords make thou my being free.
Instill each moment, every passing hour,
Each thought and feeling, word and deed elate
With holy grace and virtue of thy power,—
All that I am to thee I consecrate!

LIBERTY.

Beneath the future's standard, sworn
Her rights' divine defenders,
Down from her heights we flash the morn
That heralds freedom's splendors!
From dark abyss, up nature's steep,
The tyrant past arises,—
A cause-chained host of shadows deep
That sacred rights despises!
Upon life's plain, avast and far,
In battle's clash e'er meeting
(First sun beheld, last dying star,
Shall see, the deadly greeting),—
The war eternal never dies:
The battle rages ever,—
Yet, while its billows fall and rise,
Our courage wavers never!

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER FROM MILWAUKEE.

Editors of The Index:—

Austin Bierbower, in an article entitled "Secular Security for Morals," in the *American Monthly* for May, speaks in the most positive manner of the present decline of belief in the Christian religion, and the loose hold it now has upon the people. Rationalists are well satisfied of this fact, and also well satisfied with the work they are doing in various ways,—very quiet ways, for the most part. But the fact of a declining belief in Christianity is patent also to believers. At the council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in Milwaukee recently, the Rev. William Bliss Ashley, in the opening council sermon, said: "The principal danger of the time is an over-estimation of human powers. Rationalism is now more manifest than ever before. Atheism, positivism, agnosticism, and other like creeds, have referred the precepts of God to the reasoning powers of men. These are some of the dangers of the day. Armed, not with the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and those of his kind, but with the divine philosophy, this Church sends us forth to battle against the decrees of rationalism. Priests and people have need to take on the armor of God, if we would be equipped to do battle with the enemy."

Priests and their people are evidently alarmed, and are looking to their old weapons with which to combat the ranks of reason. The result is already prognosticated with the substantial data of increasing rationalism which even its enemies acknowledge.

Twenty-five years ago, I heard the Rev. Mr. Ashley in the pulpit of St. Paul's Church admonish his congregation not to read the *Atlantic Monthly*. If the mild heresies of that magazine in that day excited priestly timidity, what wonder that their present alarm urges strong words inciting to vigorous action, when the literature of to-day, aside from that which is under strict sectarian control, is pervaded with rationalistic ideas, and when the newspaper press, no longer subsidized by Christian patronage, prints all the news it finds, whether it be favorable or unfavorable to churches and their members, and, if under intelligent administration, speaks boldly for the side that represents justice, though its standard-bearers be positivists, agnostics, or even atheists and free thinkers! The Reverend Doctor's "armor of God" and "sword of the spirit" will prove powerless against the hosts whose weapons are the pen and the printing-press, marching forward to the battery of "Freedom of thought!" The Milwaukee newspaper press has been very outspoken in regard to a reported movement of the Milwaukee Citizens' League to enforce a law prohibiting the sale of liquor on Sunday. The Milwaukee *Sentinel*, in a leading editorial, stigmatizes this as "an unwise Sunday movement," and echoes the prevailing sentiment that, "as such a movement cannot succeed, its only effect will be to set two elements by the ears, disturb the peaceful relations of the community, and do vastly more injury than is done by the present suspension of the law."

The Citizens' League, organized in the interest of

law and order, undertook to enforce the law against the sale of liquors to minors and drunkards. In this, it has had the sympathy of the community; but this Sunday movement is generally felt to be one which will do harm rather than good. Already, the spirit of opposition has been aroused, and several German societies have called a meeting for the purpose of resisting "a puritanical interference with personal liberty."

The interest of Milwaukee people has been largely centred the present week in the proceedings of the National Educational Association, held at Madison. Prominent educators and thousands of teachers have been in attendance upon the Convention, and its deliberations have been marked by a broad and progressive spirit. The value in the cause of educational progress of the work done in this Convention is inestimable. It has been a source of much gratification to myself to note the topics chosen and their far-reaching and intelligent discussion. The emphasis has been distinctively upon such methods of reform as are deemed essential by the most advanced educators. Industrial education and manual training have received a large share of attention.

The kindergarten has been a prominent feature of the Convention. The extensive exhibit of kindergarten work has admirably illustrated this method of teaching. Prof. William Hailman, President of the Froebel Institute of North America, has by his indefatigable efforts brought this institute into such recognition in this National Teachers' Association as may well be gratifying to him. Prof. Hailman initiated the kindergarten in Milwaukee, and it was very up-hill work. He was earnest, however, and enthusiastic. He and his wife, who co-operated in the work, were forced to make many personal sacrifices, as are most persons who champion a new idea. It is but a few years since Prof. Hailman made an urgent plea for the adoption of the kindergarten in the public schools of Milwaukee, and received little but sneers by way of sympathy. He gave a course of admirable lectures in the basement of the Unitarian Church to a handful of people on "The New Education." This week, the press report of the proceedings of the Froebel Institute contains a eulogy on the "splendid part taken by Prof. Hailman in the initiatory work in the West," and says, "The rank of the kindergarten work in fostering the new education is at the top."

Prof. James McAllister, of Philadelphia, our former superintendent of public schools, and who labored resolutely against the bias of school boards to establish the kindergarten in our public schools, urged, in an address before the Convention, the extension of the kindergarten principle into the higher departments.

A paper was read on "Technical and Art Education in Public Schools as Elements of Culture," which was prepared by Prof. Felix Adler, and contained a detailed statement of the scheme of technical instruction in the workman's school in New York.

There were papers urging the instruction of social and political science in the higher schools and universities, the instruction in art for its aesthetic as well as economic value, the teaching of the industries for their ethical value. There were several papers on the development of individuality in pupils, and urging upon teachers to invent methods of instruction adapted to each child's mind, and to discover a discipline that would develop character.

I have not space to note the many other kindred topics of discussion. These are sufficient to indicate the tendency of effort in educational matters by the most eminent teachers in our country. In these efforts, we see the dawning of a new era in education. It has seemed long in coming, this hopeful sign of a larger interpretation of the meaning of education, whose scope was so grandly outlined in the little work on Education written by Herbert Spencer over twenty years ago. Reading and reflecting upon the plain and practical suggestions on "what knowledge is most worth," contained in this work, and contrasting them with what passes for knowledge taught in our schools, and proves but little worth in the child's relation to the affairs of after-life, I have waited, not always patiently, for some such proof as I have seen in recent efforts of educators that education was beginning to answer the question, "How to live?" "for," says Mr. Spencer, "to prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge."

Mgr. Capel caused a sensation in the Convention on Friday evening by endeavoring to explain his position and the position of the Catholic Church toward our

public schools. He said the press had reported words he never said. He eulogized the common school system of America, and bade it God-speed. He denounced the published statements that the Catholic Church was prepared to rise *en masse* against the public school system as a gross slander upon himself and the Catholic Church, that the only objection of the Church to the public school system was that they did not train the heart, only the head. If the American schools would introduce religious training to-morrow, the Catholic Church would work with them hand in hand. (Great applause.)

This generous applause was doubtless the effect of spontaneous sympathy with a taking phrase conveyed in the wily Catholic's happy manner, rather than the result of a thoughtful consideration of the consequences which would certainly follow this "hand in hand" work.

"Till then," concluded Mgr. Capel, "the Catholic Church will build its own schools, employ its own teachers, and train its people in a way similar to the public schools, with moral culture added."

This closing thrust should have been counted an insult to that body of educators who were earnestly directing their efforts toward a scheme of education which should promote ethical culture. But Mgr. Capel does not mean morality when he says morality. He means "the practice of certain virtues under dogmatic teaching, that teaching which says this is right and that is wrong, but does not show why it is right or wrong, or that widely related evils will be the result of certain sins." These educators, in their endeavors to establish manual training, industrial and art education, are laying the groundwork for the security of morals in the public schools.

It is very pretty talk, this "training of the heart"; but it is simply sentimental talk. The training of the hand is of much more importance in moral culture than is the training of the heart. Heart means emotion in the crude thought. The Catholic Church does desire to train the emotions of children, for these are the fruitful soil wherein to sow the seeds of superstition. It will build its own schools, and also compel its people to send their children to them; and in Milwaukee, this summer, action has been taken to make its schools free, so that nothing may stand in the way of the religious training of its people.

An informal meeting has been held to take preliminary steps for a general mass meeting in Milwaukee to protest against the proposed action of Italy in the confiscation of the missionary college. It is announced that this meeting will not be denominational, but presumably it will be very one-sided.

MILWAUKEE, July 19, 1884.

THE CONCORD SCHOOL.

Editors of *The Index*:—

Two statements in *The Index* report of the first week of the School of Philosophy were incorrect, and would convey a false impression. As they were plainly misunderstandings, will you allow their correction in the interest of truth?

The first was that Dr. Bartol told us that "Emerson had doubts of the divine Personality." On the contrary, the outcome of Dr. Bartol's lecture was that Mr. Emerson was essentially a believer in God as a real personality and not at all as a vague impersonality; and the one most clear lesson learned here about him has been his firm belief in the reality of the Supreme Being.

The other statement is that Mr. Emery and Dr. Holland "complained of Emerson as not sufficiently religious." What these two gentlemen really objected to was the position claimed for Emerson by Mr. Mead, as an advocate of the substitution of morals for religion. This claim of Mr. Mead was held by them and others to be a misunderstanding, the right reading of Emerson's works, as a whole, establishing the opposite of this. Not the substitution of morality for religion, but the union of morals and religion they conceive to be Emerson's teaching; and they see that religion was his chief inspiration and its reality his supreme insight. Both Dr. Holland and Mr. Emery recognize this; and neither they nor any one else, during the whole week, complained of his lack of religion. It is not always necessary or best to correct misstatements; but, in this case, the writer has felt that a true understanding of the position of the School on this question has demanded it.

H. R. SHATTUCK.

A RELIGIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Travels in Faith is the rather misleading title of a very fascinating and important work. But the inner page gives a full title, *Travels in Faith from Tradition to Reason*. This provides a large psychological and intellectual field to glean in; and the author has gathered into terse but generous narrative a large amount of simple but very interesting matter, showing up the spiritual strivings of piously bred children who long and pray for the emotional state called "conversion." The author, Capt. Adams, is the son of the Boston preacher, Nehemiah Adams, and was one of a considerable family. These children began at eight and ten years of age to torture their natures in the usual way. An elder brother announced himself as converted at least six times before arriving at a reliable state of mind. These conversions occurred between the ages of ten and sixteen. A sister reached church membership at the age of twelve. Our author found it impossible to conjure up the feeling of guilt which he was assured was necessary; and, after a two hours' struggle on his knees, he decided that he had done his part, and that, if God would do his, all would be well; if not, he must conclude that he was not one of the "elect," and must take the consequences of his exclusion. Nothing happened: the Holy Spirit did not move his soul, and he fell into melancholy. At sixteen, his father spoke to him of union with the Church; but there was no "conversion" to justify it. The father then asked a written statement of his son's convictions and feelings. This was furnished and handed to an examining committee. To his amazement, he was pronounced a proper candidate for membership. The amount of strictly religious instruction, of the orthodox kind, which environed these children, is hard of belief. He read Spencer, Lecky, and Theodore Parker; but these authors were not the sole stimulators of his reason. As captain of foreign ships, he saw the swarming millions of India and China. These coolies at the wharves showed a better morality and better manners than the wharfmens of Liverpool, San Francisco, and New York. At the mission stations, he found little collections of twenty or thirty pupils snatched from the millions who were to burn forever. Let no one for an instant suspect this autobiography of dullness. It is the record of a powerful reason veiled by a life of antagonistic teaching. There is no affectation. One falls at once into a quick sympathy and sincere respect for the author, and lays down the book as unwillingly as a first-class fiction. Capt. Adams has made the stride from traditional Orthodoxy, even of Calvin's sort, to the open land of scientific freedom. He cannot be attached to any leader; for he knows them all, and quotes as instructively from Haeckel as from Lecky. An admirable part of the book is its wise and sensible treatment of the Bible and of Christianity. Most especially good is his exposition of the more natural life that we shall lead, when science shall control health and conduct more closely. If those who have laughed over Col. Ingersoll's irreverent exegesis of things would place their mind under the influence of this popular and delightfully written book, they would soon gain a more sanitary moral attitude.—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CONVENTIONAL LIES OF CIVILIZATION. From the German of Max Nordau. Chicago: L. Schick. 1884. pp. 364.

This book is a fierce assault upon hypocrisies of every kind by a writer who is impatient and indignant at the persistence of anomalies in our modern civilization, of absurdities still strongly entrenched side by side with disbelief of the intelligent classes in their utility and justice. The author is a German, and views the world and examines social, political, and economic institutions through the spectacles of a radical whose views have been formed in a situation such as presents itself only in Germany. The Imperial Council of Austria has prohibited the further sale of the work, which has been in disfavor with the Austrian government from its first appearance. This fact, however, seems only to have increased the demand for it; for it has gone to its seventh edition in as many months. It touches upon all the political and social problems of the day, and arraigns the "Lies of Civilization" with boldness and

audacity. It denounces the tone and tendency of our age. The chapter, "The Lie of Religion," criticises religious worship in all its forms. "The Lie of a Monarchy and Aristocracy" will not shock any readers in this country, although, probably, to the Austrian government the most offensive chapter in the book. "A Political Lie" deals with a trouble which is fundamental even in our politics, the inability of the people to get a true expression of their will through their representatives. "The Economic Lie" traverses the field of political economy, advances some startling paradoxes, and exposes anachronisms and faults with much ability. The "Matrimonial Lie" vigorously denounces the matrimonial system of Europe, pointing out the deplorable physical, mental, and moral deterioration which must result when material interests arrange marriages. The chapter, however, contains statements that are extravagant and inferences not warranted by facts. Another chapter contains severe stricture on the press, which it is claimed is devoted chiefly to propagating lies. In fact, the author finds society and all social institutions permeated and swarming with lies. On every page, the author shows himself to be a partisan; and his extreme bitterness unfits him for a judicial view of the subjects he discusses. At the same time, a book like this, one-sided as it is, compels the reader to see evils which are real, although not often acknowledged, and to respect the sincerity and courage of the writer who points them out.

B. F. V.

THE *Art Amateur* for August has complimentary notices of several American paintings, by both men and women, in the English and French exhibitions, although it sustains its character for impartiality by pretty severely snubbing others. The biographical sketch is of one Frank Myers Boggs, who is a clever young American marine painter. It is interesting in this, as in many other cases, to see how the patron of the modern artist is not the nobleman or millionaire, but the newspaper publisher. The article by Russell Sturgis on the "Restoration of Ancient Statues" gives a great deal of valuable information in regard to the familiar statues we have so long known by many reproductions. He treats the subject very judiciously, by showing that restorations are very rarely admissible, and that the real interest of a fragment is destroyed by attempting to complete its design. It is strange how easily one becomes accustomed to the sight of an unrestored fragmentary statue. The want of certain parts, as the arms of the Milo Venus, is forgotten; while one can never forget the impertinent presence of such restorations as deform the Medicean Venus. Even the mutilated head of the Psyche of Naples is forgotten in the perfection of the beautiful features. Some excellent wood-cuts illustrate the sketch of Mrs. Emily J. Lakey, the New York painter of cattle. What perverse creatures women are! One would predict that they would excel in miniatures and pictures of sentimental misses and pretty children, and here we have Rosa Bonheur in Europe and Mrs. Lakey in America taking the first rank as cattle painters. Clarence Cook's contrast between the drawing-rooms of the old time and the new will amuse many readers, as will also his dictatorial assertions in regard to the proper ways of living. I cannot see why a family should have the labor and expense of using candles and moderator lamps in a drawing-room instead of gas, more than anywhere else. As usual there are many varied designs and much instruction for those interested in decorative art.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Tories are beginning to understand that there is intense feeling underlying the present reform agitation in England; and, instead of continuing to disparage it, they are now trying to meet it with counter demonstrations.

THE Springfield *Republican* mentions an important advantage the supporters of the Prohibition party have over all others in the contest for the Presidency: "They can, by a simple adaptation of the 'temperance lecture,' everywhere hold Sunday campaign meetings, and are beginning to do it."

A NEW street in Paris has been named after Darwin, the ninth Englishman whose name has thus been honored in that city, the others being Byron, Fulton, Jenner, Newton, Milton, Stephenson, Harvey, and Sir Richard Wallace. Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln are the Americans after whom streets have been named.

A CALIFORNIAN who was "raised on earthquakes," and claims to be an expert in such matters, scoffs at the earthquake which occurred in the Eastern part of the country on Sunday last; but the large area over which the shock was felt, showing, too, that the centre of the disturbance was very deep, may be mentioned as proof that our Eastern earthquake was no petty affair. And there was nothing spiteful about it, as is often the case with the little earthquakes which shake up the people of 'Frisco. The inhabitants of the Eastern section of the country are rather more moderate and quiet than those on the Pacific Coast, and an earthquake of the sort that our California friend boasts of would be not only inconvenient, but entirely out of place in New

England and the Middle States. Let not the Californians speak slightly of our Eastern earthquakes; and we will not disparage theirs, nor laugh at their calamity and mock when their fear cometh.

REV. R. G. McDUFFY, a Cleveland clergyman who was arrested recently for riding a bicycle on a sidewalk, pleaded guilty, and in extenuation of his offence said: "My parish is a very large one. I am often called to the bedside of a sick or dying person, and must get there as fast as I can. I hope I am a law-abiding citizen; but, when I receive a call of this kind, I am going to respond at all hazards. I consider that, in following my calling as a minister, I am obeying the law of humanity, a higher law, even though I violate the law made by man." The justice, who took an untheological and unsentimental view of the case, in fining the offender, spoke to him in the following plain fashion: "When the laws of humanity, or higher laws, as you call them, conflict with the laws of this State and city, the higher laws are going to come off second best. I respect your calling,—it is a noble one; but the laws to enforce which I am placed here are applicable to everybody without distinction as to person or occupation. For the present, I'll stand by the ordinance. My advice to you is to 'keep in the middle of the road.' If you take to the sidewalk, you must go afoot."

ACCORDING to a correspondent of the *London News*, the King of Abyssinia, although absolute in power, is a slave to ecclesiastical authority: "The priests of that country are men whose intellectual and moral character is such that their influence must be bad on a ruler who looks to them for counsel and instruction: "The priests are allowed to marry, if they choose; but the majority lead a life of gross immorality. The confessional itself is the easiest means for gratifying their desires, and also for obtaining the liquor that cheers. They are veritably 'Friars of Orders Grey.' The priest is always the most drunk and noisy at wedding feast or burial. He wears a turban of white cotton cloth, made up to resemble the shape of the Greek pope's hat; and this, with the exception that he is generally more inebriated than his congregation, is his only distinction. The church in this country is almost as profitable a profession as that of the soldier. There is no regular pay attached to either, but the followers of both loot and live upon the people. There is no encouragement to ambition or advancement; for, as soon as a man begins to grow rich, he is spiritually robbed by the one and materially by the other."

ACCORDING to the fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Labor, of which Col. Carroll D. Wright is chief, there are in Boston, exclusive of domestics, some twenty thousand working-girls. Of these, about 68.7 per cent. live at home with relatives, 15 per cent. in boarding-houses, 15 per cent. in lodging-houses, and 5 per cent. in private families. Their ages average about twenty-five years, and their wages a little less than

\$5. More than 85 per cent. do their own sewing or housework, 76 per cent. are in fair health, about one-fifth are allowed vacations, and 3 per cent. with continued pay. Through ill-health or failure of work, three-quarters of the girls lose an average of three months' time a year. The report is very creditable to the moral character of the working-girls, to the investigation of which much attention was given. "We can most freely and positively assert," it says, "that the working-girls of Boston are making an heroic, an honest, and a virtuous struggle to earn an honorable livelihood, and that it is rare that one of them can be found following a life other than one of integrity. . . . We, of course, do not wish to be understood as asserting that the working-girls are any better than the same number of girls in any other calling,—for the amount of private immorality in any community or among any class cannot be traced,—yet they come out of this investigation with as good a name as that which can attach to any class."

THE *Independent* says "that the Christian religion stands the test of pestilence and death better than frivolous unbelief." In proof of which, it quotes the statement that "migration from Toulon has been going on at an unparalleled rate. Of course, all those who occupy posts of authority and responsibility remain; but the common people are fleeing wildly. . . . I do not hesitate myself to ascribe this excessive fear to the recent progress of materialism and decay of faith in God." The flight of "the common people" from Toulon during a terrible epidemic is evidence simply of their intelligence and common sense. If they were ignorant, credulous devotees, they would remain in the city, and put their faith in prayer and religious processions, and die like so many sheep. We were in Memphis a few years ago, when the yellow fever, which had raged with great mortality, was subsiding, and when every train brought to their homes in safety and health hundreds who had fled from the danger of the epidemic, including nearly all the Protestant clergy of the city. The Catholic priests, consistently with their faith, remained to perform their offices to the dying, many of them falling victims to the pestilence. Were the people who were able to leave Memphis and did so less wise or worthy than those who, with opportunities to leave, remained without any good reason, only to become victims of the fatal disease? Does the man who exposes himself fanatically, ignorantly, or recklessly to danger show greater wisdom than he who, with regard for his own life and the happiness of those dependent upon him, takes all proper precautions against pestilence? It is admitted that those who "occupy posts of authority and responsibility remain" at Toulon; but the fact that "the common people" have become sceptical and intelligent enough to rely on their own efforts to escape from pestilence rather than trust in the mummeries of superstition, and needlessly sacrifice their lives here to please God and secure exemption from his vengeance hereafter, seems to disturb greatly the writer from whom the *Independent* quotes.

NATURE'S TRUSTWORTHINESS.

There are some things in nature which man, doubtless, would have ordered differently, if he had had the opportunity. Earthquakes and tornadoes, cholera germs, rattlesnakes, he very likely would have left out of the plan of the universe. The weather, too, he might have tried to fix by some more regular and intelligible law. Mosquitoes he would have quickly evolved out of existence, and flies he would have provided with such an instinctive fondness for out-of-door life that they would never enter human dwellings.

Yet it by no means follows that man's plan would have been, as a whole, an improvement on nature's. Certain it is that man has himself learned to overcome many of nature's evils, and has discovered that what once appeared to him as only evil was but the necessary condition of some good. It is certain, too, that man's own progress, that the sharpening and strengthening of his intellectual faculties and even his moral advancement, have been largely conditioned on this struggle to get the better of the evils of the natural world. And so, possibly, the evils that remain unconquered, and that seem indeed unconquerable, may not be so in any absolute sense, but may be only useful enticements for evoking to still higher stages of development the mental and moral ability of the human race.

Even John Stuart Mill, who drew such a terrific indictment against nature's cruelties, also wrote: "No one whose opinion deserves a moment's consideration can doubt that most of the great positive evils of the world are in themselves removable, and will, if human affairs continue to improve, be, in the end, reduced within narrow limits. . . . All the grand sources, in short, of human suffering are in a great degree, many of them almost entirely, conquerable by human care and effort." Considering, indeed, what man has already achieved in the reduction of nature's evils, why should we use Mr. Mill's modifying phrases of what may be reasonably expected in this direction in the future? It may seem a wild prediction, but in this vacation month we venture it, that man will yet discover some way of mastering the hurricane and the earthquake. He may yet learn the science of meteorology so accurately that he will be able to foresee and evade the most furious tempest. And is it wholly a fanciful guess, would it be a greater marvel than some things man has already achieved, if we were to imagine our distant Yankee posterity inserting huge safety-pipes into the bowels of the earth in the region of earthquakes, and thus innocuously drawing off and perhaps even utilizing the rebellious subterranean force for the turning of their factory wheels? As to venomous beasts, they need not be feared so long as we have a race of Barnums in the world; and diseases the most deadly and the most difficult to cope with are already admitted to be the result of some violated law, and no scientific man will affirm that the broken law may not be ferreted out, however obscurely hidden it may now be, and the dire consequence prevented.

Science everywhere declares that nature is not man's enemy, but his friend. She is ever working for him; but he is to meet her half-way, in order to secure the full beneficence of her work. And, if she sometimes seems to be playing with his hopes and fears and balking his efforts, it is only to stimulate his mental cunning and impel him to some greater audacity of endeavor. She never meant him to live in a Garden of Eden, where her fruits should be showered upon him without thought and without toil. If she cursed the ground with barrenness, the curse turned to bless-

ing upon the soil of his mind. The conditions of Eden would have produced only another race of comfortable animals, not all-mastering man. Compelled to struggle for existence by rough encounter with natural forces,—to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow,—man has filched nature's friendly secrets from her and thriven on the very forces that threatened to extinguish him. If here and there she seems to falsify his expectations or to forget her own laws and act capriciously, let not his complaints over the temporary failure unjustly blind his eyes to her constant and magnificent benefactions. Possibly the disappointment may bring forth some good which shall dwarf the ill to its proper pettiness. Against all drawbacks, nature generally manages to get in her work at last. Let man get in his, and all will be well. In spite of cold and wet and frosts, New England is teeming with abundant harvests at this glorious midsummer. When the heavy frosts came the latter part of May, it was dolefully prophesied that the New England strawberry crop had been destroyed and its apples ruined. But never were New England strawberries more abundant or more delicious than this year; and the laden orchards before our eyes as we write, in this hill-town of Western Massachusetts, prove that the apple-trees have not lost their cunning. When the June frosts came, there was again a wail. Huckleberries and blackberries would be killed, and garden vegetables were irretrievably cut off! But the faithful berries are here in their season, to be picked by the handful from the bush, and to be bought in all the markets; and the farmers who did not succumb to the frost, though their vegetables did, will yet reap the reward of their second planting.

It may be, after all, that nature knows what she is about. At least, it is hasty to assume that man's ignorance or incapacity is the limit of her trustworthiness. Her enviroing conditions and forces have furnished the medium through which man has progressed from animal savagery to mental and moral civilization. The more he has learned and trusted her, the better she has served him and the faster he has advanced. Even her seeming freaks pique his intellectual curiosity to find a solution and remedy. And though intelligent design to serve him may not be found, after the manner of the old teleologists, in her arrangements, yet, by his intelligent adaptation of conduct to her ways, the same beneficent result has been achieved. The design is, at least, on the human side. And, if the evidence does not permit us positively to affirm that it is also on nature's side, there is, on the other hand, no adequate evidence to compel a denial of the many hints that both man and nature are in the sweep of some larger and grander design; that, with mutual adaptations to each other, both are borne forward on one stream of energy, which has intelligence at its source and for its end an harmonious order, variety, and beauty of life fairer even than all man's dreams.

WM. J. POTTER.

DISCUSSION OF IMMORTALITY BEFORE THE CONCORD SCHOOL.

The discussion had been opened from the Biblical stand-point by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., on Thursday morning, July 31. That evening, a crowded audience, composed of residents of Concord to an unusual extent, gathered, despite the heavy rain, to hear Mr. John Fiske unfold the Origin and Destiny of Man. He began by showing how needlessly man's importance in the universe was once supposed to be in danger from the Copernican system, the greatest scientific achievement of the human mind. The resulting revolution in

religion has not dethroned humanity. Neither will that still greater revolution, by which man is no longer a creature apart by himself zoologically, but is a member of the Catarrhine family of apes. This truth is not to be overthrown; and, by its aid, we can now prove, as could not have been done previously, that there is no possibility of the evolution or creation of any higher being than man. His superiority to the apes has been owing to the increase in surface of his brain, as well as to the prolongation of his infancy. To the latter fact, we owe our social relations, and especially that necessity of subordinating individual conduct to the welfare of the family, whence arises the idea of duty. Man is less selfish than other animals, for the length of human infancy produces altruism. The first men had no bond of union but blood relationship, and so were always at war. This strife was intensified by the difficulty of getting food enough for all. Those savages who have enough to eat are peaceable. Agriculture and manufactures, by making life easier, made large communities possible. Local self-government is so important an element of national growth that the pacific principle of federation must ultimately reign supreme. Increase in power to sympathize with others is also promoting the ultimate triumph of peace over war. Evolution is showing so plainly the high place of man as the goal of nature that it is a most gigantic assumption to suppose that the life of the soul ends with that of the body. It is not probable that immortality can ever be demonstrated by science. The belief must be an act of faith. Disbelief in heaven has always accompanied those low views of man which evolution has made obsolete.

Mr. B. F. Underwood, after praising the ability with which the lecturer had shown that the lowest human mind has been evolved from the intelligence of the brute, asked how man could have a consciousness, by virtue of which he is immortal, not possessed by creatures of which he is a modified descendant. "If," said Mr. Underwood, "the human mind forms part of a sequent order in which there have been what we call cause and effect, antecedent and consequent, with no supernatural force introduced anywhere along the line of evolution, if the mind of man, as well as the physical structure with which in every stage of development it is correlated, has resulted from innumerable modifications of animal life, how can man have come to be an immortal being? How can he have an essential quality forming no part of the mental constitution of the ape, of which his own constitution is a natural modification? In a word, how can the mortal produce the immortal?" Mr. Fiske replied that he had not claimed that immortality could be proved by science. He had spoken of it only as a faith, a religious hope, a moral probability. How do we know that the ape is mortal? It may here be noted that the immortality for which he contended was not expressly said by him to include the conscious continuance of individuality. Brilliant and powerful as were his declarations of our nobility, they might all be accepted easily by those who expect no survival but that of our race, and who look at our minds as only temporary forms of a power which is eternal and incomprehensible. As a demonstration of the natural foundation of morality, independent of theology or metaphysics, the lecture was a magnificent success; but it scarcely touched the question of survival of conscious personality.

There was no lack of definiteness on this point in the metaphysical arguments presented on Friday morning by Rev. R. A. Holland, D.D., and that evening by Prof. Davidson. The latter brought up a dazzling array of propositions, so

original and so concisely expressed as to make an accurate summary almost impossible. His fundamental definitions were these: The soul is the principle of instinct, feeling, thought, and will. The eternal or immortal principle is that to which all succession of time is present at once, and which cannot change. The verb "is" means analysis of a mental object. Kant's mistake, that the mind constructs its own object, led to all the vagaries of German thinkers. Is the soul immortal? And, first, is the principle of intellect and will eternal? We can never get beyond experience, and should not try to infer from it what is not in it. Intelligence is the act by which feelings are referred to agents and principles are grasped as principles. The essence of intelligence is that it grasps entity or object. Even the ego may be objectified. True object is unchangeable, hence eternal. We must go behind all that is changeable to have the real, unphenomenal object. Science refers phenomena to causes not ultimate, but partly phenomenal; philosophy, to causes ultimate and not phenomenal. The object of intellect is eternal entity, which cannot be grasped but by an unchanging act. The principle of intelligence must be eternal. We can only will the eternal, not the phenomenal. Every true act of will grasps the eternal. Hence, intellect and will are immortal. Their principle is the same as that of instinct and feeling, which are also immortal. This last brings in personality and consciousness. The soul is eternal. It is not in the body, but the body is in the soul. If men used their bodies only for thought, they might keep them as long as they chose. Contact with outward reality is so important that Christians have insisted on the resurrection of the body. The denizens of hell appeared with their bodies to Dante. Even disembodied spirits must continue to feel, though we can hardly conceive the nature of the soul's sensibility. To all eternity, the soul exists, possessing the vision of eternal being. Even the lower animals may have immortality. The life-giving principle of no creature can cease to exist. If the worm had the body of a man, it would be a man. Not one life shall be destroyed. Consciousness is not possible, unless it is eternal. The catechism of positivism, and of all theories which deny immortality, really teaches that man's chief end is to glorify the devil. If the soul is not immortal, virtue can have no adequate reward. High ideas of morality are impossible without belief in immortality. Evolution, as understood at present, is a baseless myth. The individual is pre-existent to the whole. It is a prejudice to suppose that the world is evolved from any principle or that one phenomenon is the cause of another.

If this lecture proved anything, it is the necessity, in order to demonstrate our immortality, of taking for granted paradoxes far more incredible,—for instance, that we can will only the eternal. If the best road to faith is that just described, it is a very straight and narrow one in which but few can walk. It was particularly plain this evening that, if believers and unbelievers could agree about what men are here on earth, there would be little difference of opinion as to the probability of a hereafter. Disbelief in immortality rests on conviction that man does not grasp the eternal, or attain in this life any such intellectual independence of the environment as was claimed as evidence for the future life by Dr. Harris. This was in the closing lecture on Saturday morning, when he gave a remarkably able account of the origin of language as indicating capacity for immortality. In concluding, he censured the positivists for going so far in waiving all reward for virtue that it would be but one step further in the irony of self-renuncia-

tion for them to prefer hell to heaven. Such a preference might, however, be justified by the way in which these places are usually described. Previous to the final discussion, the following letter was handed to Prof. Davidson:—

CONCORD, Aug. 2, 1884.

Dear Mr. Davidson,—Please say something this morning on these two points in last night's lecture. I. I understood you to rest the soul's immortality largely on her power to grasp the eternal entity. That which has the eternal for its object must itself, you say, be eternal. My question is whether the eternal in itself is an object of our thought, or only the eternal in its temporary manifestations. You say every true act of will grasps the eternal. I should rather say that the eternal is so much stronger than we, that we can only hope to influence its temporary embodiments by any act of will, however true. Some of the ablest students of mental phenomena, like James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Sir William Hamilton, and Herbert Spencer, have been unable, I think, to see any ability of the mind to reach the eternal as eternal. I should like to hear why you think these high authorities mistaken.

II. You paid particular attention to the crucial point, the continuance of consciousness after death. I notice, in doing so, you said, "Consciousness is not possible unless it is eternal," or words to that effect. Now, my own experience is that, when I sleep soundly, I lose all consciousness for the time. I can always tell after an afternoon nap whether it has really been a sound one by noticing whether I know what time of day it is when I awake. It seems to me, as it does to Maudsley and other able specialists, that sleep interrupts consciousness. How then can consciousness be eternal? Why may not death interrupt it forever? Yours truly.

F. M. HOLLAND.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

Madison, Wis., whose limpid lakes have been immortalized by a Longfellow; Madison, called by Miss Ella A. Giles, in the illustrated *Wisconsin State Journal* for July 14, "one of the brightest jewels in the setting of the brilliant crown of the North-west," seems destined to become the centre of religious, intellectual, and political reunions. Perhaps the most important assemblage that ever took place in this town, as it certainly was the most colossal teachers' convention ever held in this or any other town, significant alike in the history of Madison and in the history of education, was the annual meeting of the National Educational Association that has recently been held here. From North, South, East, and West, came the band of teachers, six thousand strong, each and every one eager to gain new light upon methods of instruction, to compare notes on work already accomplished, and to gain profit for future endeavors from the words of wisdom that might be expected to fall from the lips of the most noted educators of our land.

The weather was of the most ideal kind, dazlingly bright and sunny, and just cool enough to be exhilarating, and truly seemed as if made to order. The lakes sparkled in the sunshine, displaying their most varied hues, their most bewitching radiance to the beholder's eye; and the whole town, with its gay decorations, wore a festal air that reminded one of the Philadelphia of centennial memory. Private homes, hotels, and boarding-houses were all placed at the disposal of the guests, the rightful occupants showing a cheerful readiness to move out, or at least tuck themselves away in the least inviting corners of their dwellings, that those whom they delighted to honor might be made comfortable. The beautiful State capitol was transformed into an exposition building for the display of the school exhibits from various States, all but the Assembly and Senate

Chambers, which together with the churches of Madison were thrown open for the public addresses.

Think of the expenditure of time, strength, and money, the fatiguing journeys undertaken, the weary toil undergone, in the preparation of those school exhibits; think of all the hopes and expectations on the part of entertainers and entertained. And was the result satisfactory? Let us see.

The first thing noticeable to the impartial observer was the fact that, owing to the vast crowds, the many good things pressed into the same hour at different places of assemblage, and the slight confusion in the arrangement of the programme, which made it difficult to ascertain the place and hour appointed for some of the finest addresses, many aspirants after knowledge lost the opportunity of enjoying the speaker of all others whom they desired most to hear. It next became evident that some of the special conventions and counsels were flat, stale, profitless; that words were wasted on petty questions of routine and discipline that each individual teacher, or, at most, each individual school principal, could best settle in accordance with surrounding circumstances; that dry bones were dealt with rather than flesh-and-blood, breathing, palpitating realities, in an unfortunate number of instances. Nevertheless, there were men and women present who came seeking the complete substance, and would not be content with the shadow or the skeleton,—men and women whose horizons were broad, who viewed all life questions from an elevated standpoint, and whose words and whose whole beings were fraught with an earnest resolve to strike the death blow to the great curse of illiteracy wherever found, men and women who deemed it the business of our schools to build up the characters of the pupils committed to their care, to mould them into valuable forces for the years to come, not into mere unthinking, unreasoning receptacles of dates and rules; and such men and women gave tone to the entire gathering. There was the Rev. A. D. Mayo, whose grand ministry of education in our Southern States aims at helping our brothers and sisters of the South to help themselves in casting off the burden of ignorance that oppresses certain portions of their population, and preys like a hideous cormorant on the whole body politic. And one's heart went out to him on learning that he had so convinced the Southern people that his work was for the good of all that he had won the warm friendship and appreciation of all classes of people. A devoted Unitarian, and always ready to lend a helping hand to struggling Unitarian societies, his work is by no means a sectarian one, for he labors with the ministers of all sects and creeds in lifting up the masses; and, when in one of his addresses he spoke of the North-west as the sounding-board of the nation, we hoped that his plea for government aid to the Southern common school fund might so reverberate throughout the land that the money desired would be promptly forthcoming. There was William T. Harris, one of the ablest thinkers in the country, and one of the most zealous workers in the cause of education, whose strong words in favor of all systems that tend to train and develop child-nature to the utmost are always so wide-reaching in their influence; and, as ever, he cast light on many dark places. There were women like Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, Miss Sarah E. Doyle, of Providence, Mrs. Louise Hopkins, of New Bedford; and many other grand women and men, who added to the interest and importance of the occasion. As the hours and the days wore on, new life seemed to come to the tired teachers, whose care-worn mien and bearing had impressed so many observers at

first that there must be something wrong in the workings of a profession that so drained the vitality of its adherents. Thomas W. Bicknell, president of the association for 1884, who seemed imbued with such thoroughly wholesome views of life, called attention to a part of that something wrong, when he said that our public school teachers were at present compelled to devote too much time and strength to harassing examinations and petty routine. There is every reason to suppose that this something wrong is now deeply felt, and that measures are under way to right it. But there is something else out of joint that was not touched upon; and this is the small pay awarded teachers, and the uncertain tenure of office. If the teacher be a man, he is apt, after a few years' experience, to look for some position that yields a better pecuniary reward; if a woman, with still smaller salary, she plods on, in the event of her not marrying, liable to too frequent change of position, with income so slender in many instances that she is utterly unable to make suitable pecuniary provision for old age. No wonder, then, that, in spite of all the enthusiasm naturally called forth by a profession that to a true woman is second only to the office of a mother, we see so many anxious, troubled, piteous faces among our teachers, more especially our women teachers.

But these lines are not meant for the vehicle for expressions of dissatisfaction. There were too many signs at the educational convention of the dawn of a higher appreciation of the teacher's calling, and all that this inevitably implies, to render grumbling warrantable. Let us rather dwell upon the grand illuminations at Madison. That there were mental and spiritual illuminations has already been indicated; but there were also brilliant visible illuminations each evening, that lent to the night the lustre of day. The capitol dome was crowned with a circlet of electric light, two thousand radiant Chinese lanterns decked the grounds, swung between the noble trees; while the gateways were each surmounted with an archway of brightly lighted colored glass globes. Most of the homes, too, shed upon the streets a flood of gas-light at night, and were gayly decked with flags all day long. The great social event of the week was the governor's reception at the executive mansion, once the Western home of Ole Bull, whose splendid reception parlor was the private music hall of the Northern magician of the bow. Wisconsin's good Gov. Rusk, wishing to give expression to the profound respect entertained by himself and the people whom he represents for the guild of teachers, whose grand work it is to mould the rising generation, invited the entire Teachers' Association to his home, where he and his wife and family heartily shook hands with five thousand, and no one knows how many more, people. The pleasant lawn, sloping down to exquisite Lake Mendota, the Lake of the Great Spirit, was radiant with Chinese lanterns and locomotive headlights, and made gay with sounds of music and the human voice. Human forms flitted to and fro, groups of people in gala attire were dotted about or seated at the long refreshment tables outside of the dining-room windows, where six hundred gallons of ice-cream, together with cake and lemonade in like proportions, were served to the mighty concourse of people. The well-lighted billiard house, where Ole Bull used to pass so much time with his chosen friends, and the busy figures inside of the pretty building, added to the picturesqueness of the scene. Well-trained ushers prevented all confusion in the mansion or on the lawn. All the windows were open, and many paused outside of the reception parlor to watch the gracious, graceful hospitality betokened in face, form, and man-

ner of the governor and his amiable wife and daughters. There were illuminations on the neighboring lawns, too, and in the neighboring houses for blocks around; and the streets were alive with people, one long, densely packed column of humanity, reaching far, far down the hill to the capitol. And from the roofs of the capitol wings and from the capitol dome there were fireworks which filled the air with splendor. Wonderful night, that of July 17!

Still more wonderful night that of July 18, when the convention was in session for its final meeting in the Assembly Chamber, and the huge numbers of people that failed to gain admission adjourned to the steps and grounds without, where several of the prominent addresses of the evening were repeated. It will suffice to report the proceedings in the Assembly Chamber, where the Unitarian missionary, Rev. A. D. Mayo, and the Catholic missionary, Monsignor Capel, sat together on the platform with President Bicknell and others; and the friend of the public school and he who, while professing to be its friend, plainly indicated his intention of working for the establishment of a sectarian school, were granted equal freedom of speech. The audience had assembled to hearken unto all, and to hold fast to that which had the ring of genuine helpfulness. And how fully the spirit of the week was exemplified in the general character of the remarks and manifestations of interest of the evening! What magnificent resolutions of thanks to every person, place, and thing in the city of Madison were adopted by the guests! What superb expressions of regard were offered to the latter by the townspeople! No more sublime good will between entertainer and entertained could well be imagined. Representatives from each State were called upon for brief remarks, and nothing could have more fully indicated the growth of a grand national sentiment than the tendency of the responses. Such national assemblies cultivate the interest felt by different portions of our country in all other portions; they nurture and cement friendship. The man from Virginia declared that he had learned to be ashamed of having once boasted of old Virginia hospitality as something unusual, for he had been taught to believe in American hospitality; the woman from the far West and the woman from the South each testified to the grand purpose of her people to press onward and upward, and enter heart and hand into the universal good work. The heart bounded with joy at the general helpfulness of the occasion, and new means of growth seemed to be indicated in the desire expressed for an International Teachers' Convention. Whatever the necessary limitations and failings of such gatherings, no fair-minded person could have attended the educational convention at Madison, Wis., without rejoicing over the educational outlook.

AUBER FORESTIER.

ASGARD, MADISON, WIS., July 29, 1884.

"PRECISELY THE DOCTRINE HELD AND TAUGHT BY MR. SPENCER."

A correspondent of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, after giving the substance of Mr. John Fiske's lecture on evolution before the Concord School of Philosophy, and the gist of some remarks that we made at the close of the lecture, adds: "To this, Mr. Fiske replied by asking the question how any one knows that the ape is mortal. But this was an inadequate reply; and the truth is that, from his stand-point, immortality cannot be proved, as he himself stated. It can be, however, by philosophy, which reconciles the seeming conflict, and establishes immortality as a sci-

tific fact. Mr. Fiske's belief is that that psychical power which is in the lower world wells up in us in the concentrated form of consciousness. Consciousness is a divine effluence, not the product of the collocation of forces. It will be seen by this that Mr. Fiske is far above Herbert Spencer and many of his disciples, and on his way to that intellectual certainty which must come of such a willingness to believe."

This statement called out from Mr. Fiske a reply in the same journal, from which the following is taken:—

"This remark does me too much honor, and is unjust to Mr. Spencer. What I really said was as follows: 'In my opinion, the infinite and eternal power which is manifested in every event of the universe is not material, but psychical in its nature; and it wells up in us in the form of consciousness, which is thus a divine effluence, and not the product of an ephemeral collocation of particles of matter.' Now, this is *precisely* the doctrine held and taught by Mr. Spencer. Much in my paper was entirely original with me, but this point was not."

While Mr. Fiske's testimony as to what he said is without doubt correct, his statement, "Now, this is *precisely* the doctrine held and taught by Mr. Spencer," made as it is by the author of the best exposition of Mr. Spencer's philosophy that has been published, and by an author of great ability, who is accustomed to weigh his words, and to state usually with impartial and judicial fairness the theories which he defends or opposes, is most surprising. For the truth is Mr. Spencer teaches, with so much clearness, with so much fulness and even repetition of statement as to admit of no doubt whatever, that the "infinite and eternal power which is manifested in every event of the universe" is in its nature *inscrutable*, and that we are unwarranted in declaring it either psychical or physical, since these words have meaning only as terms designating two classes of phenomena, which may bear no resemblance whatever to the "infinite and eternal power," of which both mind and matter are but phenomenal manifestations as revealed in consciousness.

This, too, is the position maintained by Mr. Fiske in published philosophical essays, in some of which his views on the point in question are given at length. The letter published in the *Transcript* must have been very carelessly written, and possibly mistakes its writer's own position, as it certainly does that which Mr. Spencer maintains in his numerous works.

It would be easy to show from Mr. Spencer's own works the correctness of our statement regarding his philosophy; but our purpose will be better served by giving a few extracts from *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, which will exhibit the views that Mr. Fiske has maintained touching the point referred to in his letter, and at the same time exhibit the views of Mr. Spencer, of whom Mr. Fiske has justly been regarded as the ablest disciple in this country, and to the illustration of whose philosophy the admirable work above named is mainly devoted:—

"Our conclusion is simply this, that no theory of phenomena, external or internal, can be framed without postulating an Absolute Existence of which phenomena are the manifestations. And now let us carefully note what follows. We cannot identify this Absolute Existence with Mind, since what we know as Mind is a series of phenomenal manifestations. It was the irrefragable part of Hume's argument that, in the eye of science as in the eye of common sense, Mind means, not the occult reality, but a group of phenomena which we know as thoughts and feelings. Nor

can we identify this Absolute Existence with Matter, since what we know as Matter is a series of phenomenal manifestations. It was the irrefragable part of Berkeley's argument that, in the eye of science as well as common sense, Matter means, not the occult reality, but the group of phenomena which we know as extension, resistance, color, etc. Absolute Existence, therefore,—the Reality which persists independently of us, and of which Mind and Matter are the phenomenal manifestations,—cannot be identified either with Mind or Matter. Thus is Materialism included in the same condemnation with Idealism." (Vol. I, p. 88.)

"The definition of intelligence being 'the continuous adjustment of specialized inner relations to specialized outer relations,' it follows that to represent the Deity as intelligent is to surround Deity with an environment, and thus to destroy its infinity and its self-existence. . . . Nor can the theologian find a ready avenue of escape from these embarrassments in the assumption that there is such a thing as disembodied intelligence which is not definable as a correspondence between an organism and its environment, and which is, therefore, not a product of evolution. Experience does not afford the data for testing such an hypothesis, and to meet it with denial would accordingly be unphilosophic in the extreme. That there may be such a thing as disembodied or unembodied Spirit will be denied by no one save by those shallow materialists who fancy that the possibilities of existence are measured by the narrow limitations of their petty knowledge. But such an admission can be of no use to theologians in establishing this teleological hypothesis. . . . When we speak of 'intelligence,' we either mean nothing at all or we mean that which we know as intelligence. But that which we know as intelligence implies a circumscribed and limited form of Being adapting its internal processes to other processes going on beyond its limits." (Vol. II, pp. 395.)

"It is not the intelligence which has made the environment, but it is the environment which has moulded the intelligence. In the mint of nature, the coin Mind has been stamped; and theology perceiving the likeness of the die to its impression, making Mind, archetypal and self-existent, to the die." (Vol. II, 402.)

"We are, therefore, forced to conclude that the process of deanthropomorphization, which has from the first characterized the history of philosophical development, must still continue to go on; until Intelligent Will postulated by the modern theologian shall have shared the fate of the earlier and still more imperfect symbols whereby finite man has vainly tried to realize that which must ever transcend his powers of conception." (Vol. II, 410.)

Mr. Fiske says that, if "we proceed to the outermost verge of admissible speculation, and inquire for a moment what may perhaps be the nature of that Inscrutable Existence of which the universe of phenomena is the multiform manifestation, we shall find that its intimate essence may conceivably be identifiable with the intimate essence of what we know as Mind." In order to show this, a passage is quoted from Spencer; but this passage, far from indicating belief in the psychical nature of the Inscrutable Power, says: "While, however, it thus seems an imaginable possibility that units of external Force may be identical in nature with units of the Force known as Feeling, yet we cannot by so representing them get any nearer to a comprehension of external Force. For, . . . supposing all forms of mind to be composed of homogeneous units of feeling variously aggregated, the resolution of them into such units leaves us as unable as

before to think of the substance of Mind as it exists in such units; and thus, even could we really figure to ourselves all units of external Force as being essentially like units of the Force known as Feeling, and as so constituting a universal sentience, we should be as far as ever from forming a conception of that which is universally sentient." (Vol. II, pp. 448.) Far from teaching that the Ultimate Reality is psychical in its nature, Mr. Spencer claims that this proposition is one which does not admit of proof, and of which, properly speaking, no conception can be formed.

With this view, Mr. Fiske's statement following the quoted passage agrees. Were he compelled to choose, he says, between the hypothesis that the Inscrutable Power in its nature is quasi-material or quasi-psychical, the latter is the one he would adopt. But no such alternative presents itself, since it is open to him "to maintain that the Unknown Reality which is manifested under both aspects cannot legitimately be formulated in terms of either aspect. The unconditioned Source of the phenomena which we distinguish as psychical and of the phenomena which we distinguish as material may well be neither quasi-psychical nor quasi-material."

The expression "God is Spirit," Mr. Fiske thinks, is better than the expression that "God is Force." "But," he adds, "in thus consenting to adopt a term [Spirit] about which quasi-psychical connotations have clustered, we do not implicitly consent to the clothing of Deity with definable psychical attributes. The moment we use the words 'intelligence' and 'volition,' we are using words which have distinct meanings, as descriptive of certain circumscribed modes of psychical activity in man and some other animals. Except as descriptive of these circumscribed modes of psychical activity, they have no meanings whatever; and to seek to apply them to the unlimited activity (whether quasi-psychical or not) of a Being that is not circumscribed by an 'objective datum' of any sort is simply to call into existence a number of illegitimate propositions, which, if dealt with as legitimate, would entangle us once more in the network of absurdities from which we were set free by the chapter on Anthropomorphic Theism." (Vol. II, p. 450.)

Whether Mr. Spencer's and—as defined in the above passages—Mr. Fiske's position is one that can be successfully maintained by the highest reason is a question which it is no part of our present purpose to discuss, our object here being only to contribute to a correct understanding as to what the position of an eminent thinker really is.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EVERY subscriber who is in arrears for *The Index* is requested to send the amount due to this office with the least possible delay. We are in especial need of money during these summer months to meet current expenses,—which we shall be abundantly able to do, if our friends will promptly remit the sums they owe us on their subscriptions.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY has occupied the desk of the Progressive Friends' Society, at Longwood, Penn., during the month of July, and will continue through August. His regular work in Providence begins with the first Sunday in October.

THE *Presbyterian*, noting the announcement of the *Revue Chrétienne*, a French Protestant magazine, that, in the hands of a new editor who has taken charge of it, "all purely theological articles will be omitted," says, "The Protestants of France should remember that theology is the first of the sciences."

THE *Nation* says very properly that the Concord School of Philosophy "is not a school of philosophy in the old and accepted sense at all. It might just as well be called the Concord Summer Lyceum or the Concord Lecture Bureau. It serves to protract the New England lyceum period, hitherto confined to the winter months, into the hot weather; but it does not undertake to develop a philosophical system of any kind."

THOUGH I have argued that, in ascribing to the Unknowable Cause of things such human attributes as emotion, will, and intelligence, we are using words which, when thus applied, have no corresponding ideas, yet I have also argued that we are just as much debarred from denying as we are from affirming such attributes. Since, as ultimate analysis brings us everywhere to alternative impossibilities of thought, we are shown that, beyond the phenomenal order of things, our ideas of possible and impossible are irrelevant.—*Herbert Spencer*.

LILIAN WHITING, referring in one of her weekly letters to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* to the apotheosis of Emerson at the Concord School of Philosophy, makes this suggestion: "The programme, so far as a mere ordinary conscious entity like your correspondent can discern, is a very complete one with a single exception. Would it not be well to invite the classic Matthew to 'pull himself together,' and come over with an address on 'The Limitations of Emerson, with a Revised Catalogue of the Things that Emerson was not'?"

MR. F. M. HOLLAND writes: "It is but simple justice to Mr. Mead to say that no one who spoke at Concord strove more faithfully and successfully to give exactly what Emerson said and thought. The lecture showed that they both revered religion deeply, that they thought morality incomplete without it, but that they both knew that a religious life ought to consist of virtue rather than of ceremony. It was inability to agree with either of them on this last point that prompted all the criticism made on the lecture that evening and the next morning. I speak here as I did when I quoted Dr. Bartol, on the basis of notes made on the spot."

THE *Boston Sunday Herald* has this to say in regard to religious life in the country towns of New England: "The testimony is everywhere to the fact that the country is overrun with meeting-houses, and that the rural population is less and less inclined to go to church. The evil exists, and is deplored. It is one of the outgrowths of our voluntary ecclesiasticism, and is not to be overcome without long and persistent endeavor, and a considerable reconstruction of the ruling ideas in our different religious organizations. The most serious thing is not so much the number of these societies as their essential weakness, their inability to deal with the religious life of the community, their want of scope, influence, attraction, vitality. There are so many of them, the congregations are so small, the expense of keeping them up is so large, the drag upon the public is so great, that they exhaust the community without rendering it a suitable equivalent. Worst of all, they are like enraged rattlesnakes in a bushel basket: they bite and destroy one another, and leave the part of the community that most needs religious instruction to take care of itself."

LAST week, we gave an extract by permission of the writer from a private letter from Mr. Charles Froebel, of New York (243 East 19th St.), whose second essay appears in *The Index* this week. The following additional paragraph is from the same letter: "When I lately called your attention to the literary works of my father, Mr. Julius Froebel, it was, I assure you, not from any feeling of family pride. During my last fifteen years' residence in this city, I have often had occasion to resent and object to being introduced as 'the grand-nephew of Frederick Froebel, the originator of the kindergarten schools,' because I felt myself entitled to some regard on my own account. While there could be no possible reasons for being ashamed of such relationships, no greater cause could there be for founding a structure of pride upon such mere accidents. I have had my objections to the above style of introductions met by references to the fact that the supposed 'heredity of genius' makes the coupling of an introduction with an allusion to a man's distinguished relations a passport to a favorable reception. But the true man no more covets a favorable than an unfavorable reception: he demands only a just one. I believe that no man, however inferior in power or limited in the range of his mental life, can ever be entirely indebted to others for his ideas and ideals. But neither can the most adventurous of conquerors of the worlds of truth and beauty advance upon any *terra incognita*, the mysteries of whose hills and valleys, forests and cities, have not been even long before, by some great man from the dawn-clad heights of his mental elevation, for a moment beheld. Original and derived mental forms must, therefore, necessarily mingle in the minds of all, the former to lead in the martial explorations of the ever-receding cloud-land of general doubt, the latter to repeat over and over again deeds of valor in the growing mind:—

'To measure arms their birthdays' knowledge wrought
Anew on younger battle-fields of thought.'

Conceding, therefore, like others before me, the impossibility of purely original thought, I also have to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to those whose work has made my most advanced mental steps possible, or at least smoothed the road."

GOOD IN ALL. For The Index.

Some minds are like streams flowing on to the sea,
Through fields where the sunshine lies placid and free,
Where the clover, wind-wafted, coquets with the bee.

Some are like mountain rills, dashing along
Over rocks and through valleys with laughter and song;
But, checked, they plunge on down abysses of wrong.

But some, like great rivers too closely confined,
Fret the rocks that oppose them, or silently find,
Or make in their progress, grand canons of mind.

Deep, dark, and mysterious, wild gorges of gloom
They may seem; and yet in them sweet wild flowers may
bloom,
And gems and pure gold in their caverns find room.

No depths of man's nature are barren of good:
Over desolate rocks swept the winds and the floods,
And the forests arose that for ages have stood.

Over all their fair tresses the summer had care,
Her soft breezes fanned them, and birds of the air
Made nests in their branches and warbled love's prayer.

So over men's hearts let the sweet waters flow,
And the rocks shall be softened now hardening below;
And the vine and the roses will cling there and grow.

BELLE C. BUSH.

BELVIDERE SEMINARY, BELVIDERE, N.J.

The Index.

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

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

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

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For The Index.

The Moral Function of Socialism in its Relations to Property.

BY CHARLES FROEBEL.

The Black Cloud.

The states of Europe are alarmed at the mutterings of a cloud. A large and rapidly increasing number of our race, for whom not only the promised sunlight of happier days in this world, but also the hope-shedding beacon of Christianity, appear lost in impenetrable darkness, call out for justice, and, failing to find it, for revenge! Now and then, a far-seeing mind, like that of the first living statesman of our time, discerns

"Upon the east a lurid ray
Write forth its flaming warning,"

and fully realizes that

"This is not smile of new-born day,
This is the fateful morning."

The air is sultry with rumors of plots and conspiracies that seem to herald the approach of a social cyclone

"That on and on, o'er all beside,
The entire world illuming,
Resistless sweeps; with burning tide
All wracks of wrong consuming."

A spirit speaks in all that is. What does it say in socialism?

The attacks of socialism are directed against all defences of the fortress which, under the name of "the social order," is generally held to constitute the moral citadel of our civilization. For not only is the legal tenure of property thus attacked, the entire system of laws, under the protection of which we live and prosper, is likewise assailed. The socialist strikes at the relations now subsisting between laborer and employer. He seeks to subvert that between the citizen and the state. He demands the destruction of the present basis of family ties.

In spite of the black plots and conspiracies now gathering in the anarchy-charged clouds of Europe, it may yet be most emphatically asserted that the

true socialist is absolutely indifferent to what are properly termed "the forms of government." He would no more hesitate to found a despotically governed Empire of the United States upon the ruins of its houses of Congress than he would be at all scrupulous about establishing a Red Republic of Russia upon the grave of the Czar. Forms of government—republics or despotisms—are in his eyes but instruments by which he would refashion the nations in the image of his ideals.

The close of the struggle of thousands of years against feudal privilege is but the dawn of another struggle, possibly of like duration, against the privilege of wealth. And, as the religious creed, which has swayed the western world during the period of feudalism, has utterly failed to make good its socialistic promise, so this dawn of a "plutoclastic" war is likewise the dawn of a new religious faith. For it is a characteristic trait of the early manhood of belief that it cherishes a hope of the realization of its ideals in the immediate present. Seeing too clearly into the heaven of the future, it beholds its forms, not distant, but near by. Therefore, all young creeds are intensely socialistic in their tendencies and directly political in their action: true churches militant. Only when disappointment upon disappointment in their millennial expectations has hurled the aggressive fanatics of the new faith back upon themselves do they seek consolation for the defeat of their hopes either in the resignation of all desire or in the transfer of its objects to another and ideal world. And not until even these springs of consolation, dried at their source by the fierce heat of the sufferings of centuries, cease even for a time to relieve the unquenchable thirst of desire, does the rage-laden cloud of despair loom upon the historical horizon:—

"A vague and shadowy terror of the soul,
A gloom unfathomable, gathering form
From hate's abyss,—a mother of the storm
Who sets her tempests on to thunder's roll."

The Nihilist is the despised and jilted lover of mankind. When, in the course of humble, daily life, we see the devoted love of the youth turned to such bitterness that he can destroy the life of her whom he would have given his all to possess, what fierce hells of hate must at times burn in the heart of him who has offered a sacred passion to humanity, and was with undeserved contumely rejected! What wonder if the sense of such injustice and insult breaks forth in a whirlwind of passion, and he seeks to strike, in the social order of our time, at the life of that humanity whom, in his younger days, he so fondly loved! And, if he should succeed, what then? When the now hated one falls at his feet, and he has thrown the torch into her home,—the state,—he shall stand gloomily by to see the ruins of his betrayed hopes sink into dull gray ashes, refusing all consolation. But see! What lithe form of beauty comes bounding down the hillside in graceful maidenhood, crowned with the roses of the dying flame's red gleam? It is a new humanity. From her eyes shines the light of the social order of the future. To see her is to love. And the Nihilist beholds her; and, carefully putting away his daggers, pistols, and bombs where they will do the least harm, he vows to her the same devotion which he but lately pledged to the one whom he destroyed. The new humanity smiles, and together they lay the foundations of a new and better state, governed by purer laws and sanctified by nobler altars.

The Fact of Evolution in the High Court of Morality.

There was a time when there were questions to which science did not propose an answer. The phenomena of life—the countless absorptions,

transmissions, reflections, and refractions of reality effected by the human mind, and the sociopathical events which change the rhythm of political vibrations and the constitutions of states—were all once regarded not so much as of too complex a nature for immediate practical investigation, than as entirely and forever foreign to its sphere by virtue of an inherent qualitative difference from all those phenomena which were then conceded to be governed by the operation of natural laws. But, in the course of the current century, science has fashioned the lens of a new thesis of extraordinary power. Viewing nature in the light of its focus, day by day there has been attained a clearer perception of the fact that all that is, is but a growth, a development, a process of universal life. On the specifically organic field of research, the logical results attained have assumed a remarkable distinctness of outline. Not only are we now cognizant of the fact that all life's myriad forms are but the effect of a differentiating evolution, but also of the further fact that the multiplication of specific differences and the relative advance made by different species have been due to a never-ending competitive strife for the necessitous objects of desire,—food, safety, and reproduction,—an unceasing struggle for existence, in which the fittest must surely survive, the unfittest inevitably become extinct.

This struggle for existence must necessarily entail a vast amount of suffering, falling least on those who are fittest to live, and scarcely more heavily on those who, being unfittest, must speedily die, but with extreme severity on all who, being of mediocre capacity for adaptation to circumstances, are compelled to linger in weary agony equally fit as unfit for life as for extinction. And of this suffering, this agony and pain, a heavy weight bears down upon humanity. But the prolonged agonies endured by a large body of the human race cite the facts and law of evolution before the judgment-seat of morality; and—let it be well remembered—not the special case of its pain-fraught operation only,—no, the entire law in its entire bearings!

But can a fact or law of nature be cited to appear in the "high court of the universe," can it be there tried and acquitted or convicted? The spirit of asceticism once condemned all that is beautiful as ministering to the lusts of the flesh, and therefore evil: it branded all that is natural as, for that reason alone, intrinsically wrong. That was the view fostered by Christianity during some of the earlier phases of its development, and is the view still held by a number of its adherents. But, with the gradual decay of ascetic orthodoxy, a reaction has set in in the current of opinion, carrying those who but float upon its surface too far in the opposite direction. As the natural was formerly held to be intrinsically bad, so it is now declared to be intrinsically good; while that which is artificial—the work of man's brain and hands—is now frequently for that reason only falls under the ban of condemnation. But, if the happiness produced be accepted as the only true moral measure of action, neither of these two views can be wholly right or wrong. The mere fact that any thing, relation, or event, is natural or artificial, is not sufficient to impress it with the stamp of infamy or goodness: it may serve to explain, but it can neither justify nor condemn its existence. The happiness or misery produced must be the test; and hence the fact and law of evolution may be charged with the guilt of cruelty, and tried in the high court of morality.

It may be claimed that the suffering entailed by the eternal struggle for life is unavoidable. It has even been held that the total amount of net happi-

ness in the universe must ever remain equal; that, whenever it anywhere rises above the average level, it must necessarily somewhere else fall below; that the appearance of an excess of it at any one point of space and time must involve the development of a corresponding excess of misery at some other point of existence. What, then, we must ask, should be our individual attitude toward this suffering? If it is unavoidable, why should we unnecessarily concern ourselves about it? Why darken our own existence with its hopeless contemplation? If, as is now frequently done, happiness is accepted as the only true measure of morality, should not, after all, our own self receive the first consideration? Should not our own well-being be our only aim? Can we not well afford to leave the happiness of others to be worked out by the necessitous causal action of those natural forces which effect the development of human society? That is to say: "Shall we not leave it to be worked out by those very natural forces to the unfeeling action of which all human misery is due?" And yet we might exclaim: "I do not care!" We might selfishly withdraw ourselves into the shell of our personal interests, and, though leaving others to their pain, the efforts for our own happiness might accomplish something, were it not for the attendant fact of sympathy. Sympathy is the detective who spies out the rightful and wrongful actions of nature, cites her to appear in the high court of absolute justice, and seeks to check the evil effects of misdirected activity. All misery arises either from direct causes or as the result of sympathetic induction through the sufferings of others. So it is a consequence of this sympathetic induction that not only those who, before passing away forever, are doomed to the lingering tortures of the struggle for existence must suffer, but that also those whose superior fitness enables them to survive must sympathetically partake of their pains. And this fact is not without far-reaching consequences.

All mental as well as bodily qualities of the human race are either the result of inheritance or experience (adaptation), and, of whichever origin, in their turn transmissible to our descendants. And, as it must necessarily happen in the course of long periods of time that experience is piled upon experience and inheritance upon inheritance, there cannot fail eventually to result in certain favored individuals a most wonderful accumulation of inherited mental wealth, an all but incredible mass of condensed intellectual and emotional power. Thus it is that the great man, the genius, the hero is born,—the philosopher who fashions the lens of his thesis for a clearer insight into the nature of things; the artist who breathes a higher and more potent beauty into his symbolic forms; the statesman who recasts the nation in the mould of his political convictions. And thus the religious reformer, for whose mental endowment all the highest moral qualities—masses upon masses of sympathy, pity, love, and justice—have, during thousands of years, been gathered in the life-press of his inheritance, stands forth in sacred passion, declaring his burning hatred of wrong, his divine law of right through which pain and suffering may be laid aside, and his undying faith in the ultimate reign of voluntary obedience to love, beauty, truth, and happiness.

The Genesis of Privilege and the Plutocratic Demands of Socialism.

As already stated, every young and vigorous religious belief is essentially and necessarily socialistic. No more disposed to sink its hopes in the unconscious depths of the resignation of desire than to behold them soaring beyond its reach

away to the ether of another world, it chains them to this earth, and seeks their immediate realization.

"The first felt wants of humanity seek for direct physical satisfaction. The babe's tiny hand clutches at the object of its wishes, be it bottle or moon; and only when unconscious impulsive effort at physical acquisition has most signally failed thought is born. The impressions received from the environment are analytically broken and dispersed in that wonderful spectrum of conscious knowledge ever growing in complexity and the range and delicacy of distinction of its component tints. Then, by the application of this knowledge spectrum of the tangible to technical invention, the domain of physical power is gradually extended until, when the latter's necessitous limits are reached, thought continues on alone, carving out of the physically unapproachable regions of desire an independent state. Then, by the arms of logic, truth is added to truth, until even here an impassable barrier cries: 'Halt! Thus far shalt thou know, and no further!' But, beyond this barrier, the human heart still feels a claim. Belief takes the field, and does not stay its advance until it has extended man's psychical away to those remotest confines of possible dominion never trod by physical or intellectual force."

The genesis of individual possession as here sketched constitutes the "embryological parallel" of the historical development of possession and privilege from the remote past to a still far distant future. The purely animal principles that "might makes right," and "when you want anything take it," had been long dominant before they became symbolized in the brutal ideal of Herculean heroism. Such a basis of title to possession was necessary in the earlier stages of man's struggle for the subjugation of nature, and is even at this day the only title respected by large numbers of men by no means all savages. But from this root there has grown a hereditarily privileged class. The effeminate descendants of the heroic robber-chief, no longer able to maintain possession by the strength of their good right arm, seek to do so by an appeal to a divine right claimed to be derived from this brutally heroic ancestry. Thus arose the system of feudalism, some of the most evil fruits of which—serfdom and slavery—have only partly fallen in our day, while its last aristocratic branches are still green throughout the Old World.

The social ground from which these children of privilege sprang is no longer productive. Though it may be that now and then some exceptional military prowess still plants the germ of a new noble house, yet it is no longer the success of personal bravery, but that of the skilful general which is so rewarded. The admiration for the strength of arm of the individual hero has given way to that for the strength of mind of the leader of hosts. The maintenance of armies demands the control of such vast wealth that it can be accumulated only through the individual activity of the citizens of a nation. But upon these the state can call for pecuniary aid only when its needs are urgent and their satisfaction essential to its very existence; for, without such limitation, the citizen ceases to exert himself, and, wealth being no longer accumulated, the resources of the nation are sapped at their fountain head,—a disaster said to have even now overtaken the Turkish Empire. Individual wealth thus constituting the foundation of the modern state and therefore protected by it, carrying in its train a more than equitable share of political power and freedom from compulsion, has, in our time, so rapidly developed as to become a fertile ground for the growth of a nobility of wealth, a "plutocratic" privileged class. The weight of oppressive law,

of personal service due the state, and of taxes, falls heaviest upon the poor. The rich are to a considerable extent *de facto* exempt from their operation. The weak and poor, though no longer subject to oppression by the physically strong, are still at the mercy of the wealthy.

As the shadow attends the light, so the sense of want follows the sense of possession. And out of this magic shadow arise the forms of desire,—those forms so unceasing in their strife for the acquisition of the unpossessed. But when, in the course of this strife, the advance of these desires is opposed by the power of established privilege, there sweeps forth from among them the sinister emotion of envy. Envy assails privilege with varying purpose. At one time desiring nothing better than her self-immolation upon the throne of the most privileged, she at another time, in the wild fury of despair, seeks to hurl privilege into the dust and to annihilate all traces of its existence.

As already stated, the attack of socialism upon plutocratic privilege is merely the continuation of the struggle against an older feudal (sthenocratic) prerogative. In this struggle, the selfish expectation of being themselves able to rise to the distinction and advantages of the plutocratic nobility still dominates a vast majority of the envious. A strong hope to be ranked among the wealthy still animates large masses of mankind. But, even now, the fierceness of economic competition already foretells the time when this struggle, if not checked by the operation of certain moral forces, will convert the entire world into *one single, huge, seething, "black hole of Calcutta"*! It is therefore most fortunate that failure in economic competition always develops in the human heart these moral forces of "plutoclastic envy,"—this reverberating cry for the elimination of personal wealth from the economic system of society.

Let it not be for a moment supposed that the triumph of these moral forces will be a peaceful one. As the feudal aristocracy of the past has fought for the retention of every inch of its privileges, so also the plutocratic nobility of the present will dispute step by step the advance of a better social state. It will dispute it with all its vast resources; it will drown it in the voice of the servile orator; it will stifle it in the anaconda-like embrace of a hostile press; it will not hesitate to appeal to the basest passions; it will bribe and bully and betray; it will fill prisons, lunatic asylums, and suicides' graves; and it will not shun to call forth the tread of glittering armies nor to deluge many a battle-field with the blood of the suffering and rebellious poor.

The Prospects of Socialism and After.

All action, be it that of individuals or that of masses, is productive of effects. But as the foresight which seems to direct private effort is as frequently subject to distorting refraction by its transmission through the "medium of the future" as our memory is apt to be by its passage through that of the past, so public foresight is also quite generally at fault. The objects aimed at by masses of mankind are not attained: those not sought for spring into being.

The demands of socialism for the elimination of personal property from our economic system admit of two modes of theoretical satisfaction,—periodically recurring equitable redistribution or permanent absorption by the trustee state. In regard to the former mode, much uncertainty has until lately prevailed. It is now generally conceded that the redistribution of property would have to be almost of daily recurrence to maintain the results sought; and, as new citizens are continually born, the state would be compelled to perma-

nently control a large trust fund for their endowment when of age, and till then to act *in loco parentis*. The system would therefore ever tend to pass into that of a state trusteeship for all property. If the latter system were fully tried, there would at once arise the question of administration and control. This question is in itself so vast that no party of men, however wise and bold, can undertake simultaneously to cope with all its detailed propositions. It must concentrate its efforts on one form of property at a time, as it is even now in a measure doing.

As so far indicated, the elimination of personal property in all its forms from the economic system of the modern state is an impossibility. And even comparatively slight changes in the tenure or control of wealth must be the fruit of so slow a process of historic ripening as severely to try the temper of the calmest and most patient socialist. Nevertheless, such changes, expressing radical modifications of our conception of the ultimate moral aspects of title to property, are now being developed.

All title to property in our day rests mainly upon its derivation. When we wish to know whether anything is rightfully owned, we ask "Did the possessor acquire it honestly?" But with constantly increasing density of population, property is legislatively subjected to continually narrowing limitations of the liberty of control and use. And, with these limitations, a new moral element is introduced into the composition of title. When we inquire into the rightfulness of ownership, on the ground of the mode of acquisition, we are searching its foundations in the *depths of the past*; when we limit the liberty of its use, we are suspending title from the *heights of the future*! For it is only in this future that the voluntarily sought objects of our desires dwell, and use is but an instrument fashioned under their influence and for their attainment.

All human misery and pain, all evil which afflicts us, is indissolubly linked with the unattainability of our desires. So far as we know, our objects are good. Could we under all circumstances attain these, we would be, even as the gods, morally responsible for all we know to be, omnipotent, and free. But as the realization of these objects dwelling within the yet unborn years is our inalienable birthright, we must unceasingly strive for their possession. The evil power which ever opposes itself to their attainment is that of the unsubdued natural forces, the enslaving causes which, from their lurking places in the caves of the past, sinistrally affect the present. We—the human race—can attain to moral dignity only in so far as we avow ourselves the champions of the future. Though bound by our line of descent to a base animal ancestry, we are yet waging an eternal war with that dark and shadowy army of the past, the host of causes which chains and limits our physical powers, sense, and reason. And, in the light of this truth, we can understand that the gradual transfer of title from its foundation upon acquisition in the past to its suspension from use in the future is but a passing step in the never-ending struggle of humanity for liberty and omnipotence, their unremitting contention for the supremacy of ideal purposes and desires over the facts of reality. And this is the moral function of socialism in its relation to property.

The here indicated transfer of title from past to future conditions will be but the transition to the absorption of all property by the trustee state. But when this great purpose, the mission of socialism, shall have been accomplished, when its historic record is closed, what then? Humanity will still be agitated by questions of control. All cannot

administer the communal wealth, nor could its equitable distribution be maintained. Each individual citizen has an undivided, inalienable interest in the common property; but who shall be intrusted with its care? All must have some share in its administration, but who shall occupy the highest places in the socialistic *bureaucracy*? The most intelligent and best, of course. But what will be the consequences, if intellectual and moral excellence should not always be found united in the same persons? In that case, it is highly probable that the most intelligent will manage in some way to lay the foundations of an intellectual privileged class,—a hereditary '*logocracy*,' which will ascend to the social throne, of which the *plutocracy* has been dispossessed. Under this system, education, becoming the all-dominating source of political power, may be made the exclusive prerogative of a hereditary nobility of intelligence, and the intellectually weak may still be trod in the dust by the superior power of knowledge.

But, in the midst of such conditions, sympathy and the wisdom of love can grow unchecked in the heart of the "logocratic noble." Himself free in a sense never before known, he will throw fewer and fewer obstacles in the way of his weaker brother. And, under such conditions, finally, millions of simultaneously rising "religious reformers,"—the conservers of the past sympathies of an ancestry extending through all historic time,—all of one mind, the wisest, and of one purpose, the best, will guide humanity one step further to a social order in which the relative power of the citizen shall depend upon moral excellence alone.

A thousand years or more may well pass over this world before the nobility of wealth—the "plutocracy" of our time—shall have withered roots and branches. But to believe that a nobility of intelligence—a "logocracy"—can run its course within twenty thousand years would be bold indeed. Yet the time must surely come when government shall fall into the hands of a nobility of the truly good,—a *charitocracy*,—and

"Majestic justice! truth supreme!
The future's rights' defender!
The herald of all beauty's gleam,
Descends in radiant splendor."

For The Index.

SPIRITUALISM IN THE CONCORD SCHOOL.

The discussion on Immortality at the Concord Summer School of Philosophy was opened Thursday morning, the 31st ult., with a paper by Dr. Peabody. During the discussion which followed, Rev. Mr. Bush, an Episcopal minister residing in the village, spoke on the subject, but not on the essay, and during his remarks said:—

"I think that wretched delusion called 'Spiritualism' is a failure in its prying into what God has not revealed. Those inquiries of how we shall live and what we shall be in the other state are valueless, in view of the fact that God has not revealed it as his will that we should know."

On the following morning, before Dr. Holland began his essay, Prof. Harris went to Mr. J. C. Bundy, editor and publisher of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, and cordially invited him to take part in the conversation of the session. After Dr. Holland had finished and several had spoken, Mr. Bundy took part in the discussion. His remarks, as well as those of Dr. Bush, were taken down by his own stenographer, and were as follows:—

"I have enjoyed, as all present have evidently enjoyed, the splendid essay of the morning. The sincerity and enthusiasm of the speaker delighted me. But I want to inquire, in all candor and earnestness, what comfort the essay could be to a mother who had lost her darling child, or to a husband standing by the bedside of his dying wife? How much of what has been said in the essay or during this discussion could they take in that would give them any clear conception or knowledge of a future life? It is my opinion that to a great majority

immortality is of interest as a matter of fact and not of philosophical speculation. The very point in the consideration of this subject which should have been brought into this discussion has been studiously avoided, except as it was brought up by a speaker yesterday for the purpose of sneering at it. Here in old Concord, upon this historic ground, where was 'fired the shot heard round the world,' there should be moral courage to investigate candidly these phenomena. They are here, and here to stay, and must be met in a spirit of honest inquiry.

"To some philosophers present, this 'wretched delusion,' as it was termed yesterday, seems a most annoying and intolerable thing. Spiritualism, as it is called,—I don't like the word particularly,—I mean those facts which are classed as Spiritualism, are as well attested as any other facts of human experience. I can name hundreds of lawyers, men trained in the rules of evidence, who firmly believe in Spiritualism; judges of the Supreme Court, of the Appellate Court of Illinois, and courts of other States, who have long been believers in spirit return, whose testimony admits of no denial.

"That these phenomena do occur, millions of intelligent men and women affirm. You cannot ignore Spiritualism. It won't be put down: it cannot be sneered out of existence. Scientific men like Crookes, Wallace, Zöllner, and others, after many cautious experiments, long and close observation, testify to the reality of these phenomena. The subject is entitled to attention at your hands in considering the continuity of life beyond the grave. Spiritualism is a synthesis of well-attested facts, and affords a scientific basis for belief in a future life.

"The statement was made last night by Prof. Fiske that the question of a future life was a question of religion, and not of science. This was a strange remark for a man of science to make. To me, it is a matter of science, and affords a basis on which to build a religion.

"In spite of the vagaries of some Spiritualists, and of the cranks who have attached themselves to Spiritualism, despite the fact that of mercantile Spiritualism, which is peddled about the country at prices ranging from a postage-stamp to twenty-five dollars, fifty per cent. of which is fraud, and that twenty-five per cent. more can be accounted for on another hypothesis than that of spirit return,—despite all this, there still remains a large residuum which can be explained in no other way than that of spirit return and manifestation. The whole matter should be considered in its entirety, and judged upon its merits. It has a right to demand that it shall be fairly treated.

"I would like to see here in Concord a Psychical Research Society, either in connection with this School or independent of it, where this subject could be carefully and patiently studied. If it is not undertaken here, it will be elsewhere. A movement is already on foot looking toward the establishment of such an enterprise. It is your duty as philosophers, it seems to me, to look into these phenomena. If the claims made for them are not true, let us know it. If they are true, add your confirmation to the accumulating testimony in their favor. Truth, and truth alone, is what we want."

Remarks by Prof. Harris.

Prof. Harris then spoke of Mr. Bundy as the editor of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* and a representative of clean Spiritualism. Though he [Harris] did not admit and believe all Spiritualists claim for their belief, yet he thought there was a great deal in Spiritualism to be found out. If a man can manifest himself here, he can, under certain conditions, hereafter. "We are coming," said Prof. Harris, "to an age in which we are going to take it [Spiritualism] up scientifically. It is an age of development and liberty." The professor commended the work of the London Society for Psychical Research, and recommended his hearers to procure and study its reports. He encouraged scientific investigation of the phenomena, but said substantially that there were different ways of studying immortality, and each person would follow his own bent. He referred very briefly to obsession and possession, and said he would touch upon Spiritualism in his essay the next morning. He then introduced

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker,

a sister of Henry Ward Beecher, who proceeded to give a graphic account of her own experience as a medium. While in Paris, some years before, she had some wonderful manifestations through her own me-

diumship, receiving at that time and later convincing messages from her father and mother. Samuel Bowles had been the intimate friend of her husband, and often came to them, establishing his identity beyond question.

The Boston *Herald* of Saturday, the 2d inst., in its report of the session, says of Mrs. Hooker: "Mrs. Hooker, who in the opinion of many seemed more fit for the insane asylum than for the platform, made an earnest, touching, and painfully interesting speech, chiefly concerning her own beliefs and doings as a Spiritualist, but did not go beyond the woman's reason,—her personal experiences. She is a specimen of the diseased individuality that always more or less gathers around any company of honest people who are trying to do real thinking in the world."

Of Mr. Bundy, the same report says: "Yesterday, Spiritualism was alluded to as tending to degrade immortality [referring to Rev. Bush's remarks]; and Mr. Bundy came in to-day all bristling for the fight, as if he had been insulted and must vindicate himself and his cause. He spoke defiantly, and challenged the School, forgetting entirely the proprieties of the place and the character of the discussion."

On the morning of the publication of the *Herald's* account, Prof. Harris said to Mr. Bundy that he was sorry the reporter had made such a statement, and that it was unwarranted. He disclaimed for the School all thought of defiance or impropriety on Mr. Bundy's part. Mr. Bundy is understood to say he received the most courteous and friendly treatment at the hands of the management of the Concord School of Philosophy, as well as from all with whom he came in contact in that delightful village. The writer of the *Herald's* report is said to be Rev. Julius H. Ward, an Episcopal minister.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BLAINE'S CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Editors of *The Index* :—

I wish you would reprint J. G. Blaine's proposed Constitutional amendment, having for its ostensible object the secularization of the United States government, and also *The Index's* comments upon it made at that time. Liberals are anxious to know how far J. G. Blaine can be trusted as a Liberal. Some of my liberal friends think he is just the man Liberals should vote for: others think that, even if he is a free thinker (as his associations with R. G. Ingersoll have led some Liberals to infer), he cannot be trusted. Now since J. G. Blaine has been nominated on the Republican ticket for the office of President, we want to know what *The Index* thought of him long before he was prominently talked of as a candidate for that office. I do not see how any one can take offence at what *The Index* said of his amendment at the time he introduced it in Congress. So, if you think it expedient, let us have it again in *The Index*.

Very respectfully yours,

H. NYE.

ENON VALLEY, PA.

[From an editorial in *The Index* of Dec. 16, 1875, the following is an extract, and is probably what Mr. Nye desires reprinted: "Mr. Blaine's proposal that 'no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations,' would still leave Bible-reading and Protestant Evangelical worship in the public schools undisturbed, unless the word 'sect' should be construed a great deal more strictly than it is popularly, or in all probability would be legally, interpreted. . . . But a complete, satisfactory, and thorough-going form of constitutional amendment, so far as the secular character of the public school system and the very important matter of sectarian appropriations in general are concerned, was proposed as long ago as 1870 by Hon. E. P. Hurlburt, of Albany, formerly a judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the following explicit terms, which we quote with admiration: 'To the end that the functions of civil government may be exercised without interference in matters of religion, neither the United States nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax or make any gift, grant, or appropriation for the support, or in aid of, any church, religious sect, or de-

nomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious practices shall be observed, or for the support or in aid of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.' Judge Hurlburt explicitly intended to make his proposed amendment such as to secure the total exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, and his phraseology is transparently clear and precise in expressing that intention. Now that his wise and long-unheeded measure is half adopted by statesmen in high official place, let all due honor be accorded to him for his early and patriotic foresight. He was the first to propose a constitutional amendment making the public schools absolutely secular, and the form he proposed is still the only one before the public which carries out the principle of non-sectarian public instruction in rigorous accordance with the logic of liberty. Let not Judge Hurlburt's name be forgotten, or the superior wisdom of his proposed measure be overlooked in the now inevitable discussion of the subject."—B. F. U.]

A LETTER FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD :

My dear Sir,—In *The Index* of July 24, you say, "Mr. Oliver Johnson, in the *Christian Union*, denies that there were, so far as he knows, any infidels among the Garrisonian abolitionists." You are mistaken: such was not my denial. The *Christian Union* had affirmed that the Garrisonian abolitionists abandoned the Bible because it permitted slavery, and "set themselves at work to abolish Christianity with one hand and slavery with the other." I said in reply: "I am positively unable to recollect even one man or woman among them who was 'carried away into infidelity' by the path indicated, or who ever abandoned the Bible or lost faith in Christianity." I did not mean to be understood as saying that no infidel took part with the Garrisonian abolitionists. Infidels as well as Christians were invited to join the movement, and were always welcomed when they came. There was Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, an earnest Garrisonian, though an avowed infidel. She often spoke from our platform, and I can call to mind no instance in which she ever attempted to use the movement to promote her infidelity. She criticised the Church, as we all did, for its pro-slavery position, but never, so far as I can remember, assailed it upon any other ground whatever.

The word "infidel" is very loosely employed by different writers; but I do not think that either Henry C. Wright, Marius Robinson, or Parker Pillsbury ever accepted that epithet as applicable to themselves, and I certainly do not think it was applicable to them. And I am not by any means prepared to admit that, rightly considered, it was applicable even to Thomas Paine. What the *Christian Union* affirmed and what I denied was that the Garrisonian abolitionists in large numbers abandoned the Bible on finding that it permitted slavery. So far as I know, there is not one example of this sort that can be named. The Garrisonians, in their individual capacity, represented every phase of religious sentiment, from soundest Orthodoxy to the broadest liberality, and included among them were a few avowed infidels. But the vast majority of them believed in Christianity and the Bible under definitions which satisfied their own judgment and conscience.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

104 EAST 23d STREET, NEW YORK.

[Our reference to Mr. Johnson was based upon the following, which appeared as an editorial paragraph in the *Christian Union* :—

Mr. Oliver Johnson writes us a second letter at some length to show that Garrisonians were not infidels. He insists that Theodore Parker never belonged to the Garrisonian school, but was "one of the founders of the Republican party," and that he never brought his peculiar theology to the anti-slavery platform, "so that no one listening to the speeches and knowing nothing else of his sentiments would have seen any reason to suppose him a heretic at all." In this last statement, Mr. Johnson is certainly at fault, since the Hon. S. P. Chase wrote to Mr. Parker a letter of kindly but earnest remonstrance against his introduction of his theological views into his anti-slavery speeches. Mr. Johnson insists, however, that the Garrisonian abolitionists did not agree with Theodore Parker in these views, and says: "I do not know or remember one of them who would not have said, with Garrison: 'In a true estimate of the divine authority of the Scriptures, no

one can go beyond me. They are my text-book, and worth all the other books in the universe. My trust is in God, my aim to walk in the footprints of his Son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me. I stand upon the Bible, and the Bible only. If I cannot stand triumphantly on that foundation, I can stand nowhere in the universe."

Mr. Johnson does not think the word "infidel" applicable to Henry C. Wright, Maricus Robinson, or Parker Pillsbury; nor is he satisfied that it was applicable to Thomas Paine. Very good. "Rightly considered," the epithet should not be applied to any man on account of his honest convictions. As Paine said: "Infidelity does not consist in believing or in disbelieving. It consists in professing to believe what he [man] does not believe." The *Christian Union*, however, did not use the word in any offensive sense, but to designate men like Paine and the others mentioned above who do not believe in Christ as a superhuman being or in the Bible as an inspired and authoritative work,—a revelation from God. Now, from the time of Paine, who was one of the earliest abolitionists in this country, to the date of the Emancipation Proclamation, men such as the *Christian Union* designates as "infidels" were prominent in opposing slavery. Many of the Garrison abolitionists were such men, and not a few of them are still living and are among the most radical free thinkers. We have spoken for free-thought societies, East and West, in which the leading members were, years ago, active Garrisonian abolitionists. We have heard many such say that the Bible teachings in regard to slavery first led them to doubt the divine origin and authority of the book, and that they lost faith in Christianity through their anti-slavery experiences. Will Mr. Johnson inform us where can be found in the writings or speeches of Garrison the quotation from him in the above paragraph copied from the *Christian Union*?—B. F. U.]

A CORRECTION BY MR. MEAD.

Editors of The Index:—

In a communication to *The Index* of this date, Mrs. Shattuck represents me as claiming for Emerson, in my recent lecture on "Emerson's Ethics" at the Concord School of Philosophy, the position of an "advocate of the substitution of morals for religion." This is a misunderstanding. The doctrine stated is neither my own, as those familiar with my thought well know; nor is it Emerson's. The purpose of my quite extended remarks upon this portion of my subject was the farthest possible from that indicated. It was to show, to use Emerson's own words, that "the progress of religion is steadily to its identity with morals," and that "theology" (by which Emerson here means the creeds and cults) "is the rhetoric of morals."

"The popular religion," says Emerson, "echoes an original conscience in men. The commanding fact which I do not see is the sufficiency of the moral sentiment. We buttress it up, in shallow hours or ages, with legends, traditions, and forms, each good for the one moment in which it was a happy type or symbol of the Power; but the Power sends in the next moment a new lesson which we lose while our eyes are reverted and striving to perpetuate the old." "The life of the once omnipotent traditions was really not in the legend, but in the moral sentiment and the metaphysical fact which the legends enclosed." "The creed, the legend, forms of worship, swiftly decay. Morals is the incorruptible essence." "Ethics are thought not to satisfy affection. But all the religion we have is the ethics of one or another holy person." "The first position I make is that natural religion supplies still all the facts which are disguised under the dogmas of popular creeds." "All the dogmas rest on morals; and it is only a question of youth or maturity, of more or less fancy in the recipient. The stern determination to do justly, to speak the truth, to be chaste and humble, was substantially the same, whether under a self-respect or under a vow made on the knees at the shrine of Madonna." "Men will learn to put back the emphasis peremptorily on pure morals, to make morals the absolute test, and so drive out the false religions."

These passages were read in my lecture almost in the above order; and they would seem to leave no doubt as to Emerson's real position, which is also my own position. The endeavor is to show that the progress of religion is to a point behind the traditional

symbols,—a point where the soul "finds itself face to face with the majestic Presence, reads the original of the Ten Commandments, the original of Gospels and Epistles." The relation in which the soul thus finds itself, consciously adopting the Conscious Universal Law as the law of its own life, is what Emerson calls the moral relation; and religion is "the emotion of reverence which the presence of the universal ever exerts in the individual." I cannot think that the meaning of my lecture was generally misunderstood, but I am glad of any occasion to repeat and enforce these fundamental principles.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

Boston, August 7, 1884.

DEATH OF A NOBLE YOUNG MAN.

Editors of The Index:—

I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in writing to inform you of the death of our friend, Thomas Pettigrew, who was a subscriber and an occasional contributor to *The Index*. By occupation, he was a coal miner; although, had his life been spared for a few years, he would have succeeded in working himself out of the mines into some higher calling for which his natural abilities qualified him. Fifteen months ago, he—in company with his younger brother, Robert—left Illinois to try his fortune in Western Montana. Finding the conditions of existence there undesirable, he concluded to give the British provinces a trial, where he met, in a gas explosion, that fate which his numerous friends deeply mourn. Deceased was a young man, twenty-six years of age, unmarried. The prominent traits of character for which he was chiefly noted were moral courage, unusual intelligence, a strong love for truth, and a readiness to defend whatever appealed to his judgment as right, no matter what the consequences, together with a loving disposition that found its fullest and truest expression in liberal thoughts and industrious habits. These are a few of the excellent qualities which elicited the admiration of those favored with his acquaintance.

His premature demise has brought to a sad and unexpected termination a life which constituted an unbroken series of magnanimous acts. Although a disbeliever in personal immortality, he has obtained admittance into that heaven, that sphere of everlasting life of which George Eliot loved to sing. His life will be perpetuated in the thoughts and affections of "minds made better by his presence here." Reference to the communications he sent to *The Index* will serve to indicate the drift of his religious thought. He had no faith to invest in the supernatural and less time to waste in dreaming of a perfect state of bliss located somewhere in the skies. He believed that, if earth was ever to be converted into a paradise, such changes would be introduced and established only through the instrumentality of human effort; and, to this end, all his life's energies were charitably devoted. I may add in conclusion that he never ceased to praise *The Index* for its culture and broad spirit of liberality.

I feel that his friends would like to see the announcement of his death in the columns of his favorite paper.

Yours,

DAVID ROSS.

OGLESBY, ILL., July 25, 1884.

In his autobiography, Frederick Douglass, says: "In my communication with the colored people, I have endeavored to deliver them from the power of superstition, bigotry, and priestcraft. In theology, I have found them strutting about in the old clothes of the masters, just as the masters strut about in the old clothes of the past. The falling power remains among them long since it has ceased to be the religious fashion of our refined and elegant white churches. I have taught that the 'fault is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings'; that 'who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.' I have urged upon them self-reliance, self-respect, industry, perseverance, and economy; to make the best of both worlds, but to make the best of this world first, because it comes first; and that he who does not improve himself by the motives and opportunities afforded by this world gives the best evidence that he would not improve in any other world. Schooled as I have been among the inhabitants of New England, I recognize that the universe is governed by laws that are unchangeable and eternal,

that what men sow they will reap, and that there is no way to dodge or circumvent the consequences of any act or deed. My views at this point receive but little indorsement among my people. They, for the most part, think they have means of procuring special favor and help from the Almighty; and, as their 'faith is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen,' they find much in this expression which is true to faith, but utterly false to fact."

BOOK NOTICES.

THOUGHT GERMS FOR THINKERS. By R. F. Judson. Kalamazoo. 1884. pp. 148.

The author commences by thanking "the many thinkers who have helped him to think, and whose thoughts may be herein embodied." The work consists of proverbs and remarks relating to every aspect of thought and conduct, and contains a great deal of wisdom and common sense tersely and comprehensively stated. Its object "is to inspire thought." It is not free from commonplace sentiments and expressions; but it inculcates on every page a high morality, and is pervaded by a reverent love of truth and justice. A better title for the work than "Thought Germs for Thinkers" would be "Flowers of Thought for All."

B. F. U.

A CONCORD LOVE SONG.

Shall we meet again, love,
In the distant When, love,
When the Now is Then, love,
And the Present Past?
Shall the mystic Yonder,
On which I ponder,
I sadly wonder,
With thee be cast?

Ah, the joyless fleeting
Of our primal meeting,
And the fateful greeting
Of the How and Why!
Ah, the Thingness flying
From the Hereness, sighing
For a love undying
That fain would die!

Ah, the Ifness sadd'ning,
The Whichness madd'ning,
And the But ungladd'ning,
That lie behind!
When the signless token
Of love is broken
In the speech unspoken
Of mind to mind!

But the mind perceiveth
When the spirit grieveth,
And the heart relieveth
Itself of woe.
And the doubt-mists lifted
From the eyes love-gifted
Are rent and rifted
In the warmer glow.

In the inner Me, love,
As I turn to thee, love,
I seem to see, love,
No Ego there.
But the Meeness dead, love,
The Theeness fled, love,
And born instead, love,
An Unness rare!

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE.

—Boston Evening Transcript.

BELVIDERE SEMINARY.

The plan of an Industrial School which was sent by the Misses Bush, of Belvidere Seminary, New Jersey, to the widow of Wendell Phillips, has received her approval and permission to name the institution, when established, the Wendell Phillips Memorial Industrial School.

The plan has also been highly commended by some of the most eminent educators in this country, and active measures are being taken to insure its success. Its originators respectfully solicit such aid and influence in behalf of their enterprise as the friends of Wendell Phillips may be pleased to offer. They will confer personally or by letter with any one interested in their plan, and will very gratefully receive donations, in large or small amounts, of money, books, stationery, pictures, chemical and philosophical apparatus, or charts and specimens needed in the study of the Natural Sciences. All parties responding in any way substantially to this call will be considered founders of the institution.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

AN exchange mentions the fact that sixty thousand people attended a recent Sunday concert in Central Park as an indication of a popular verdict that "Sunday was made for man."

"FROZEN devilry" is the latest name for ice-cream smuggled into a religious camp-meeting in New Jersey, in defiance of a resolution that it "shall not be sold to the people for recreation purposes." Its cooling effect is what seems to be dreaded.

THE President of the Council of State in Brazil has declared that a bill will soon be brought in by the Government requiring that slaves be confined to their provinces, imposing a national emancipation act, liberating slaves of sixty and upwards, obliging free men to work, and preventing abuses of valuations for emancipation.

THE following paragraph is taken from a Catholic exchange: "Of the five thousand students in Belgium," says the *Etudiant*,—"supposing the Catholic University to be entirely theistic,—we can count two thousand atheists." Then this college journal proceeds to applaud the situation, and points how these two thousand young men will be scattered throughout the country to spread the poison of atheism. Such is the infernal work now going on in Belgium."

RECENTLY, while several Mormon elders were assembled in the house of a Mormon in Lewis County, Tenn., they were attacked by twenty-five masked men, and four of the elders and one other Mormon were killed; and still another, a woman whose husband had been shot dead, was fatally wounded. This is bad business. It will tend to

unite the Mormons more closely, make them more determined, and give them the argument and advantage which always come from martyrdom, unless the persecution succeeds in completely destroying the hated heresy, as, for instance, the Inquisition crushed Protestantism in Spain.

THE *Christian Register* says that the discovery was made at the Concord School of Philosophy that Emerson was orthodox. "Some of the most ardent disciples of Emerson there are orthodox themselves, and that is the way the discovery was made. It is possible that Emerson's Orthodoxy was extracted from his famous address before the Cambridge Divinity School in 1838. We expect to learn eventually that John Calvin was a Unitarian, Servetus a Calvinist, and Laud a Puritan. Prof. Patton, however, continues to believe that 'the unstinted praise of Emerson, which even Christians have not hesitated to indulge in, is an insult to Christianity.'"

THE cholera scare in Paris has had the effect to lessen drunkenness in that city. It is stated that in June the daily average of persons arrested for drunkenness was 170. The number fell to 104 on July 1, and to 54 on July 12, the latter being the lowest on record since the police regulations on the subject of street drunkenness have been in force. It is further stated that the smallness of the attendance at the theatres has been unprecedented during the last quarter of a century. Will the *Independent*, having quoted a statement that the flight of people in large numbers from Toulon was because of the progress of atheism and materialism, please state whether the improvement in the habits of the Parisians since the appearance of cholera is due to the same cause?

THE Irish wit which we find in some of our Catholic exchanges is much better than their theology. The following paragraph from the *Catholic Examiner*, in reply to a well-meant expression in the *Investigator*, must be enjoyed even by the editor who wants to see Col. Ingersoll at the head of a funeral procession as well as by the witty Colonel himself: "A correspondent writes to the Boston *Investigator*, the organ of the infidels: 'Our Colonel Ingersoll is "some." May he live to see the funeral of superstition.' To this, the *Investigator* replies: 'May we live long enough to "see the funeral of superstition," and may the Colonel head the procession.' Our infidel contemporary evidently intends that its chief apostle shall occupy the hearse at the 'funeral' in question. Well, it is its own funeral; and we will not object. But it is rather hard on the Colonel."

WE are not among those who have unqualified admiration for the public life of Mr. Blaine, but we do not hesitate to say that he should have the undivided sympathy of all fair-minded men in defending his private character and the honor of his family against mean and malicious slander. Hardly less atrocious are some of the stories which have been put in circulation respecting Gov. Cleveland, even though it be conceded as it now is by his supporters that in some of his past per-

sonal relations he is justly open to censure. When a man is nominated for a high public position, his private as well as his public character becomes of course a matter of general concern; and it cannot and should not escape scrutiny. But the circulation of vile slander against a candidate for office is cowardly and mean; and all unsupported accusations against such a candidate, especially during the heat of a political campaign, should be discredited and discouraged by all honorable men, to whatever party they belong.

THE *New York Times* and other papers have published many columns professing to give detailed accounts of the practice of cannibalism by the Greely party. That some of the men, impelled by the unconquerable pangs of hunger, did eat the flesh of their comrades who had succumbed to cold, hardship, and want, may be true; and, if so, the desperate condition to which they were reduced, involving mental derangement as well as physical torture, is the justification of acts incomprehensible to a normal mind and odious to healthful thought. But what has been published on this subject has not come from any authoritative source, and may be mainly the speculations of newspaper correspondents and the guesses of persons not in a position to know the facts. Lieut. Greely says that, if any of the men ate human flesh, he was not aware of it. The mutilation of some of the bodies may be explained by a statement made that cut flesh was used for bait. But, whatever be the truth, what end is subserved by the publication of such disgusting horrors as appeared in some of the daily papers last week, in advance of any official statement?

"MAN," the organ of the National Liberal League, is mistaken in saying that the postal law against indecent literature has become, through the influence of that organization, a dead letter. The law is rigidly enforced and with good results. We are informed by publishers and book-dealers that the business of obscenity venders has been almost entirely destroyed in this country. It cannot be denied that this has been done in part by the exclusion of vile prints and pictures from the United States mails. But it must be admitted in all fairness, we think, that the discussion, which originated in the National Liberal League and has been going on the past half-dozen years, has contributed largely to enlighten the public in regard to the practical issues involved. Judges and juries now discriminate between works that are actually obscene and those that are simply coarse or contain merely incidental indecencies of expression; and they interpret the law, in the trial of persons charged with offences under it, intelligently, fairly, and justly. Many of Comstock's cases are, as they long ago should have been, thrown out of the courts; and the salutary effect of the law now, when it is no longer made to serve a purpose for which it was never originally intended, is most conspicuous in preventing a traffic to which all decent people are opposed, and with which, of course, the Liberal League never had any sympathy, whatever be thought of its policy respecting laws designed for its suppression.

AN ANTI-PESSIMISTIC VIEW.

George Fox, in describing certain experiences connected with the awakening of his religious consciousness, said, "I saw that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness." The dark side of human life, in modern days, is turned so much to the public eye that it is often not a little difficult to keep faith in the superabounding light beheld by the founder of Quakerism in his vision. The attention of people is called so constantly to acts of violated trust and of moral degradation and violence that it is becoming quite easy as well as fashionable to accept the pessimistic belief that mankind, if not originally created in a condition of total depravity, are at least now rapidly on the way to such condition. The telegraphic and local columns of the daily newspapers teem with reports narrating with sickening detail facts of individual dishonesty, defalcation, burglary, brutality, fiendish outrage, diabolical murder, and all the intermediate shades of vice and criminality. Corruption in business, corruption in politics and political administration, corruption in social life,—this is the disheartening cry everywhere saluting our ears. And, as if nature were not to be outdone by man, she parallels the telegraphic despatches of criminal horrors with the chapters of her catastrophes by cyclone or flood or fire or wreck; though not a few of her so-called accidents, with all their attendant distresses, are to be traced directly to human carelessness or ignorance or wanton ambition, and hence only add force to the indictment which is brought against human nature. Considering the picture of human society that is thus flashed over the electric wires from community to community, and that is printed daily in the newspapers, and too often with coarse touches added by sensational reporters, there need be little wonder if many persons should begin to feel that the future of mankind is enveloped in darkness rather than in light.

But a little reflection would serve to convince that such a conclusion is based on insufficient evidence, and that George Fox's vision of an ocean of light overflowing the darkness may, after all, be nearer the truth. For how is the telegraphic column which presents this picture of human society made up? It is the concentration into one focus of all the extraordinary and startling events which the magnetic wires have collected from all countries and corners of the civilized world. A hundred or even fifty years ago, nothing of this kind was possible. Crime and vice necessarily remained more private. There were no means to carry such news, no newsmongers to gather it. But, now, what took place in San Francisco or London last night we may read this morning in Boston. These startling horrors, therefore, whether of crime or catastrophe, which make the modern picture of human existence so black, have not happened in the juxtaposition in which they appear to our vision, but have been separated by hundreds and thousands of miles. Perhaps they are some half-dozen or dozen in number, and not every day do we read so many as that of the worst things. But these have been gathered from the whole of our vast country, or perhaps even from the whole domain of civilization. The list, black and foul and long as it is, represents nearly all the excessive disorder, moral and physical, that may become known anywhere in a large part of the world.

In order to get, therefore, a real description of human society, readers of this daily black record of man's wrong-doings and woes must read also

between the lines and all around it another record of virtue, security, and peace, which represents much more truly the average lot of civilized man, but which is likely to be lost sight of in presence of the dark picture that holds the vision. The peaceful homes upon which no shadow of disaster or crime has fallen, the common honesty and fair dealing and mutual confidence of ordinary citizens, the daily little acts of kindness, good will, and charity which are occurring in every community, the united, affectionate, and happy households everywhere to be found,—these find no mention in the news columns of the journals. Yet how many communities and large sections of population there must be where items of this character would make up the description of any day, or, at least, where no wickedness or calamity of a kind sufficiently startling to be reported could be found. The telegraphic picture is composed of the dark occurrences collected from many and widely separated communities; and, thus massed together, they are dark indeed! But, if all the bright and joyous occurrences in these same communities, and in the many other communities where nothing has happened which the electric wire has caught, could be added to this view of human society which the telegraph brings us with our morning paper at our breakfast tables, we should have a veritable repetition of Fox's vision of an "ocean of light" overflowing and submerging the "ocean of darkness."

And, if the question be asked why it is that the evils of human life get reported so much more than their opposites, the answer will give us another encouraging fact. The news-collectors and news-publishers report only the *startling* occurrences, the *extra-ordinary* events, or those things which from their *rarity* will receive attention or gratify curiosity. These things are what the readers call *news*; while the things that are happening around him every day in his own and other families, in his own and in all communities, there is no occasion to give to a telegraph operator or to a newspaper reporter. These are so common that they are not salable goods. No newspaper takes such facts for publication, because everybody knows them already. It follows, therefore, that the horrible events which take up so much space in the newspapers of the day, and which are published because they are *extra-ordinary*, so far from representing the things which make up the warp and woof of human society, represent rather a break in some single thread or a disarrangement in some one piece of social machinery, stopping temporarily, perhaps, a single loom in the vast operations of the human world. The newspapers themselves furnish the proof that their daily register of dark deeds is no true sample of the general social and moral condition of mankind, but rather that the ordinary tenor of society has a character quite the opposite. The flagrant crime is telegraphed throughout the country, while the virtue of the twelve honest men who may be summoned as the criminal's jurors will get no notice in any journal. A collision occurs on a railroad or on the sea, and the dreadful narrative is spread out in our newspapers in the most harrowing detail; but the thousands of trains and of vessels that on the same day are carrying their countless multitudes of human lives in perfect safety attract no attention.

Such facts prove that virtue and security are the common order of things and are taken for granted. Were there as many defaulters and burglars in the community as honest men, were acts of outrage and violence as common as are lawful and virtuous acts, the dishonesties and crimes would cease to have any special attraction to the newsmonger. Should the newspapers in Boston to-morrow morn-

ing print the names of men in this city who had *not* in the last day or two committed theft, but had lived honestly with their neighbors, and contain a despatch from New York stating that such and such bankers, merchants, railroad-managers, had *not* defaulted nor forged nor swindled nor run away in the last twenty-four hours, and another from San Francisco to tell how many persons in that city did *not* yesterday commit murder, such a column of intelligence might at first sight seem pleasanter reading than that which is now likely to meet our eyes. But, to second thought, what would such a newspaper column betoken? The utter demoralization and disruption of society. Were matters to reach such a pass that it were possible for a newspaper to present intelligence of this description among its attractions, the time would also doubtless be speedily at hand when no newspaper would be left nor any other institution of civilized society. At present, the daily newsgleaner selects the dark facts (though he might, it must be admitted, select and use them much more judiciously), because of the dramatic contrast which they afford by their rarity to the pervading and abounding light of the common intelligence, virtue, and happiness.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE LIBERALS IN RELIGION AFRAID OF US.

The woman suffrage movement in America has arrived at the point where it was supposed that success would be assured. At one time, only the most liberal men in politics and religion were favorable: the press, the church, the bar, the bench, the world of fashion, were all against us. Now, our leading journals generally treat the question with respect. Popular reviews and magazines entertain it quite hospitably in their pages. Scientists write voluminously on the difference of sex. Judges and lawyers have come to discuss our political demand as one of constitutional law, and the clergy are giving us new interpretations of Scripture in harmony with the spirit of the age. And now, just as all these classes are advancing in one direction, lo! our Liberals come to a dead stand. They say they are in favor of woman suffrage *per se*, but they are afraid of the practical working of the principle. They say women are naturally so conservative, so entirely under the control of their priests and bishops, that, if the right of suffrage were conceded, they would use their political power to destroy the secular nature of our government. This objection to woman's enfranchisement is made alike in America, England, and France.

Well, suppose by way of argument we admit that women in general are narrow, bigoted, and timid; that their influence would be uniformly against every step in progress; that, if they had political power, they would use it invariably to reinforce the conservative party. The question naturally arises, If this would be their direct influence, is not their indirect influence precisely the same to-day? Whether for good or for ill, the influence of woman is ever insidiously doing its work,—either drawing man upward to the sublimer heights where he can behold all things in their true relations, or holding him down in the valley of humiliation, where the narrow horizon bounds every outlook. The bigotry and superstition of the mothers are sedulously infused into the minds of the children, reappearing in every legislative assembly and in every ecclesiastical council generation after generation, wasting the time and patience of our liberal thinkers in combatting the old worn-out systems of political economy and

theology in the men believing what their mothers taught them.

How seldom you meet a man whose ideas on all subjects are clear and consistent, in harmony with one another, and resting on some grand principle, so that his opinion on one question gives you the key to his opinions on all. His manly endeavors in the world of thought are blocked at every turn by the prejudices and superstitions of his mother, wife, and sister. His honest inquiries when a boy into the soul of things were never answered. Instead of instructing him in those things he could understand pertaining to this life, his mind is bewildered with fears of the mysterious life beyond, of which his teacher knows nothing. In later years, the social code of morals teaches him to echo popular opinions and not combat the evils of his day and generation, if he would insure personal success and family aggrandizement. Policy, expediency, manœuvring, stratagem, are the weapons of oppressed classes in life's battle; and these are the weapons our mothers are compelled to use at the fireside and in such tactics they drill their sires and sons.

Now, our Free Religionists might safely let the women alone, if they could hedge them off by themselves, limit their influence, and free the minds of the sons of Adam from all feminine prejudices. But this cannot be done. You cannot combat these insidious influences that cannot be traced to their real source. If women had a voice in the State and Church, they would be directly responsible for their own actions and opinions, and the men of their households would have an opportunity to see from an objective point of view how well or otherwise they could maintain their position in fair argument. But, so long as we allow women to skulk behind irresponsible power, they will dispense with logic and reason.

I have often talked with husbands who were liberal in their religious ideas, who would stop the conversation the moment they heard their wives coming, by saying: "I do not discuss these questions before Mary. She is happy in her religion, and I do not know but a religion of authority and fear is good for women and children, it makes them more patient of control; and the same might be said of the laboring masses. We should never have been able to hold them in subjection as long as we have, had they not been taught the divine authority of the upper classes."

I think much of this fear I hear expressed among Liberals as to the danger of destroying the secular nature of our government by extending the suffrage to women has its root in man's love of authority. Could we appreciate what an insurmountable obstacle to a high civilization the theological faith of the women of a nation may be, we should see that sound ideas for them on this subject is the first consideration. I remember some years ago reading an able pamphlet by Gladstone on Catholicism. In deploring the spread of that faith, he said, "As might be expected, its most ready victims are women, they being influenced by their emotions rather than their reason." A writer in the *London Times*, speaking of Egyptian civilization, said, "The greatest obstacle in the way of progress there is the condition of the women; and their improvement is hopeless, because they are taught by their religion that their condition is in harmony with the will of heaven." And this idea is responsible everywhere for the apathy and indifference of women under the most adverse circumstances. If we could substitute logic for emotion, reason for blind faith in the traditions of men, women might propose a significant question to themselves, seeing that their condition differs essentially in every country, which one is

according to the divine will,—as toilers in the rice swamps and cotton plantations of the Southern States of America or as teachers and professors in the schools and colleges of the North, as beasts of burden in Germany and France and petted slaves in Turkish harems (wearing masks and veils), or in Girton College contending for Greek and mathematical prizes, or in Windsor Palace Queen of an Empire, head of the army and navy of the mightiest nation on the globe.

Seeing these vast differences, we cannot logically ascribe any one of them to a direct fiat from heaven, but to human laws and customs which we ourselves have the absolute right to modify, improve, and change altogether. It is only through the utter perversion of the religious element in her nature that woman is made the patient, hopeless slave she is. The loss to herself of the highest development of which she is capable is sad; but when this loss involves a lower type of manhood, a lower tone of civilization, it is lamentable indeed. The primal work to-day in every country to secure the progress of the race is the freedom and education of its women. Seeing that her indirect influence is generally acknowledged to be all-powerful for good or for evil, there is only one road to safety; and that is to accord to woman all the advantages and opportunities for higher development, and thus enlarge her sympathies, clear her vision, and strengthen her judgment, that the race may be lifted up a few degrees. Galton, in his work on Heredity, says, "With the tangled problems of our present intense civilization, the brain of man is overweighted; and, as in the nature of things more complex questions will come up in the near future, something must be done to lift our statesmen a few degrees higher, that they may meet successfully what lies before them." And where shall we look for this new power but in a higher type of womanhood?

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

AN EXTINGUISHED LIGHT.

Conceding that this universe is by some great Designer based upon a wide-reaching plan, whose ultimate purpose is good and wise, with our senses ever on the alert to discover, if possible, the evidences of such purpose in our own little world,—we are often balked in the search by countless seeming contradictions of our theory of goodness and wisdom; and among the most puzzling of the contradictions are those presented by the phenomenon of death. The weak, the wicked, the suffering, the incompetent, the selfish, and the cruel often live out the full term of days allotted to humanity; while the strong, the pure, the healthfully active, the wise, the philanthropic, and the disinterested man and woman are snatched away in the full vigor of their powers,—at the very moment, perhaps, when their best work is about to be accomplished or their best services imperatively required for the good of their fellows. This fact has been bewailed since man began to observe and to think. Says the poet Young of death,—

"His joy supreme

To bid the wretch survive the fortunate,
The feeble wrap the athletic in his shroud,
And weeping fathers build their children's tombs."

I have been led to these reflections just now by the sight of a package of letters, written in a clear, bold chirography, peened within the last two years by a hand that has done its last earthly work, and inspired by a vigorous brain whose brilliant emanations for us ended,—the hand and brain of Emily J. Leonard, whose recent death has been already commented upon in the columns of *The Index*.

Noting the range of subjects touched upon in

these friendly letters, written without any attempt at careful writing, and only designed for the eyes of her correspondents (my husband and self), and noting also her thorough acquaintance with those subjects and the authorities in regard to them, I am impelled to add my mite of evidence in regard to the public loss sustained in the death of this brave, bright, earnest, active, unselfish, and remarkably modest thinker and worker. With her manifold gifts as linguist, botanist, political economist, and speaker, her untiring literary work as translator and teacher, her earnest activity through numerous channels in behalf of her sex, her generous contributions toward every cause with which she was in sympathy, there was neither in her private conversation nor correspondence the slightest trace of that "mountainous Me" which so often mars philanthropic and reformatory work. But, modest as she was in speech and manner, this modesty did not detract from her firmness of conviction or clearness of emphatic statement of opinion upon any subject on which she professed to hold opinions at all.

In these few letters, out of a correspondence of several years, now lying before me, I am struck, as I glance through them, with the ring of thorough acquaintance with the subjects touched upon (necessarily in a cursory manner) by her versatile pen. These include finance, vaccination, woman suffrage and kindred matters, Sunday laws, intuition, heredity, Spencer's philosophy, and Swedenborgianism. There is a page or more devoted to the question of barbed wire fences in their relation to cruelty to animals. I find also criticisms of Hamerton's *Intellectual Life*, Taylor's *Diegesis*, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Women*, and other works. In support of her positions on all these questions, she quotes pertinently from many writers, such as Herbert Spencer, George Eliot, John Fiske, Maudsley, Francis Walker, Blanqui, Ricardo, Huxley, Bastian, and others, showing an encyclopedic acquaintance with literature. As an instance of her economic use of time and wonderful memory, I may refer to one of these letters, filling six pages of large note-paper, and treating of the relative brain-power of women compared with that of men, which was written while waiting for a train in the Boston and Albany depot, without books or references of any sort, and yet giving mathematical demonstrations of weight and measure, quoting from memory the published opinion of others. Whatever subject was introduced, she had always stimulating suggestions and criticisms to offer,—and they were offered always in a kindly spirit. There must be many besides the writer of this who owe to this noble woman an indebtedness of gratitude for her kind words of appreciation and encouragement in their work. That recognition of others was not among the least of her many virtues.

The limits of this article forbid much quotation from her letters, but I venture to transcribe several short characteristic paragraphs. In instance of her industry, I quote: "If I can get time to-day, after translating a cyclopædia article on Fourier I have on hand, I will see what I can do about Miss H.'s article." "I have not had time to tell you. . . . Every moment is so full of work." "If I were not so crowded with work, I should be tempted to say something more on the subject." Of her conscientious study: "I read such books slowly, a little at a time, and stop all the way to verify everything I can, particularly when statements are so startling as those of T—." Her interest in women is shown when, writing of the action of one Christian woman, she says: "The bold stand she has taken for freedom in the Church (the most difficult of all kinds of freedom to obtain) makes

her entitled to be ranked with the heroines of free thought. I admire her." "I am moved to write you thus, because I know that you feel, as keenly as I do, anything that tends to retard woman's advancement to her rightful position."

Miss Leonard was a Liberal in the truest sense of that much-abused word. While appreciating the worth and sympathizing with the position of many inside the churches, she was yet a confessed agnostic, with a desire for a life beyond this, which she thought unprovable, but not impossible. She was an admirer of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, whose works she had studied carefully and understandingly. Knowing this, I was interested, on hearing of her unexpected death, to know whether, in the face of dissolution, she had made any statement or expressed any opinion as to the future. I was enabled to learn from a conversation held recently with Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, who spoke at her funeral, and from other sources, something of the facts. She was taken suddenly ill with heart disease some four weeks previous to her death, and, so far as is known, only spoke of her possible death twice. Once she remarked rather abruptly to the sister who was caring for her, "What, in your opinion, is the life beyond this,—an entire cessation of our life as we now know it and beginning anew, or will it be a mere continuance of this life under different conditions?" Her sister assured her that she felt it must be a continuance of this life with all its individualities and knowledge. "I think that must be so," she assented, musingly. Another time, she was asked if she had any wishes in regard to the disposition of her belongings, to which, after a moment's reflection, she replied that her friends could do what seemed best to them in the matter, from which it would appear that she met death as philosophically as she had encountered life. Once, when in comparative health, she had been discussing with a friend in Meriden the common fashion of funerals, she made the remark that, when she died, there were two things she would like to have remembered: that she wanted no regular funeral service in the shape of a sermon, though, if any clergyman who was a personal friend wished to speak as a friend in an unclerical capacity, she would not object; and, "above all things else, she would like at least *one woman's voice* to be heard on the occasion." Mrs. Hooper, who went to the funeral without intending to take any active part therein, was asked to fulfil this part of Miss Leonard's desire, and did so gladly, feelingly, and appropriately; and, singularly enough, the other hope was fulfilled, when the Rev. Mr. Chapin, of Meriden, her friend and the President of the Scientific Association, of which she had been a member from its commencement, conducted the funeral services.

I have thought so much in regard to one who was an earnest and active friend of *The Index* and of the Free Religious Association from their beginnings might be of interest to the readers of this paper. The last evening she spent in Boston was at the festival of the Free Religious Association, and the news of her death was peculiarly saddening to those of us who were privileged to spend that evening in conversation with her. I particularly recall her tenderly expressed regret that evening on hearing of another woman worker of about her own age, whose earnest life-work was at an end, that such a busy, needful life should so soon close. The very last call Miss Leonard made before leaving this city was at the office of *The Index*,—a paper in whose work she was deeply interested, and to whose principles and objects she gave much valuable missionary labor.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

PHILOSOPHIC ASSUMPTIONS.

The Index of June 24 contains two philosophical essays written from the metaphysical stand-point, which, coming from men of culture and schooled in metaphysical thinking, deserve more than casual attention. But each of these exponents of philosophic thought makes some statements in support of their respective theories, which, it seems to the writer, in the interests of philosophic inquiry, should not pass unchallenged.

The essays alluded to are "Superstition or Epicureanism: Are these the only Alternatives?" by Thomas Davidson, and the "Permanence and Simplicity of the *Ego*," by William I. Gill. These essays take diametrically opposite views of the ultimate origin of things, although both denying that this origin is "unknowable."

According to Mr. Davidson, the great stumbling-block in the way of arriving at a knowledge of the ultimate principles of things is the universally accepted doctrine of monism, or that all things and beings sprang from one unitary principle or cause. Although he admits that this doctrine pervaded almost the whole of both ancient and modern philosophic thought, yet he says, "In spite of this all but perfect unanimity among contemporary thinkers, the doctrine in question is absolutely without ground, either in thought or nature." It is held by both theists and atheists, spiritualists and materialists, metaphysical philosophers and scientists. It would seem that a doctrine so universally accepted by all classes and diversities of thinkers must have some foundation in truth, although this fact is no positive proof, when we consider that the whole human race believed that the earth was the centre of the universe, and that the sun and stars revolved around it every twenty-four hours, until the discoveries of modern astronomy demonstrated it to be erroneous; and, doubtless, many other notions universally accepted, in physical science and in theology and moral science, will be found equally erroneous.

But all the facts and operations of nature tend to prove that the world is the product or expression of a single principle, or *substance*. The most obvious phenomena of our world,—the infinite diversity caused by one and the same element (water) in the changes of weather and temperature, in its manifold influences upon everything on our globe through its changes of condition between the three states of solid, liquid, and fluid or gaseous,—perpetually expanding from liquid to aerial, and contracting again in clouds, fog, rain, and dew, in a vibratory movement whose laws are doubtless as mathematically rigid in their operation as those governing the vibrations of light and sound,—the part which these interchanging conditions of water play in all the phenomena of the weather bears a striking analogy to all the great processes of nature. The structures of vegetable formation are built up by the condensations of substance from extremely rarefied conditions, and physiological investigations have shown that the whole animal kingdom is constructed from matter sublimated entirely beyond the reach of our senses. The formation of all organisms in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and all the phenomena of life in both, appear to consist of nothing else but the perpetual vibration of the same materials between imponderable and solid conditions; back and forth in a continual circuit, together with the wonderful variety of substances which the changes in condition of a very few chemical elements produce, and the homogeneity of all the varieties of electrical phenomena in the part which they play in the complex operations of both inorganic and organic life, all point unmistakably toward the existence of

a common, homogeneous substance, whose changes of condition and vibratory operations constitute all the diversified phenomena of the universe.

To say that "there can be no evolution without action and reaction—in other words, without duality"—is no argument against monism; for it is as easy and even easier to conceive of one substance acting and reacting upon and within itself, than to conceive of two entirely different substances performing the same operation. It is doubtless true that "nothing evolves without an environment," but it does not follow that a single *substance* could have no environment. A change in condition in the same identity might easily be conceived to constitute an environment. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive how we can ever cognize any environment without some interaction between two conditions.

The essay under consideration claims that the doctrine of monism is answerable for what Mr. Davidson terms "irrational phenomenalism," "that wide-spread prejudice, maintained by several schools of thought, that our knowledge never can extend beyond phenomena to grasp substance," which he declares to be "both logically and psychologically false." The theory with which he displaces monism is "that the phenomenal universe is the result of the interaction of an infinite multitude of *essentially* independent, *dynamically* interdependent entities." But, unless this "multitude of *essentially* independent entities" derive all their attributes and qualities from their "interaction" with other entities, they would each have to act within and upon itself, the same as a monistic substance. If they do derive their properties and qualities from interaction with other entities, they would be just as unknowable in their condition of *essential* independence as in the monistic view which he so strenuously combats.

Mr. Gill, in his essay, assumes that all things sprang from an utterly simple, homogeneous entity or substance, and this substance without parts or organs is the *Ego*, meaning, of course, by that term, a self-conscious individual. But this last assumption is in direct contradiction with the whole of our knowledge in relation to the underlying conditions of conscious intelligence. All evidence goes to show that all individual intelligence is the result of great organic complexity, and that the amount of intelligence possessed by any being is in exact ratio with its organic complexity; and any assumption of a consciousness apart from a high condition of complexity is in direct violation of all we know of mental processes and of psychological inquiry in relation to them. In this respect, all unprejudiced introspective and metaphysical thinking coincides perfectly with all objective investigation. It is impossible to conceive an utterly simple homogeneous entity possessing any properties, much more so complex an affair as any consciousness of ours.

This fact does not at all invalidate a future state of conscious existence for human beings, as matter in a condition so fine as to escape our physical senses may easily be conceived to be adapted to still greater complexity of arrangement and organization than any with which our senses acquaint us. It has been pertinently remarked that it would be difficult to conceive of any arrangement of grindstones that should evolve mind.

It was the great merit of the German metaphysicians, Fichte and Hegel, to discover that pure, simple, homogeneous being could possess no qualities or attributes, and would be the same as pure nothing, and that all Reality consisted in opposition, otherness, and difference: albeit, they both contradicted this greatest of insights into the nature of consciousness, in their assumption that

pure being could *consciously* determine itself into difference and opposition, the *very condition* on which all consciousness *priorly depends*. By their efforts to make their great metaphysical discovery into systems that should square with the prevailing *unscientific* theological notions of the nature of mind, they infused the greatest jumble into most metaphysical thought, inquiry, and discussion since their time, and led their followers into a fruitless and barren chase through the dismal swamps and tangled mazes of theological metaphysics.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

ETHICAL CULTURE.

"Emotion gives, Justice sells."

Mr. Cable, in his admirable novel *Dr. Sevier*, has given us no truth of more importance than this. It is an axiom which should be studied in reference to our religious and benevolent institutions. No emotional religion, which puts off the day of judgment to another world, will satisfy the wants of society or avert the dangers which threaten our national and social life. Ethical culture in the family and the schools can alone effect this. With warm appreciation I listened to the presentation of the objects and claims of the schools for ethical culture, as given by their eloquent young advocates at the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association.

Our clergymen are now tacitly admitting by their practical sermons that the teacher of the future must confine himself principally to the affairs of this world, if he would preach to well-filled instead of empty pews. Mr. Washington Gladden, in his thoughtful and timely paper in the current number of the *Century*, "The Three Dangers," says, speaking of gambling in margins: "The gambler in margins is a plunderer. He may be a pillar in the church, he may hobnob with college presidents, he may sit on commencement platforms and be pointed out to young men with notes of admiration as one of our merchant princes; but he is a plunderer." Again, he says, "It may be doubted if this class of our teachers [alluding to ministers] have borne witness as they ought to have done against this iniquity." "Clearly," he says, "there is need of a great deal of elementary teaching on this subject, in order that a public sentiment may be created which will deal with this evil in an effective way."

Where then shall we look for this teaching but to the schools of ethical culture? All hail then to the earnest men of high thoughts, like Messrs. Adler, Salter, Sheldon, and Weston, who have left the theology which has signally failed in its efforts to purify society, and have joined the young and valiant army of brave men and women who ask not if one believes in God, immortality, or the sacredness and infallibility of the Bible, but if his character is irreproachable and the progress and elevation of the men, women, and children around him the objects for which he would labor!

More and more we are brought to see that a religion of emotion, sentimentalism, and supernaturalism, has proved to be of little effect in stemming the tide of immorality and dishonesty everywhere confronting us. In view of the inefficiency of these so-called spiritual and religious doctrines to produce any effectual reforms, we feel like exclaiming with Thoreau, "One world at a time."

We must begin with the children, not, as in the past, with the fear of an angry God, but with the fear of wronging their own natures; that love of self is only wrong when it results in wrong to others. Mr. Gladden says, "When self-love and benevolence are perfectly balanced in human conduct, we shall have on earth the beginning of the

one thousand years of peace." There is benevolence enough in the world; but to put its efforts in the right direction, helping the unfortunate to help themselves, "selling rather than giving," individuals as well as organizations need wise and intelligent discrimination.

To judge of the inadequacy of the lessons taught by the popular churches and their Sabbath-schools, we have only to look at the increasing numbers of gamblers and defaulters who have had this training, thus retaining their so-called respectable positions in society till some crisis and consequent disclosure of their selfish deeds reveal their true characters. When the time comes when the fitness of a man to fill a responsible situation is determined, not by his church standing, his religious professions, but by his known integrity of character irrespective of his belief in any book or creed, then, and not till then, will the work of the Free Religious Association be finished.

The schools of ethical culture, beginning with the kindergarten and combining industrial with moral and intellectual training, are the great necessities of the present time. They should be established in all our cities, towns, and villages, thus sending forth annually an army of men and women who will fight bravely the battle of truth against falsehood,—their watchword, "Truth though the heavens fall."

R. F. BAXTER.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS an exchange: "Mud thrown freshly may stick; but mud thrown a second time never does."

DAVID HUME, the distinguished philosopher and historian, who is the subject of Mr. Ball's essay in *The Index* this week, was born April 26 (O. S.), 1711, and died Aug. 25, 1776.

LONDON is still too good to allow restaurants to be open on Sunday, so that the stranger within her gates whose lodging mistress does not feed him, and who has no club privileges, must fast. But the popular goodness has not yet extended to shutting up the liquor shops except during the hours of morning service.—*Boston Transcript*.

WE regret two or three typographical errors in Mr. Mead's communication, printed in *The Index* last week. Every reader probably corrected them for himself, but we call attention to one particularly. The sentence in the quotation from Emerson in the second paragraph should read, "The commanding fact which I *never* do not see is the sufficiency of the moral sentiment."

A FRIEND writes: "I suppose it is not wasted energy to spend as much time discussing the infidelity or Orthodoxy of Garrison, Emerson, and Phillips as you New England people (or some of you, rather) are doing, since many are greatly influenced by the views, the mere 'opinions' of such men. But I was positively astonished at Mr. Johnson's assertion; and there are few things that can astonish me in a country like this, which seems to be in a condition to abandon or adopt anything without the least reason. I write only to say that I hope some one will run over the files of the *Liberator*,—files of the later years,—where Garrison unquestionably, and in his usual perfectly distinct manner, boldly repudiated the Bible as authority. I am sure of this, but cannot give the date. There ought to be Bostonians who know the fact."

WE learn from Monroe's *Iron-clad Age* that some of the Western Campbellite preachers are

trying to impair the force of Ingersoll's influence by circulating a slanderous pamphlet by Rev. Clark Braden, entitled "Ingersoll Unmasked." Pretty small business this! Assaults made upon him in this way Ingersoll can easily afford to treat with silent contempt. Whatever this man Braden says or writes about a free thinker, or even about his own brethren when they differ from him, or when he thinks it to his personal advantage to injure them, is not entitled to the least credit. He takes to abuse and blackguardism as naturally as a duck takes to water. He seems to be devoid of a sense of honor. Some years ago, he met a free thinker in a public debate in a Western city. His brethren were so disappointed with the result that they immediately commenced making arrangements for another debate, in which their side should be represented by Rev. John Sweeny, a debater of some reputation among the Campbellites. Braden revealed his baseness in a letter which he wrote and addressed to the free thinker, informing him as to the weak points of Mr. Sweeny as a debater, and telling him the best course to pursue in order to "defeat him." For years, Braden has tried hard to get Ingersoll to engage in controversy with him, or to notice him in some way that would bring him into prominence; but he has been persistently ignored. And, instead of coming to Boston to "demolish infidelity" and give the clergy of this city lessons in logic and Christian evidences, as he intended, he has been down to Texas repeating his platitudes, depending mainly upon personal assaults upon Ingersoll and boastful claims as to the number of victories he has had in debate, to attract the attention of the natives. We know of several Western preachers starting for Boston, but, not receiving the encouragement expected, abandoning the route marked out before bidding good by to their friends in "Sugar-tree Hollow" and other localities, and bringing up in Texas. A common expression once was, "Hell or Texas." With the great Western champions of theology and demolishers of "infidelity," who, like Braden, complain of inappreciation in Western communities, the cry now seems to be, "Boston or Texas"; and, somehow, it turns out to be Texas every time. The amount of theological talent and learning in the Lone Star State must be enormous. This may account for the unsurpassed acquaintance of the Texas herders with the expressive and euphonious language of theology.

FACES. For *The Index*.

In the eye that lights to meet us and the face that smiles to greet us
Are the shadow of the future and the impress of the past;
And the cheek that, in its dawning, flushed as rosy as the morning,
Shows the outline of its beauty as it fades away at last.
And the little children's faces,—'mid their dimples are the traces
Of the maiden's glowing beauty and of manhood's brow of care;
And the horoscope of gladness and the shadow of the sadness,
To the thoughtful eye that gazeth, are they lurking ever there.
But the faces that are nearest and the faces that are dearest
Are the true, the tender faces that our trust and loving win:
Then, when comes to them the shading, when the roses shall be fading,
Like the vase, with light illumined, shall we see the soul within.

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 21, 1884.

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

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For The Index.

DAVID HUME, OR SCEPTICISM.

(1711-1776.)

BY B. W. BALL.

Hume was truly a philosopher, as well by temperament as by irrepressible mental tendency. He had the metaphysical, if not the perfervid, genius of his race in larger measure than was ever exhibited by any other personality of that race. He was of a constitutionally kindly and cheerful disposition. The only disappointment which he seemed to take seriously to heart was his failure to achieve fame at once in the beginning of his literary career. Under the gloomy impression that his intellectual power was not equal to his ambition and purposes,—an impression which has so often darkened the hopes of genius at the outset,—and that he was destined to ill success as an author, he determined to abandon the authorial career on which he had entered, and, changing his name, to hide himself and his chagrin in exile. But his failure at the start was more imaginary than real. He was too impatient. Renown came to him, the renown which he craved with all his heart and soul, as large a measure of it as ever fell to the lot of historian or reflective thinker. Nobody but his own mother—and she was no fit judge in the case—and his own morbid misgivings ever hinted a doubt of his great mental qualities and genius for reflective thought, in which he so early gave unmistakable evidence of his unequalled acuteness and originality. For, in the History of Philosophy, as Tennemann says, "the philosophical scepticism of Hume stands forth with a power, depth, and logical consistency such as had never before appeared," although the same authority says that "modern science, transcendentalism, and the philosophy of intuition demolish at once the unnatural fabric of Hume's scepticism." Thus was Hume the greatest of all Pyrrhonists,—even greater than Pyrrho himself. Like Shakspeare, he acquired a fortune, or what he deemed such, al-

though he was a born student and averse to following any of the ordinary gainful pursuits. As Shakspeare became rich through his dramatic works, so Hume finally reaped a golden harvest from the ultimate success of his philosophical works and history. He also was the subject of several lucrative official appointments, the successful discharge of the duties of which showed that he was not without practical ability and a knowledge of human nature in its living aspects and manifestations. Doubtless, he was not without the proverbial Scotch thrift, devotee though he was of a contemplative life.

The only unphilosophic mood which he exhibited was his hatred of Englishmen, whom he regarded as a pernicious people. He would have been delighted to have lived to witness the successful revolt of the North American colonies against the mother country, and he would like to have seen India also disencumber herself of English rule. He said that the Englishman was too rude a beast to enjoy the perfect liberty which he did. The popularity of the famous demagogue Wilkes was then at its height. Doubtless, John Bull was in his worst and most unamiable mood in the days of Hume. The hideous pictorial delineations by Hogarth of the English life of that day and the grossly sensual novels of Fielding and Smollett alike witness to a degree of brutality, insensate cruelty, sensuality, and arrogance, and the domineering spirit such as the England of to-day fortunately shows not. But Hume, as for a long time the historian of England *par excellence*, should have kept his hostility to the people and country with whose annals he had forever intertwined his own name to himself.

Hume's life was included between the dates 1711-1776. Thus, he belonged wholly to the old régime and the eighteenth century, as did his co-workers and contemporaries Voltaire and Rousseau and his fellow-historian Gibbon,

"Who sapped a solemn creed with solemn sneer."

His style has all the formalism and colorlessness of his period, although it is perfectly clear and lucid. Of course, he was intellectually the superior of Macaulay and Lecky and Green, current historians of England; but one, after an indulgence in their rich pages and picturesque narrative, finds Hume's and even the more ornate Gibbon's style insipid and scarcely readable. Hume was himself a conservative in politics, notwithstanding his determined freedom of thought and investigation; but his scepticism led as directly to the overthrow of the old-fashioned Church and State as did the sentimental nature-worship and the sentimental politics and social theories of Rousseau and the indignant and blasting wit, sarcasm, and irony of Voltaire. Hume's life was uneventful, as an intellectual life is apt to be, although he held high positions occasionally. In 1763, he found himself secretary of the British embassy in Paris, and, if not exactly the glass of fashion and the mould of form, at least the observed of all observers and the flattered of fair women and brave men, such as shone in the galaxy of the unequalled society of the old régime in the France of that day. Hume's essays on moral, social, political, and theological topics had been translated, and attained to a remarkable currency in that country, which was fast approaching the Niagara of an unparalleled revolution.

Hume was personally almost as awkward and grotesque as his contemporary, Dr. Samuel Johnson. Hence, he must have been a laughable figure in a papilionaceous environment of gay patrician dames and damsels and fastidious cavaliers, whose idolatry of the obese and clumsy Scotchman must have been largely qualified with furtive smiles and

fun. Still, intellectually, he deserved all the homage which he received. Nobody could deny that. Rousseau says that Socrates died like a philosopher, and so did his contemporary and at one time personal friend, Hume. But, unlike Socrates, Hume cherished no pleasant illusion of a happy hereafter or of happy hunting-grounds awaiting him at the conclusion of his mortal career. But still he went untrifled into what he believed would be a gulf of night. The anticipation of a speedy dissolution, when he was at the height of his renown and good fortune, and surrounded by all things that make life enjoyable, did not depress him in the least, or quench his good humor and literary zeal. His death was by the consent of all his intimate acquaintances an euthanasia, and not even theological bigotry ever dared so much as to hint to the contrary. Thus died a great thinker, calmly and unreluctantly, without any expectation whatever of a continuance of his personality in some other state of existence. On the contrary, in one of his most remarkable essays,—namely, that on "Immortality,"—he had elaborately demonstrated the idleness of such an expectation. Nay, more than that, he avows his inability to find in himself the immaterial entity or conscious subject which is the germ in us of immortality. He says: "For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular conception or other of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception," or naked, as it were,—that is, he could never find within anything else than some particular mental mood or state of consciousness. "When my perceptions are removed for any time, as by sound sleep, so long am I insensible of *myself*, and may be truly said not to exist. And were all my perceptions (or thoughts, feelings, and volitions) removed by death, and I could neither think nor feel nor see nor love nor hate, after the dissolution of my body, I should be entirely annihilated: nor do I conceive what is farther requisite to make me a perfect nonentity."

It is said that our knowledge is relative and not absolute; that is, we know appearances or phenomena, but not substance or the bottom fact. But Hume denies that there is any substance, soul, or conscious subject, which is the ground of the mental phenomena which make up our conscious existence. Our thoughts, volitions, and feelings, which are constantly changing, and in perpetual flow, are all there is of us mentally or spiritually. When we look within, we can find nothing but some changing mental mood or state of consciousness, but nothing permanent or substantial. These varying inner moods, it is true, are strung together on a thread of memory, so as to have a certain continuity; but, so far as we know or can know, they have no adherence in a soul or personality. The personal pronoun "I" is simply the sum of these mental phenomena. But it is said that it is a mental necessity that there should be a substantial entity or personality below the hurrying tide of mental phenomena to uphold them. But Hume treats this mental necessity as an imagination merely. He denies that there is any substance or soul in the case of the phenomena of consciousness, as Berkeley had denied that there is any substance in which natural phenomena inhere. As matter is the sum of material phenomena, so soul is the sum of mental phenomena. The word "substance" is a metaphysical term for we know not what, or for things-in-themselves or noumena, which, if they exist, exist outside of our comprehension. Thus, Hume only treated the spiritual phase of life, just as his pious and orthodox fellow-metaphysician, Berkeley, had treated the material

side of it. What was sauce for goose was sauce for gander.

Cousin, in his now forgotten *Elements of Psychology*, sums up the nihilism of Hume as follows: "Matter is really nothing else than the succession of external phenomena attested by the senses. Spirit, or mind, is nothing else than the succession of internal phenomena attested by consciousness. The mind is the bond which we imagine between these latter phenomena. This is all the substratum there is: this substratum is a word. It is absurd to inquire whether this imaginary subject is endowed with immortality. It is equally absurd to inquire whether beyond all phenomena there is a time or a space which we cannot represent to ourselves, or which we do represent to ourselves on condition of reducing them to a series more or less considerable of phenomena external or internal. It is more absurd still to inquire whether there is or is not a primary cause and substance, since no cause and no substance are really known to us. . . . There exists neither spirit nor matter. There exist only ideas without subject and without real connection, vain shadows, which the imagination alone holds suspended, so to speak, over the abyss of universal nothingness."

Further on, in his essay on "Immortality," Hume says, "The soul, if immortal, existed before birth; and, if the former existence concerned us not, neither will the latter,"—a proposition which is based on no system of metaphysics or theory of ideas, but which is plain and comprehensible by the ordinary mind not versed in metaphysical terms and subtleties; for, if our personalities or individualities began to be once on a time, they are likely to cease to be at some future time or at death.

Then again, as to the allegation that this present life is an arena too narrow and limited to call out all the faculties which are latent in us, and therefore that fresh fields and pastures new in a higher sphere are due to us, he affirms that we are tasked to the utmost capacity in fencing against the miseries of our present condition, and that we need every resource that we find in ourselves to make a success of the life that now is. As for the heaven and hell of the creeds and theologies and mythologies, he says that "they suppose two distinct species of men, the good and the bad; but the greatest part of mankind float between vice and virtue. Were one to go round the world with the intention to give a good supper to the righteous and a sound drubbing to the wicked, he would frequently be embarrassed in his choice, and would find the merits and demerits of most men and women scarcely amount to the value of either righteousness or wickedness." Hence, the theological scheme of eternal bliss for one moiety of mankind in a future state, and of eternal woe for the other moiety, if it were true, would be simply an exhibition of almighty arbitrariness and injustice. The different races and branches of mankind are creatures of heredity and environment or of circumstances of place and time. Born in one place, a man is a barbarian and cannibal; in another, a philanthropist or brilliant genius. Thus does the philosophy of Hume, by dissolving self into a streamlike succession of mental states that are never exactly the same, but forever undergoing modification, place before his readers an ultimate prospect of the annihilation of this individual being to which we so fondly cling. It was, doubtless, the nihilistic scepticism of his great countryman to which the poet Campbell makes reference in the following lines of his "Pleasures of Hope":—

"Oh, lives there, Heaven, beneath thy dread expanse
One hopeless, dark idolater of Chance,

Content to feed with pleasures unrefined
The lukewarm passions of a lowly mind?
Who, mouldering earthward, rest of every trust,
In joyless union wedded to the dust,
Could all his parting energy dismiss,
And call this barren world sufficient bliss?
There live, alas! of heaven-directed men,
Of cultured soul and sapient eye serene,
Who hail thee, man, the pilgrim of a day,
Spouse of the worm and brother of the clay,
Frail as the leaf in autumn's yellow bower,
Dust in the wind and dew upon the flower,
A friendless slave, a child without a sire,
Whose mortal life and momentary fire
Lights to the grave his chance-created form,
As ocean wrecks illuminate the storm;
And, when the gun's tremendous flash is o'er,
To night and silence sink forevermore.

Ah, me! the laurel wreath that murder rears,
Blood nursed and watered by the widow's tears,
Blooms not so foul, so tainted, and so dread
As waves the night-shade round the sceptic's head."

The above lines are sonorous and spirited,—in one word, highly rhetorical, like the same poet's verses on anarchic and factious, incurably factious, and therefore dismembered, Poland. Meantime, Hume was not a poet or a mystic, but a determined seeker after truth and investigator of the actual state of the case, irrespective of rhetoric or emotion or obloquy or consequences. Neither was he a pessimist, or did he rejoice in throwing a wet blanket on our spiritual hopes, illusions, and aspirations. He simply sought the truth. He was neither a fanatic nor enthusiast, but of a provokingly cool and rational temperament,—a *terrac filius*, or Son of Earth; and so he emphatically says, "If any purpose of Nature be clear, we may affirm that the whole scope and intention of man's creation, so far as we can judge by natural reason, is limited to this life." Thus speaks the acutest of intellects, as if he was so much in love with this green earth that he regarded it as treason and disloyalty in us to wish for or expect a continuance of existence in any other scene or supernatural environment, and thought that we should be content to fall back into the bosom of our all-bearing mother when the fitful fever of life is over, and sleep the sleep that knows no waking. Hume was so happily organized that he enjoyed this brief existence with an exquisite relish. He loved the still air and retirement of the student's cloister. He was fond, too, of "the delicious juices of meats and fishes," as his portly corporeity made evident, and enjoyed the fame of high intellectual achievement which he had fairly won.

But, regarding as he did the elysiums and paradises of theology and mythology as the illusions of enthusiasts and dreamers, and the Christian City of God as the creation of the fervid imagination of a saint, who was first a sensualist and libertine, and who then went to the other extreme of asceticism and devotion, he could not look in such directions for consolation or hope. He was an inexorable positivist and rationalist. Meantime, his disciple Shelley—for, singular as it may seem, it is evident, both from his poetry and his prose essays, that Shelley was deeply imbued with Hume's philosophy—was not so happy in accepting its conclusions as Hume himself had been, although he did accept them, repugnant as they were to his glowing ideal nature. In one of his essays entitled "Life," Shelley speaks of himself as "an assemblage of thoughts," as a modification or brief individualization of the one universal mind which pervades the universe. In an essay "On a Future State," Shelley adopts the conclusions of his metaphysical master, Hume, and finds "convincing evidences that, so soon as the organs of the body are subjected to the laws of inanimate nature, sensation and perception and apprehension are at an end." But Shelley did not know that there may be a psychical state, in which the antithesis of conscious

subject and object is unknown; in other words, that there may be higher modes of spiritual being than knowledge or intelligence and will. In the essay under consideration, he reiterates the remark of Hume,—that, "if there are no reasons to suppose that we have existed before that period at which our existence apparently commenced, then there are no grounds for supposition that we shall continue to exist after our existence has apparently ceased." In his "Adonais," the most beautiful of elegiac poems, he says, lamenting his friend and fellow-poet, Keats:—

"Alas! that all we loved of him should be,
But for our grief, as if it had not been,
And grief itself be mortal. Woe is me,
Whence are we and why are we? Of what scene
The actors and spectators?"

Elsewhere, he says, speaking of consciousness, or the soul,—

"The intense atom glows
A moment, then is quenched in a most cold repose."

Per contra, elsewhere, yielding to the unearthly instincts of his ideal nature, he says:—

"Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep,
He hath awakened from the dream of life.

He hath out-soared the shadow of our night;

He is made one with Nature, there is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird;
He is a presence to be felt and known
In darkness and in light, from herb and stone.
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move,
Which has withdrawn his being to its own,
Which wields the world with never wearied love,
Sustains it from beneath and kindles it above."

This is pantheism, and Shelley was a pantheist. And Hume does not deny that a spiritual substance may be dispersed throughout the universe. He says: "As the same material substance may successively compose the bodies of all animals, the same spiritual substance may compose their minds. Their consciousness, or that system of thought which they formed during life, may be continually dissolved by death; and nothing interests them in the new modification. The most positive assertors of the mortality of the soul never denied the immortality of its substance." In his exquisite verses entitled "Mutability," Shelley indicates the phenomenal, unsubstantial nature of the thoughts, volitions, and emotions which, according to Hume, constitute our inner selves:—

"We are as clouds, that veil the midnight moon!
How restlessly they glance and gleam and quiver,
Streaking the darkness radiantly! Yet soon
Night closes round, and they are lost forever.

"Or like forgotten lyres, whose dissonant strings
Give various response to each varying blast,
To whose frail frame no second motion brings
One mood or modulation like the last."

Hume's scepticism, which was a needed corrective of the arrogant and persecuting dogmatism which was embodied in the despotic Church and State systems of the old-fashioned Europe of his day and generation, is not at all offensive in the present agnostic mood of the human mind, when tradition and authority are of so little account, and when "The Existence of the Deity, his Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul," the subjects against which Hume directed his sceptical objections, are relegated to the domain of the unknowable. It is needless to say that, in this era of "Natural" as against "Supernatural" Religion, the incredibility of miracles goes without saying. We require not the logical refutation of them, which Hume furnished; but we treat them scientifically, as absurd traditions handed down from days of primitive ignorance and gross credulity. But Hume's summary refutation of them was a blow struck in behalf of that mental freedom and emancipation from superstition which we enjoy

to-day. In Hume's essays, the germs of all our current thought can be found. He was a forerunner of current science. His atheism was far preferable to the orthodox theism or gross anthropomorphism of his time.

His scepticism, taking for its point of departure the current system of philosophy of his day, reduced the God and heaven and hell of the arrogant Church of the time to the shadows and things of the imagination which they really are, by showing that outside of the human imagination they have no reality. Thus, although in the civil and political order he was a conservative, in the domain of thought, opinion, and belief he was a revolutionist of the most radical, even of the nihilistic type; and thus, to borrow the phrase of Heine, he was a true soldier in the war of liberation of humanity from a superstitious and priest-fostering supernaturalism.

Carlyle says that the two persons who exercised the most remarkable influence upon things during the eighteenth century were unquestionably Samuel Johnson and David Hume, two summits of a great set of influences, two opposite poles of it. "There is not such a cheering spectacle in the eighteenth century as Samuel Johnson." One cannot help remarking on this statement of Carlyle, that, while Hume was a European, even a cosmical thinker, Johnson was merely an Englishman of more than usual insularity. Carlyle goes on to say that "Johnson contrived to be devout in the eighteenth century." Would it not be more truthful to say that he contrived to be morbidly superstitious? "He had a belief and held by it," proceeds Carlyle: "a genuine inspired man, Hume's eye, unlike Johnson's, was not open to faith, yet he was of a noble perseverance, a silent strength." "It is very strange to contrast Hume, the greatest of all the writers of his time, and in some respects the worthiest, with Dante,"—to contrast *scepticism* with *faith*. Dante saw a solemn law in the universe, pointing out his destiny with an awful and beautiful certainty; and he held to it. Hume could see nothing in the universe but confusion, he was certain of nothing but of his own existence. Yet he had instincts which were infinitely more true than the logical part of him; and so he kept himself quiet in the middle of it all, and did no harm to any one. But scepticism is a disease of the mind, a fatal condition to be in, or at best useful only as a means to get at knowledge; and to spend one's time reducing realities to theories is to be in an enchanted state of mind. Morality, the very centre of the existence of man, was in the eighteenth century reduced to a theory,—by Adam Smith to a theory of the sympathies and the moral sense; by Hume to expediency, the most melancholy theory ever propounded. Besides morality, everything else was in the same state. A dim, huge, immeasurable steam-engine they had made of this world; and, as Jean Paul says, "heaven became a gas, God a force, the second world a grave."

Hume, like all those great original minds who give a new departure to thought, was isolated by his very intellectual greatness and superiority to his contemporaries. Occasionally, when returning from his profound excursions into the realm of speculative ideas to the every-day realities of ordinary life about him, he would feel a keen pang of loneliness and desertion, as it were. He thus describes his feelings at such times: "I am affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange, uncouth monster, who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human intercourse, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but

I cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me, in order to make a company apart; but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm that beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? . . . All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me; though such is my weakness that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves, when unsupported by the approbation of others."

Hume, withdrawn far aloof from his fellow-men on the cold heights of abstract contemplation, might have been addressed by them, from the plane of every-day life, in the language of Tennyson:—

"Come down, O sage, from yonder mountain height.
What pleasure lives in height (the shepherd sang),
In height and cold, the splendor of the hills?
But cease to move so near the heavens, and cease
To glide a sunbeam by the blasted Pine,
To sit a star upon the sparkling spire;
And come, for Love is of the valley; come,
For Love is of the valley, come thou down
And find him; by the happy threshold he,
Or hand in hand with Plenty in the maize,
Or red with spiced purple of the vats."

But isolation and loneliness have always been the penalty of ascent above the dead level of vulgar beliefs and superstitions, so far as the revolutionary thinker has been concerned.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MISS SALLIE HOLLEY AND HER WORK IN VIRGINIA.

Editors of The Index:—

What a loss it would have been to the world, had it been denied that beautiful Bible myth of the Garden of Eden! Where would have been the inspiration of Milton? Where would have been the ideal man and woman with their sweet, tender surroundings,—all befitting creatures in the glory of their strength and beauty, searching out the mysteries of their being, and asking the Why of their own consciousness?

These questions and innumerable others course my brain, as I write this in a quaint, out-of-the-way place in Virginia, so secluded, green, and blooming that I go to old associations, and call it a "lodge in a garden of cucumbers,"—an Eden of fruits and roses and asphodels; of grape vines, flaunting their luxuriance in prelude to the purple harvest; bowers of wisteria, pine trees, whispering their loves by aromatic aromas; and catalpas, scattering petals like a carpet of velvet; pretty lizards sliding under green leaves, and portly toads hiding their jewelled heads; but never a snake to tempt the Eve of this little Eden, who holds her undivided state with nothing in the shape of Adam to relieve the solitude.

The woman I shall describe is not one of the Immortal Forty. She is not a woman to be strung on a string like a bead. She must be accepted outside of all conventionalism, as we accept Thoreau. She is unique in person, in voice, in large, open, prophetic eyes; full of candor, full of a penetrating, unflinching purpose to do what she esteems to be right, no matter what may be the consequence; large, clear-cut features, over which brow and eyes so overlook that you hardly note them, and yet they are of the fine, antique mould, such as Socrates might honor or men of the Cromwellian stamp bow before; a shape artistically left to its own proportions, light and intensely active, responds obediently, healthfully, to a strong, well-disciplined will. She would have been fitting companion to Anne Hutchinson. In the days when the Smithfield fires blazed in England, and the beautiful Anne Askew was burned at the stake, had this woman then lived, she, too, would have died for her convictions. At a period that tested the sincerity and courage of convictions, this woman renounced home, friends, society, that she might create this oasis in the desert, and carry to their ultimate opinions for defence of which she had already sacrificed much. And a woman of this kind, the Eve of this garden, doubtless rejected much, put far from her

many a sweet, tender intimation, in her stern resolve to work out fully her convictions; made sacrifices for the promotion of a great truth in life, which left her alone in the world; from no necessity, but because, like the great Elizabeth, she is wedded elsewhere, to no human sweetness of individual affection, but to that larger kind that embraces human good in a god-like sense, before which individuals, personal likes and dislikes, loves or hates, dwindle into petty nothingness.

She is no contemner of these tender affections that mingle in the sweetness of a household, whose vines and olive branches are beautiful children; but to this heroic woman great humanizing ideas are not mere theories, but facts not to be trifled with or put aside, any more than we can put aside the everlasting hills.

To my shame, let it be said, while I lay upon my pillow dozing to the tune of the mocking-bird and the sound of the cool breeze in the pine-tops, this fine specimen of womanhood was up before the sun (as she always is), and, like our ancient Eve of Milton, tying up the too redundant vine, giving drink to the thirsty asphodel, and, "on hospitable thoughts intent," gathering sweet fruits for the early repast. This restoring the ideal life to the practical life wins my admiration.

I may see the homeliness of all about me, but I penetrate the sweetness of Herbert:—

"Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine."

And I know that, underlying every toil, is a conscientious bending of every trivial duty to what shall best in itself be orderly and best promote the growth of the beautiful; shall most help on the people amid whom she has cast her life,—the struggling, impoverished white as well as the blind, ignorant black. Hence there is a touching significance in the smallest thing,—in the most casual word spoken by the clear, firm voice, that gives out no uncertain sound, but speaks manfully the needed word of rebuke, or in subdued motherly wise the kind, sympathetic one, that falls a gentle dew upon the sinking, nearly famished heart for lack of human kindness. Verily, it must be said, in the highest sense, in every way, she has made her wilderness to blossom like the rose.

I am not describing a model woman, one for the sex to take to heart and imitate. Few of us would be equal to it; she is too large. We cannot put a gallon into a quart measure. But I am talking of a woman who has a right to be supremely herself, to obey her own intimations; whose impulses are good and true and to be trusted; a woman to be held in all honor, and whose example is worth more than any gold or silver to the world,—the example of unflinching courage, high endeavor, and a reverent listening for the divine voice, "Where art thou?" and she gathered up her robe and stood in the door of her tent, and to hear was to obey. This human singleness, this self-abnegation, this entire unworldly self-consecration to the ideal work of a lifetime, is what I wish to describe; and these are facts of character which all may strive to acquire and imitate. To me, it is more ideal than the dreamy, poetic life of Thoreau, because it is an acted heroism,—a consecrated life for the redemption of the down-trodden and ignorant; and this Christ-like work of doing good is the great life.

Fifteen years ago, Sallie Holley came to this secluded spot, and set up her altar in the wilderness. She had lectured, and achieved a reputation as one who spoke much and well in behalf of equal human rights,—the injustice of slavery, and the turpitude of a system that oppressed the slave while it demoralized the master.

The war was then at an end; and at the South was a mass of white population, humiliated by defeat, impoverished by the loss of what they had hitherto regarded as property, and embittered at finding themselves placed upon a level with those regarded hitherto as their chattel property, placed side by side with them at the ballot-box,—man for man,—not as heretofore the master owning five slaves carrying for them two votes,—that is, it took two and a half of a slave to be equal to one man,—the master counted one vote, as man or woman should, despite of sex or color; but now all this mass of colored population was raised to the dignity of citizenship, with all their ignorance and utter unfitness to appreciate the solemn boon thrust upon them.

Of course, in such a state of things, there would be bitter hostility to a woman who should come among

them to teach the old chattel the sense of manhood and the rights of citizenship, forgetting that every step taken to elevate the colored man was a step in the direction of safety, good order, and wholesome law, would be a check to the natural vagrancy of the black as well as an aid to the advanced intelligence of the white, and by precept as well as example would exhibit "the dignity of labor."

Never did human being work more faithfully with good, resolute hands and brain than this woman has worked. It was not enough that she took the unaccustomed brain of the colored child, void of all hereditary proclivities toward the mysteries of a, b, c, or any written language, and showed to his poor, wondering eyes how these symbols could be made the source of infinite mental growth and the purest delight; it was not enough that she brushed aside the thick films that obscured his moral sight, and showed him the just relations of man to the social compact: but she took him under her own eye, and taught him the best processes of toil and thrift and remunerative labor,—to a creature now owning himself, and responsible to a conscience, to society, and to God.

For fifteen years, she has been doing this work, and already may be witnessed the reward of her toil in the neatness, good order, intelligence, and reliability of this class for many, many miles in her vicinity.

With an eye that accepted all the great progressive ideas of the period in which she lives, she conscientiously felt that the men and women who had sought to work out the problem of the emancipation of the slave were morally bound to continue their work by so educating the negro that he should be a desirable element in the new system of things, be an honest, willing, remunerated workman upon the acres on which he had hitherto done the work of a serf. The final labors of Miss Holley culminate here. She is revered by her sable followers, to whom she has been sight to the blind; and a large following of the white population indicate a respectful appreciation of what she has done by her teaching, not only for the colored people, but for themselves also.

And how did Miss Holley do her work? She took the earnings of many years, the results of her public speaking, and, coming here, purchased three acres of unoccupied land, once belonging to a Virginia plantation. While the whites were disheartened, the colored people clung around their old associations. While the former witnessed her advent with bitter jealousy, the latter turned instinctively to her as a helper. There was much hostility, many threats; but Miss Holley is not a woman to flinch in a course of duty. She had a clear brain, an easy flow of words pertaining to her knowledge of human rights and responsibilities. She met threats with a cool incredulity or dauntless courage. She went with a negro disciple to see that he was properly registered, his age ascertained, and his vote cast. She might fail again and again; but her persistency finally conquered, and the end was gained,—a step in the path of freedom and honest morals, secured by a woman no more to be pushed aside than was Garrison or Phillips.

These three acres, of which I have spoken, included a beautiful pine grove. This she spared, and it is the great charm of her place. Then followed the laying out of the barren spot,—the planting of trees and vines and shrubbery and the building of a house for herself and another for her assistants,—white women from the North. These are airy and convenient for the purpose designed; no architectural elegance attempted, but rude timbers and plain boards, the interior roughly plastered, and the walls papered with engravings cut from newspapers and magazines. Nor is the general effect devoid of picturesqueness. The exterior walls are embellished with the wisteria, climbing rose, and an ivy brought from Shakspeare's Stratford-upon-Avon.

Miss Holley is now eating the fruit of trees planted by her own hand,—apples and peaches and pears and cherries. Grape-vines festooned over rude arbors yield abundantly, and offer cool retreats that might set the hearts of lovers aglow. Strawberries and raspberries and blackberries season her frugal meals, all of her own planting; while beautiful roses and lilies greet the eye on every side. Truly, the place is a marvel of beauty; but it is also a marvel of toil. She has not stood aside, and said, Do this, and do these. Work must be paid for, and her purse has been mostly an empty one. Her own hands have wielded the spade, the rake, and the hoe,—hard work to beautify a spot

of earth in the intervals of teaching the beginnings of knowledge.

The school-house has a cheerful, airy aspect, covered as it is with roses and vines. It is vacation just now; and the rows of desks and seats have an almost pathetic aspect, as I figure to myself the little black heads and white-nailed hands striving to conquer the difficulties of learning.

On Sunday, I took a class in the Sunday-school, and was interested to observe the eager desire to learn manifested by the pupils.

In proof that Miss Holley has conquered her way, that prejudice and hostility have yielded before her, allow me to say that yesterday (Sunday) I spoke before a goodly assemblage of white listeners who awarded me the grace of rapt attention. These were mostly men, for it was raining all day; and there was the prejudice, strong in this region, against the speaking of a woman in public.

After years of toil and manly effort, Miss Holley has been able to enclose with a rough, compact fence her little acres of ground, with a gate at which comers may enter through the grove of pines. To one like myself, leaning to the social and family side of life, this utter isolation of Miss Holley, this quiet, solemn, awe-striking solitude which I note and realize as I rise at night, and hear the wind sigh through the pine-tops with the note of a startled bird, all deepened by the soft down look of the scintillating stars, is well-nigh appalling; and I feel I should have to "follow afar off" so consecrated a leader.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

THE INQUISITION REVIVED.

Editors of The Index:—

In the London organ of social democracy, *Justice*, its Austrian correspondent, Andreas Scheu, writes June 7, 1884, concerning "men who, under the designation of anarchists, have attacked some of the organs of a most infamous police system. . . . The charge against Schafhausen and Ondra of complicity with Kammerer in the murder of the detective Bloch could not be maintained, for which case, as usual, the public prosecutor had provided by putting a good many minor questions for the verdict of the jury to answer. Ondra was in this ingenious fashion found guilty of having known of the murder before its commission, without having given due notice of it to the police, and punished with two years' imprisonment.

Stellmacher, who is suspected of several crimes, and who would not confess, was, during his preliminary examination, subjected to tortures of such a frightful character that he is said to be unable to speak, if he would; and that he will not be producible in court for some time to come, and then probably only in secret, sitting before a select audience of votaries of the law, the press, and the police, which unholy trinity will take charge of the intelligence wherewith the world is to be provided. I know not to what "fiendish outrages in Virginia and Mississippi" your correspondent, Mr. Gilbert, alludes; but evidences of the general fact in question are but alarmingly frequent. Ferry's government in France is passive under the authority of Bismarck, who has been arresting German socialists in Paris; while, in Spain, fifteen persons have been condemned to death simply as members of the secret society called the Black Hand, whose objects are reputed the same with those publicly avowed in the United States, and which here as yet openly aspire to influence government. In Prague (Bohemia), four imprisonments have been recently made for discussion of social topics in public; while the condemnation of Bradlaugh for administering to himself a form of Parliamentary oath in conformity with his private conscience, and expulsion for this offence, shows Great Britain closing up the darkness in the rear of the continent of Europe. Switzerland vainly pretends to react against the Bismarck despotism. Church and State the world over are virtually one; and, both wedded to the same principle of arbitrary authority, prepare to intimidate free thought by persecution.

Among these sinister indications of the impending moral cataclysm, the most formidable is the corruption of the French republic. Not merely passive toward despotic powers, its own judiciary, in the city of Lyons, is accused by Léo Taxel, editor of *La Revue anti-Cléricale*, of a deliberate perversion of judgment persisting in an error due at first to the fact of the name "Fouillaud" being common to the man per-

secuted with the other who had struck a policeman in a street quarrel. The court refused to hear the witnesses of the accused, and deliberately contrived to deprive him of the benefit of legal counsel, the ground of this animosity probably being that the accused had been a member of the workingmen's congress at Roubaix. By a procedure of the most utterly arbitrary character, and in the teeth of even the usual forms of law, this Fouillaud, who was at first condemned for the fault of another Fouillaud to twenty days' imprisonment, had this term prolonged for a whole year on the pretext of contumacy, because he demanded a second trial and the citation of witnesses to prove his alibi.

We refer to the distinguished counsel César Bouchage, of Lyons, for confirmation of these facts. The court contrived to fix the day of trial on the 5th of May, when it was known that Mr. B.'s engagements peremptorily required his presence at Paris. By the forms of the court, it was for him to have demanded the hearing of his client's witnesses. When an iniquity has been resolved upon, forms only add to the odium of hypocrisy. The exactitude of the facts thus resumed is guaranteed by the danger of publishing them right under the nose of government and its secret police, which forms virtually one body with that of Lyons.

M. E. LAZARUS.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD:

*My dear Sir,—*If I were not ill, I would go to the Astor Library, and procure an exact reference to the passage I quoted from Garrison. As it is, I can only say that it is taken from an editorial article in the *Liberator*, published some time in 1841, in reply to accusations brought against him by an American clergyman in England. There is a similar passage in an article on the "Divine Authority of the Bible," in his *Writings*, published in 1852, p. 229:—

"I am fully aware how grievously the priesthood have perverted the Bible. . . . Still, to no other volume do I turn with so much interest; no other do I consult or refer to so frequently; to no other am I so indebted for light and strength; no other is so identified with the growth of freedom and progress; no other have I appealed to so effectively in aid of the various reformatory movements which I have espoused; and it embodies an amount of excellence so great as to make it, in my estimation, THE BOOK OF BOOKS."

I am surprised that you should say, "The *Christian Union* did not use the word [infidelity] in any offensive sense." No orthodox newspaper or person ever uses the word in any other than an offensive sense. It is an opprobrious epithet, which the ecclesiastics have contrived to get defined in the dictionaries in a way to make it most effective in their hands. As the true meaning of fidelity is faithfulness, so the true meaning of infidelity is unfaithfulness. The dictionary, no more than the Bible, is infallible.

That there are many Garrisonians who now rank themselves among the free thinkers I do not doubt, and I believe them worthy of all respect; but they do not belong to the class referred to by the *Christian Union*, and in behalf of which I spoke. Free thinkers were as welcome as Christians on the anti-slavery platform. It is still true, however, that those who led the Garrisonian movement, except possibly with here and there an exception, never threw away the Bible, but used it to the end as a mighty weapon against slavery. Equally true is it that they did not attack Christianity, but fought the Church on Christian and Scriptural grounds.

Yours truly,
OLIVER JOHNSON.
New York, Aug. 15, 1884.

A CORRECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

Whenever I am tempted to correct a typographical error, I am always reminded of Lowell's words regarding the criticised author:—

"Let him only keep close in his snug garret's dim ether, And nobody'll think of his critics—or him either."

But, when the natural depravity of types makes me do an injustice, or to seem to fall in the reverence I feel for so grand and noble a man as Dr. Phillips Brooks, I must venture to beg space to correct it. In an extract from one of my letters to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* presented in *The Index*, one sentence is

made to read, regarding the scholarly class of summer tourists in Boston: "They have the liveliest times imaginable, and with economy and quiet, too, unless they are apt to go to Trinity Church to hear Phillips Brooks." Whereas, I wrote: "They have the loveliest times imaginable, and with economy and quiet, too. Usually, they are apt to go to Trinity Church and hear Phillips Brooks."

The error was made by the *Inter-Ocean*, and so naturally reappeared in *The Index*. Acknowledging your many valued courtesies, I am,

Sincerely, LILIAN WHITING.
HOTEL VENDOME, BOSTON, Aug. 18, 1884.

A PLEA FOR TOLERANCE.

In the "Master's Oration," given by Miss Florence Finch of the Boston *Globe*, at the last commencement of her *Alma Mater*, the University of Kansas, we find this vigorous plea for tolerance and freedom of thought: "And now may I step aside for a moment and make a special plea for a special tolerance,—a plea which, remembering as gratefully as I do the years I spent within these halls, it would be well-nigh impossible to refrain from making? There has been much criticism of this university from those who support it, and therefore have the right to criticize, because it is believed to be too tolerant, too liberal, is thought to teach some things which many of the people of Kansas do not believe, to foster disbeliefs and doubts and heresies and dangerous isms of many kinds. Now, I do not know for a certainty, but I believe that I voice the loving gratitude of every graduate who has gone out of these doors, when I say that not one of us all was here taught to believe, induced to believe, one thing in any branch of study that any citizen of the State would think wrong or harmful. O citizens of Kansas, you greatly mistake the spirit of this gentle goddess of wisdom that you have set high upon this hill, if you think that she attempts to lead her pupils in any direction. She says to them, 'Investigate all sides of every question, and choose that which seems right and reasonable.' You could not find in any educational institution a body of men and women more ready to sink their own beliefs and encourage the freest and fullest investigation, whether it leads to their own convictions or in the opposite direction, than those who compose the faculty of this university. If your sons and daughters come home with strange new ideas about society, morals, government, come home free traders when you sent them out protectionists, the college is not to blame. They have discussed those things here as they must discuss them, if they know what is going on in the world; but they have been directed neither way. They have been told to study, investigate, prove all things, and hold fast to that which seems to them good. These things are all in the winds; and the college that pretends to be a college of to-day—the college that is of any use to the rising generation, that hopes to teach them anything they want to know—must keep its doors and windows open. If you want your university to be a college of to-day, and not a crumbling monument to the things which were of moment years ago, don't shut its doors and windows."

BOOK NOTICES.

SIGNING THE DOCUMENT, the Laokoön, Chopping Sand, and Other Essays. By Wheelbarrow. Chicago. Published by the *Radical Review*. 1884. pp. 132.

About half a century ago, English workmen formed themselves into a trades union organization to resist the exactions of capital and to promote their own interests. This led employers to combine on the basis of an agreement that all their employes should sign a document promising not to join or remain members of the trades unions or any similar societies. The great majority of workmen refused to sign the document. To those who yielded was attached a stigma which lasted through life, and from the effects of which their children even did not escape. "His father signed the document" was a reflection and a reproach cast upon children a quarter of a century after the event occurred. A parallel instance in this country the author of this little volume finds in the humiliating end of the strife of the telegraphers, which prompted the first of these essays. "Labor," he says, "was robbed of its dignity and subjugated, while monopoly was correspondingly

strengthened and exalted, when the telegraph operators signed the document."

No definite plan is suggested whereby disagreements and difficulties may be settled between employes and great corporations that do work the uninterrupted and faithful performance of which is demanded by the interests of all. A summary of Carl Schurz's contribution to this most important part of the subject would make a fitting supplement to *Signing the Document*.

Some of the chapters not indicated by the title form the best portions of the book, which really contains more common sense in regard to the rights, the mutual obligations, and just requirements of all classes who work for their living than any other little book with which we are acquainted. The author has been a close observer, and has had large experience among workmen. Many of his facts and illustrations are drawn from his own life. Thus: "I have four sons, all free-born Americans, so called, and all now grown to manhood. I tried to give them trades, as they respectively reached the proper age; but, in every instance, I was forbidden to do so by the laws of the trades. All four of them are now men; but not one of them was permitted to learn a trade in the land where they were born, and which they have been taught to call a land of freedom. . . . That all four of them didn't become hoodlums and tramps is not the fault of the unions. A man with a heart in him, even if he has no brain at all, must see in a moment that the policy which robbed those boys of their right to learn a trade cannot be right; and, not being right, it cannot be either economical or wise." "I hope," said a workman to the author, "the operators will win; but I am not anxious either way. It is a choice of monopolies, and I side with the weaker. The companies monopolize the profits of telegraphing, and the operators monopolize the art. They forbid one another to teach the trade; and, if their monopoly is beaten by the other, it will be no more than the big pike swallowing the little one." "I look upon it that way myself," says the writer; "and it appears to me that, if the policy of shutting up one trade in order to prevent competition is good for that, it must be good for every other calling or profession; and, all the trades and occupations being closed, the people outside must be either rich or tramps or thieves."

In reply to the proposal to remedy the alleged wrongs of journeymen mechanics resulting from competition of convict labor by making the convicts work upon the public roads, the author declares that laborers have just as much right to protection against convict picks and shovels as the mechanic has to protection against convict chisels, awls, and jack-planes. Most degrading to labor, he thinks, is the assumption that "the hosts of workmen of Illinois cannot stand the competition of a couple of thousand prisoners bungling at the tasks imposed on them for punishment." The convicts, whatever useful work they do, must be in competition with somebody. They must either live in idleness and be supported by the community or earn something; that is, add to production and to the wealth of the people. The trades which pay the highest wages can best afford to stand the competition. If the object is to keep the convicts employed, solely to punish them, without producing anything, the author suggests they be put to "chopping sand." "To work and produce nothing is torture. The divine quality of labor is proved by the pleasure its products bring."

The chapters devoted to the discussion of "The Shrinkage of Values," "The Working Man's Dollar," and "Over-production" expose some popular fallacies in a very happy manner.

Although the author calls himself "Wheelbarrow,"—"because," he says, "that is the implement of my handicraft, or was when I was a strong man,"—he has evidently seen much of social and industrial life, is a reader and thinker, and has pondered long questions to which American workmen are but just beginning to give their attention. In style, he is clear and terse, and, in a chapter on the "Poets of Liberty and Labor," rises to a simple eloquence which must touch the heart of every reader who is in sympathy with the toiling millions. B. F. U.

WONDERS AND CURIOSITIES OF THE RAILWAY; OR, Stories of the Locomotive in every Land. By William Sloane Kennedy. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1884.

In this handsomely bound book of two hundred and

fifty-four pages, Mr. Kennedy has compressed a vast amount of valuable information, including considerable scientific knowledge, with many odd incidents and interesting details in regard to railways. The subject is not one which would be likely to attract the attention of the majority of readers, at least not of those who read more for amusement than for information; but the author has so spiced his array of statistical and technical knowledge with pertinent stories, illustrative anecdote, and remarkable incidents, gathered from a variety of sources, that even the mere amusement-seeker will be tempted to learn from this book something of the history of locomotives for the sake of the sugar-coating in which this dose of knowledge is enwrapped. Dickens, Thackeray, Erasmus Darwin, Walt Whitman, Gail Hamilton, and Fanny Kemble are among the lively writers who help in the sugar-coating process. We give the titles of several of the fifteen chapters of which the book is composed: "Beginnings in Europe," "First American Railroads," "The Banding of the Continent," "Mountain Railways," "The Vertical Railway," "Tramways," "The Track," and "The Train." The chapter on "The Vertical Railway" is a succinct history of the elevator system from its beginnings; and the chapter on "Tramways" is the first full account ever given of the origin and growth of street railways. The best authorities have been consulted in the make-up of this book; and over a score of reliable illustrations are given with it, explanatory of the progress that has been made in railway travel from its beginnings, two-thirds of a century ago, until now, when, as we learn from the daily papers, on Monday of this week, the Pullman Car Company of Illinois constructed and painted all complete one hundred cars within the regular working-hours of that day. S. A. U.

THE September *Atlantic* has more than usual variety. Two additional chapters are given of Dr. Michell's excellent serial story, "In War Time." Richard Grant White concludes his papers on "The Anatomizing of William Shakespeare." Francis Parkman contributes an essay upon "Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham." Prof. E. P. Evans has a curiously interesting article on "Medieval and Modern Punishment." Herbert Tuttle has a timely Paper on "The Despotism of Party." E. W. Sturdy writes of "The Volcanic Eruption of Krakatoa." Eleanor Putnam describes "Old Salem Shops." Charles E. Pascoe tells "The Story of the English Magazines." Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming relates "A Legend of Inverawe." An anonymous writer describes the "Lakes of Upper Italy." There are poems by Lucy Larcom, Mrs. Julia C. R. Dorr, and Paul H. Hayne.

THE opening article in the September number of the *Catholic Review* is "Contemporaneous China," by Alfred M. Cotte, which is followed by "My Staff of Age," by Alfred M. Williams; "Philista," by Maurice F. Egan; "Unitarian Belief," by H. L. Richards; "Solitary Island, Chap. V.-VIII.," by Rev. J. Talbot Smith; "With the Carlists," by John Augustus O'Shea; "The Oratory in London," by Mrs. Charles Kent; "Katharine, Chaps. X.-XII.," by E. G. Martin; and "The Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius," by L. B. Binsse.

THE *Unitarian Review* for August is an interesting number. The leading articles are "Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D.," by Prof. Joseph Henry Thayer; "The Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Testament," by Rev. A. P. Peabody; "Personality in Theism," by Rev. B. R. Bulkeley; and "Education of Women in France," by D. Charrnaud.

BELVIDERE SEMINARY.

The plan of an Industrial School which was sent by the Misses Bush, of Belvidere Seminary, New Jersey, to the widow of Wendell Phillips, has received her approval and permission to name the institution, when established, the Wendell Phillips Memorial Industrial School.

The plan has also been highly commended by some of the most eminent educators in this country, and active measures are being taken to insure its success.

Its originators respectfully solicit such aid and influence in behalf of their enterprise as the friends of Wendell Phillips may be pleased to offer. They will confer personally or by letter with any one interested in their plan, and will very gratefully receive donations, in large or small amounts, of money, books, stationery, pictures, chemical and philosophical apparatus, or charts and specimens needed in the study of the Natural Sciences. All parties responding in any way substantially to this call will be considered founders of the institution.

Belvidere, Warren County, N.J.

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Orders are respectfully solicited from all friends of THE INDEX.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

The *Catholic Review* invites the attention of Irishmen to "the present remarkable and edifying spectacle of two great parties struggling for precedence in the honor of kissing Pat's Hibernian and Papal great toe."

According to a London paper, a man at West Somerset, Eng., broke his neck while drunk not long ago. It happened that his grandfather did the same thing, and the intelligent coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "Died by the hereditary visitation of God."

Last week, Gov. Murray, of Utah, sent a caustic note to Gov. Bate, of Tennessee, saying: "The despatches indicate that you are exerting yourself to vindicate the laws in the matter of the murder of the Mormon missionaries in Tennessee. I thank you for this action. Charges of preaching polygamy do not excuse murder. I trust that you may bring the guilty to punishment, thereby preventing such lawlessness in Tennessee or elsewhere. Lawlessness in Tennessee and Utah is alike reprehensible; but the murdered Mormon agents in Tennessee were sent from here as agents, and have been sent for years. I submit that, as Tennessee representatives in Congress are, to say the least, indifferent to the punishment of offenders against the national law in Utah, it is a cowardly outrage for their constituents to kill emigration agents sent there from here."

In one of her letters to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Lillian Whiting goes into raptures over "the wild, picturesque loveliness of the Maine coast": "What can words do to tell you about that day as we sailed the Vesuvian Bay? Was it fair Ischia smiling before us? But we need go to no foreign waters for our poetry and romance. The wild, picturesque loveliness of the Maine coast still animates her poets and her prophets. She is supreme in her marvellous and magical enchantment. Poet and artist of yet unborn generations

shall draw their inspirations from her grandeur; the novelist shall set it in romantic story; the statesman shall cherish her noble courage and endeavor; the scholar shall preserve her record; the moralist shall point with pride to her loyalty to grand ideals; the nation shall treasure this, its Pine Tree State, its hundred-harbored Maine!"

A COMMUNICATION in the *Medium and Day-break*, an English spiritualist paper, conveys the impression that cats bear us company in the spirit land: "A much loved daughter of mine (Laura), who passed away last April, was very fond of domestic animals, and had a favorite black cat. A few nights ago, a good clairvoyant medium visited us, and after a while said: 'I see Laura sitting in her usual place. She has a black cat in her arms: she is pointing down the garden: What does it mean?' We then told our friend that the cat had not been seen since the day of the funeral, and we should like to know what had become of it. Our friend then said, 'She still points down there, and I think she wants to say it is somewhere next door' (which has been empty some time)." A few days subsequently, the "remains" of the cat were found at the place indicated by the spirit.

The following is from an editorial in the *Medical Record*, which takes a view at once charitable and sensible of the case of the survivors at Cape Sabine, who, when found, it will be remembered, were reduced by famine, cold, and exhaustion to a state of mental collapse: "Is cannibalism ever justifiable? Was it justifiable at Cape Sabine? Every right-minded person will, we think, say, 'Yes!' If the question of *irresponsibility* is settled in the affirmative, then all discussion of the moral aspect of cannibalism is foreclosed: there can be no immorality in the case. If any or all of this band of devoted heroes, who so barely escaped being *martyrs* to science, were saved by eating the dead bodies of their comrades, with a deliberate suppression of an irrational sentimentality, and not without due reverence for the dead, we say that we regard the act under the circumstances as justifiable. We believe that no pretence has ever been made that those men murdered any of their companions for such a purpose. That we have not misrepresented the terrible state of mental dilapidation of the party at the time they were found is apparent from all the testimony."

A SLUGGING exhibition was recently given in this city "as a testimonial to Councilman Denney." From the *Boston Herald*, we learn that "in the audience were sporting men from all the Eastern States. Boston's city government was well represented." . . . Mike Gillespie, of Philadelphia, and Walter Ramsey jumped into the ring at eight o'clock, followed by Billy Mahoney and Tom Delay. Time was called by Mahoney, who acted as referee; and the men went to work, and gave a fair exhibition. . . . Sweeny got blood in the first round. In the next round, Collins went for Sweeny like a battering ram, and pounded him all over the stage and through the ropes. Sweeny was ready to fall down, when time was called. In

the next and wind-up, Collins mauled Sweeny right and left, but in mercy did not knock him out, as he could easily have done. . . . When Billy Mahoney introduced Sullivan as the 'champion of the world,' a perfect thunder of applause rolled up from the audience. . . . In the first round, McCaffery drew the 'claret' from Sullivan's nose. . . . The last set-to was between the beneficiary, Thomas J. Denney and John L. Sullivan. Denney, upon his appearance, was warmly greeted. He was presented with an enormous triple-headed stand of flowers by Councilman Rosnosky, in behalf of the members of the city government. Sullivan returned thanks to the city government for the present, and the audience for their attendance. The bouts followed, Denney making a good showing." This exhibition, which occurred in Boston "in the year of our Lord 1884," is but one of the many indications of increasing ruffianism in this city, which the intellectual and educated classes living at their ease and standing aloof from practical affairs—with some noble exceptions, we admit—are doing but little to check.

THE strangling of a murderer in Brooklyn, to the great horror of all who witnessed or even read of the execution, was the occasion of an editorial in the *New York Tribune*, from which the following is an extract: "If it is desirable that the infliction of capital punishment should be terrifying, then there ought to be systematic arrangements to that end. In such case, the old method of drawing and quartering might be revived; or we might torture our criminals slowly at the stake, as the Indians, our predecessors, used to do. Indeed there are many ways by which the infliction of capital punishment could be rendered more terrifying, if that is really the wish and desire of the public. On the other hand, if the American people have ceased to believe that mere rigor and cruelty are deterrents; if they have come to believe that the protection of society is the only justification for taking human life by legal process, and that, when society deems such taking of life necessary, it is bound to perform the disagreeable duty as swiftly and painlessly as possible,—then beyond doubt society is under obligation to see to it that capital punishment is not lingering torture." The *Tribune* thinks that the guillotine is, except in one respect that it mutilates the body and sheds the blood, the ideal instrument of justice. But science, it says, can provide us with a number of expeditious, neat, and non-disfiguring homicidal methods by which the death of the murderer would be instantaneous, and into which neither the horrible nor the grotesque would enter, which, while it would be freed from the horrible accessories of the gallows, would impress upon the public the one important thing, the swift and sudden deprivation of life under circumstances of decorum and quiet. Such a change, it thinks, is demanded "in the name and interests of civilization." In the justice and wisdom of this statement, we fully concur. If the infliction of capital punishment is to continue, let the method be at least as decent as possible.

COUNTRY-RELIGION.

There is, of course, no difference in essence between religion in the country and religion in the city. It might be supposed *a priori* that people living in the country would keep closer to natural ideas of religion—that they might retain, in fact, more of the elements of nature-worship in primitive form—than do dwellers in cities. But, in general, so far as our observation goes, average country people have about as little regard for nature as city people. Families are born and grow up in the midst of the grandest natural scenery unmoved by it. Familiarity with nature, perhaps, breeds something like contempt for it,—unless there be, as now and then there is, an outcropping of the poetic faculty in the midst of rusticity. People in the country, too, are apt to catch city ideas and fashions, and try to imitate them as far as they can in their different circumstances.

This attempt at imitation shows itself even in religious customs. If the city church has an organ and a paid choir, the country church must at least have a melodeon and a volunteer quartette, instead of the old way of the whole congregation singing under the lead of a precentor. If the city church has a fair to get funds for its organ, the country church must have a picnic to secure the more modest sum for its melodeon. A number of years ago, a new railroad crossing brought a little New England country meeting-house in the neighborhood of a promised village. The little meeting-house had previously been lighted for evening services by tallow candles in tin candlesticks, and it had been customary to give notice of an evening service by saying, in the primitive New England phrase, that it would begin "at early candle-light." The congregation marked the epoch of its prospective rise in the world, on account of the railroad, by discarding tallow candles and procuring a chandelier for oil lamps; and the next Sunday the minister announced that the evening service would begin "at early chandelier-light." So, at unequal steps, the fashions of religion in the country have followed those in the city. There have been essentially the same doctrines, the same divisions in respect to doctrine, and the same artificialness in forms and methods.

But the result to country churches has been quite different from the result in cities. In large centres of population, the churches can afford to divide by the line of doctrines or rites or ecclesiastical administration, and still exist, however deleterious the division may be in other respects. Possibly, the competition may even increase their activities; and there are people and wealth enough to support them all. But, in the country towns, this division has been a source of weakness and of the gradual decay of the church both in influence and respectability. So far as the church has upheld bigotry and superstition and opposed progress, this of course is a result to be only welcomed. Yet it may be doubted whether, in our New England country towns at least, anything has yet come or is in prospect for taking the place of the old parish church, with all its deficiencies, as a stimulus to the thinking faculty and for a certain social and humanizing influence which it had, and, more than all, for a certain robust vigor which, when at its best, it imparted to character. At present, in large numbers of country towns, the question is, What is to become of the churches? There are too many of them to exist together; and none of them seems to be strong enough to survive or so prepared to meet modern demands as to draw the sustenance of the others to its own support. If they keep up the forms of service on

Sunday, they yet do not draw the people. The pews are empty, the financial receipts small. The few devout souls, mostly women, who undertake the task of seeing that the minister's salary is paid, find the burden a heavy one, even with the help of donation parties and picnics. The majority of the people stay at home on Sunday. They get rest and change, but little other benefit from the day.

In the little town from which we now write there are but two churches. But even these are too many for the small and sparse population,—only about three hundred persons, all told. One of these churches is Orthodox Congregational,—lineal descendant of the old Puritan stock. But the blood appears to have died out, and there is no Orthodox society left that is strong enough to maintain services. The use of the meeting-house is accordingly given to the Second-Advent people, who only have occasional services, which some of the old Orthodox society attend, chiefly from the habit of going to their old pews when the meeting-house doors are open. The other church is Methodist, and is preached in every Sunday morning by an itinerant clergyman of that denomination, who lives in another town twelve miles off and preaches on Sunday afternoons in a third town, and thus has to ride twenty-six miles every Sunday to take care of his scattered flocks, small as they are. In the church here, he has to lead the singing, and even do most of it himself as well as preach. The few who attend his ministrations evidently do it because they think it is the proper thing to go to church on Sunday, and not because of any benefit his services give them. A worthy man, it is fortunate for his livelihood that he follows another profession, dentistry, between the Sundays. Of the seventy or eighty families in this town, not more than twelve or fifteen appear, on the average, to be represented on Sunday in any church. And this is but a sample of the religious condition of things in a large number of country towns.

Is there any prospect of an institution arising to take the place of these dying and defunct country churches,—an institution based on modern demands, but standing to people in the country in the position occupied by the old parish church in New England, when the town and parish were one? The present prospect of such an institution, it must be admitted, is slight. It cannot come from the old Orthodoxy in any of its forms. For it was the dogmatic preaching of its doctrines that brought the divisions and consequent enfeeblement; and now, too, these country people, though they have not been reading the modern theological books, yet have passed the point of intellectual interest in the old theological questions. Nor will the desired reformation come from the so-called New Orthodoxy: it is too subtle and vague for common-sense farmers and their practical wives. Unitarianism and Universalism, as at present generally administered, do not stand any better chance. They represent old doctrinal issues, of which not a little traditional bitterness survives, though the issues themselves may be practically dead. The country churches, too, of these liberal denominations, are apt to be as weak as any in the ecclesiastical group.

We should like to see a genuine, earnest, non-sectarian, comprehensive Liberalism try its hand at the problem. We see no other ground on which the necessary conditions of unity and co-operation could be secured. Of course, it must be a constructive Liberalism. It must have passed beyond the stage of ridicule of the absurdities of the Bible. It must find something else to do than to denounce the old theological dogmas or to announce any new

anti-dogmas of its own. While recognizing the right of the freest inquiry and the importance of correct views, it must be *practically* agnostic; that is, not insist on making any set of views a basis of union. Its primary and controlling purpose would be moral, mental, and social culture,—*spiritual* culture, indeed, in the sense of subordinating man's lower faculties to his higher. And, to this end, it would institute methods adapted to the conditions of a country population,—such as reading clubs and a good circulating library, popular scientific and sanitary lectures, social meetings for recreation and home culture, district organization for the improvement of the schools and for any benevolent work needed; these in addition to the more specially moral and spiritual agency of the Sunday service and school.

But we are not sure that Liberalism will ever be able to solve the problem. To do it, it must have more zeal and a good deal more constructive ability than it has yet shown. But we should like to see some earnest young man (or woman), thoroughly infused with liberal ideas, ready to labor hard and to sacrifice a good deal for them, having a clear head and a genius for moral and social work, start out on the lines indicated above, in a field such as is presented in a country town like this, and see what might be accomplished. Possibly, he might fail, because of the ghosts of old theological creeds not yet laid. But we are sure that that one of the churches which shall first and most effectively take hold of this kind of work will prove itself the fittest, and will survive. Yet, meantime, an earnest Liberalism, though itself failing, might show the country churches the way where a new life and success are to be found.

WM. J. POTTER.

JUDAISM.

I.

The Jews are an interesting race, deserving of study and contrast with other civilizations, because for eighteen centuries they have been only a people deprived of nationality; and yet their individuality asserts itself in commerce, literature, and science in every quarter of the globe, and probably in every nationality.

No people deprived of nationality could attain to these proportions, as a race, unless possessed of some inherent force of character entering into and guiding the career of each individual. What has been this all-permeating influence? Is it patriotism? While they loved their country with an intensity which induced them to sacrifice blood and treasure with a desperation so sublime that we cannot withhold our admiration for an infatuation of bravery in a hopeless struggle for freedom from the yoke of the oppressor, which is the highest type of patriotism, it will hardly do to accord patriotism or love of country to a denationalized people, as they are at present. It cannot be patriotism, in the sense of that word as generally applied, which sustains the Jews in a civilization and culture which enables them to enter into successful competition with the most enlightened peoples of the world. It may be said to be the poetry of patriotism, begotten of veneration, kept alive by intelligence, the result of education; for the Jews have never deserted the traditions of their fathers, but ever hold up to their children the glories of Zion, taught to them by their mothers in their own vernacular. And until this century a Jew unable to read the Pentateuch in Hebrew must have been the victim of suffering which precluded the possibility of approach from his brethren, because, among the other virtues of the Jews, they have a sort of free

masonry, so sacred that they dare not resist its influence, but aid and assist each other under all circumstances. They pay their taxes* to support the churches, as we all do, and to keep up the poor-houses; but, go from Saco in Maine to Sacramento in California, no Jew is an inmate, unless he be so imbecile as to have forgotten the shibboleth, or perhaps it may be that individuals can become so debased that humanity is not called upon to respond to their distress, but it becomes the duty of humanity to leave them to their fate. I doubt, however, whether a Jew dare desert a brother Jew, under any circumstances; and this goes a great way toward accounting for their prosperity, because each one always has a chance to be self-supporting.

It would be impossible to review Judaism in the allotted space, in the sense of giving a history of those people; and there is no intention to contemplate them except in the attribute they present at this time, under such adverse influences bearing upon them for the past eighteen centuries.

Eighteen hundred years ago, Pagan Rome was the mighty conqueror of the nations that accepted her yoke with marvellous complacency, most of them Pagans like herself, and Rome was not exacting upon questions of sentiment or superstition. Her conquered colonies were indulged in any local prejudices in regard to their gods, and even in their modes of government, provided they paid tribute punctually and responded when called upon for men to fight her battles. It was not a great hardship for Pagans to submit to subjugation to a power ever ready to protect her subjects on the least provocation; but, with the Jews, it was entirely different. They had been an arrogant nation, guilty of treacheries and the excessive use of power equal to any great government which had ever existed; and their contempt for Pagan nations and Pagan people was so intense as to be a principle. Their Roman conquerors were not a cultivated people, as the ancient Grecians were who had attained to a degree of culture not yet equalled by any nation. But, now, Greece had fallen from her high estate as the result of internal strife, which had made her an easy prey to the vigorous energy of the youthful state of Rome, which could claim nationality only as far back as between seven and eight hundred years; but, from the start, conquest and successful subjugation was her career, and to annex and absorb other nations her destiny. The hardy warrior was the venerated citizen, and war and strife the national occupation, leaving little opportunity for culture and refinement.

What of cultivated intelligence existed in Europe and Western Asia centred in the Jews, far below the culture of ancient Greece, but sufficient to make the contrast between ignorance and education.

Could a proud and haughty nation be in greater humiliation than the Jews were, under the Roman yoke? They could not endure it, but struggled with such desperation that Rome was compelled to make Palestine a camp of soldiers and governors were so surrounded by dangers that fear possessed them; and they became, that monster of all that is horrible, cowardly tyrants, surrounded at all times by minions to do their deeds of vengeance, sometimes in the mere wantonness of power to carry terror and a sense of hopeless subjugation.

Just when the oppression was at its height, an event occurred which was the forerunner of catastrophe to the Jews. The secrets of the temple leaked out, and were thrown broadcast among the people. These secrets of the temple were the records of intelligence, the accumulation of the

wisdom of the centuries, as securely guarded from the people as treasure is now secured in safety vaults. Nothing which could convey to the minds of the people the sayings of wisdom and messages of philanthropy that emanated from sages for all time was permitted to escape, for fear the knowledge would open their eyes to a sense that they were human beings, possessed of a right to live for themselves and humanity; but, all the while, the undivided effort of priests and rulers was exercised to debase and degrade humanity, so that men would be willing slaves, mere beasts of burden. Precisely how these secrets of the temple were extracted from their hiding-place is not known. It may have been the doings of one man, as many think it was; and it resulted in establishing the system known as Christianity,—a system of no spontaneous growth, emanating in the brain or brains of no man or men then living, but it was a gradual systematizing and bringing together the best teachings which the world had ever known. The sages of Greece, Persia, India, and China, contributed their messages, which each separately or in a perfected combination of excellence of thought taught man to see himself as a man in the fulness of the rights of humanity. At first, this knowledge was intoxicating, leading to every excess of fanaticism.

Mankind had been so completely enslaved and borne down by oppression that life was of no account: they threw it away for the gratification of proclaiming to their fellow-men the new knowledge. Boldly to denounce oppressors of humanity was the highest virtue; and, when it invited martyrdom, hundreds rushed in willingly to give up their lives that their fellow-men might know the rights of man; and thus was Christianity inaugurated, the result of the bursting of fetters upon the mind and body which had been strained beyond the limit of continued tension. The attendant commotion brought calamity to the Jews, who saw in each bold declaimer a hope that he was their leader, under whom they would successfully drive the invader from their midst. They had become so desperate that they fought with bravery, intensified by frenzy, until, after slaughter upon slaughter, Rome became convinced that subjugation was impossible; and, in her power, she attempted to extirpate the Jewish race, and she destroyed Jerusalem, and the people were compelled to wander forth in every direction.

It is amazing that the intention to annihilate Judaism, as a civilization, did not succeed; but we see them to-day, a distinct people, exercising the influence of their civilization as positively as the most prosperous nations. It is wonderful to contemplate how it was possible that under such adverse circumstances the sacredness of the family tie is preserved; but it is, and no civilization can present the evidence of enlightenment and culture more beautifully developed than in a Jewish home. Nowhere can be found a stronger attachment between the members of the family nor a more gentle affection toward each other; and this has been preserved during privations and sufferings which would justify any race to give up its identity and cease to demand recognition of its civilization. But the civilization of Judaism demands and commands respect throughout the world; and this result exists in spite of every force possible to be brought against it, from the most powerful governments withdrawing all protection and originating the worst prejudices which could be invented to the caricaturist and the writer of drama and fiction.

The Romans evinced no magnanimity, for they keenly felt a humiliation that a race existed which they could not subdue. They everywhere pro-

claimed the Jews as outcasts, and as such they went forth upon the face of the earth. Excess, profusion, and waste prevailed among all the nations; and the Jews more than subsisted on this improvidence. They prospered in the manner which always results from superior intelligence, when brought into contact with ignorance; for learning was despised even to the extent that a scholar was treated with ignominy by both sexes. Animal meat was consumed to an enormous extent, but the skins were thrown away; and the Jews turned these to commercial account, which explains the fact that they are to this day largely engaged in the fur trade, to the extent that they control the market in some large centres.

In the same way, the explanation of the fact that they are financiers becomes simple, because extravagance often compelled the necessity for a loan; and the thrifty Jew was always ready to meet the demand upon good security, sometimes resulting in calamity to himself, as in the case of Isaac of York who made an advance to the crown, resulting in the discovery of the fact that the Jews of York held mortgages to such an extent that the land would soon be theirs, and the cry went up of unbelieving Jew usurers, creating an excitement which ended in a massacre of the Jews. And we cannot suppress a suspicion that it was instigated by the king, in order to settle the claims by getting rid of the mortgagees and their heirs at one blow, causing the incumbrances to revert to the crown. In more recent years, such assistance has received a more generous acknowledgment.

About forty years ago, Hamburg was devastated by a fire, unparalleled previously to the Chicago conflagration; and Solomon Heine went on 'change and took the responsibility that no paper should go to protest, and reduced the rates for money, when he could have made enormous sums by taking advantage of the situation. And Sir Moses Montefiore, who will be one hundred years old in a few months, has lived so long that he sees one of the most beneficent acts ever known stand a record of history.

Jews were held in bondage by the Algerines in Northern Africa, and Sir Moses determined to release them by indemnification; but his bounty extended to all nationalities, and through his efforts there was a combined action of the nations, resulting in the suppression of Algerian pirates.

J. F. WETMORE.

MYTHOLOGY.

VII.

I am strongly tempted to dwell a few moments longer upon the topic touched upon in former articles on mythology (see particularly *Index* of May 15),—the mythological *survivals* that are still to be seen in the current thought and expression in society.

Allusion has been made to the belief in wraiths and fetches, the appearance under some circumstances of the apparitional presence or "spirit" of the departed. This impression is so widely prevalent it may be termed almost universal. There are few indeed who do not share it in greater or less degree. Spiritualism, so termed, is a conspicuous example of it under one form. And the votaries of this faith are probably to be numbered in this country and in Europe by many millions. It is not a new doctrine: it has had numerous believers in mediæval and in ancient time. As we have it, it appears a renewal or revival of what, in some degree forgotten, has been familiar in the experience of mankind for untold ages.

A kind of planchette, it would seem from the

*Church property released from taxation is an unjust burden upon tax-payers.—J. F. W.

accounts, was known in Europe in the seventeenth century. Spirit-rapping has been known all over the world. Dayaks in Borneo, Siamese and Singalese agree with the Esthonians in holding full faith in it. Germans believe in the *Poltergeist*, who knocks and routs about the house in the night, an old and familiar character in European folklore. In Swabia and Franconia, knockings are always expected on *Anklöpperleins-Nächte*, i.e., "Little Knecker's Nights." Welsh miners get the "knocks" under ground, as they think, pointing out the places where are the veins of gold and silver.

The Chinese have spirit-writing, and get communications from a god, through a professional medium by inscriptions wrought with a pencil on a tray of dry sand. Among the Mandan Indians, a widow will thoroughly believe and insist that she meets and holds converse by the hour with her deceased husband. Indeed, with rude races, generally, the view is held most literally true, which is stated by Milton:—

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth,
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep."

Only, with those on the lower grades, the belief is that the spirits are *seen*, that the apparitional presence is cognized and apprehended strictly by the senses.

One of the most remarkable instances on record of the return of the spirits from the world of the dead is given in an account of the Nicene Council, early in the fourth century. Two bishops, it seems, died during the sessions of the council. The acts of the fathers were duly adopted and witnessed, but the signatures of the dead bishops of course were lacking. So the documents were brought to the tomb where they were buried, left there over night, and, lo! in the morning, it was found that they were duly signed and certified by the hands of the dead, as follows: "We, Chrysanthus and Mysonius, consenting with all the fathers in the holy first and oecumenical Nicene Synod, although translated from the body, have also signed the volume with our own hands." It is pleasant to know that we have the doctrines of the Nicene Creed, decrees for the *homoousion* of the Son, and the condemnation of Arius attested from so lofty and infallible a source!

In our own time, Baron de Guldenstubbé has written a book in which he has brought forward many alleged facts to show that the spirits of the dead hover about their old homes, and manifest themselves by writing, etc. Louis XV. and Marie Antoinette roam about the Trianon; and, if pieces of blank paper be suitably placed, they will form written characters upon them by electric currents. Julius and Augustus Cæsar, Juvenal, St. Paul, write their names to show that they are still interested in sublunary affairs, and are accessible to the living. Héloïse at Péré-la-Chaise writes in modern French to tell that she and Abelard are united and happy. Guldenstubbé gives a mass of fac-similes of these spirit-writings. Finally, Hippocrates, the physician, gave to our author at his lodgings a signature, which of itself cured a sharp attack of rheumatism in a few minutes.

All this sounds much like what we hear and witness in large measure in our own country. And what is remarkable is that, the farther we go back in the history of civilization, the ruder the condition we reach, the more of this thing comes to view,—namely, the belief in the appearance and intervention of spirits from the world of the dead, and the relation of the wonderful feats they perform. Introduce a North American Indian to a spiritual séance in London, and, as Mr. Tylor well says, he would see nothing there that is not familiar to his savage philosophy, save the spelling and

writing; these belonging to a state of civilization beyond his own.

The phenomena, as they are called, of Spiritualism lie to be examined on their merits. They should be explored dispassionately and with perfect candor, and doubtless they will some day be illumined fully by science. The belief and emphasis upon the doctrine as we have it to-day seem much like a survival from the mythic dreams and superstitions of savage and barbaric ages.

There are multitudes, however, who have never given formal acceptance to the theories of Spiritualism, that yet believe in the appearance of the spirits of the deceased or the dying under certain circumstances. Mrs. Child relates in one of her letters an account of the experience of Hannah Adams in this sort, imparted to her many years before by Miss Adams herself. Numerous stories are on record, and very many more unrecorded, current in the common speech, of the appearance of the spirit, or phantom, of one about to depart, to the eyes of some distant friend. Thus there is an account given by an English lady to Mr. Tylor, who "saw, as it were, the form of some one laid out," and at just about that time, as was ascertained, a brother of hers died at Melbourne. She told of another case known to herself of a lady who saw, as she thought, the face of her own father looking in at the church window. At that very moment, he was dying in his own house. A similar instance is reported in connection with the name of George Smith, the celebrated Assyriologist. This eminent scholar died on Aug. 19, 1876, at Aleppo, at or about six in the afternoon. A friend and fellow-worker of his, Dr. Delitzsch, was walking at the time, as it happened, near the house in which Mr. Smith lived while in London. Suddenly, he heard his own name uttered in "a most piercing cry,"—a cry that, as the *Daily News* says, Sept. 12, 1876, "chilled him to the marrow." He was so impressed that he took out his watch and noted carefully the hour, yet said nothing to any one of it, but in due course heard of his friend's decease at that very time. Many such relations probably are current in all communities in our own country. I know persons of much more than usual intelligence and mental freedom who put full faith in them, at least in some of them.

Communications from the world of spirits in regard to one's future, especially in regard to approaching death, are not seldom spoken of; and the belief in their actual occurrence is, if not universal, quite general. I recall in early childhood to have heard of such an experience in the life of a gentleman widely and favorably known throughout the region of my home (Central New York) for his devoted and very fervent piety. It was said among my seniors, and appeared thoroughly believed by them,—they were people of profound religious earnestness, more than the ordinary intelligence, and of sterling moral worth,—that this man had had distinct communication through vision from the spirit-world of the period of his remaining life, the time, and perhaps the manner of his death. He had seen the phantom or the wraith that had told him this; and it came while he was in health, and no such prospect apparent before him as the vision indicated. A like thing I remember was said and, if my impression is right, published in regard to J. R. McDowall, the prominent and well-known champion, some fifty and more years ago, of "Moral Reform." Intimation clear and distinct was given to him touching his future, the months that he had yet to live, and especially the determinate time at which death should come. The communication was through apparition, or at least some phantom appearance. Nor are such isolated or, in any sense, remote

cases. Like instances could be gleaned in considerable numbers everywhere (outside the realm called Spiritualism) from the beliefs and imaginings current in the present.

What are such but cases of survival, coming down from that state of mind that has been so long prevailing in past ages, in which there has been no close discrimination between a fancy and a fact, a dream of the imagination and a truth of the intelligence,—no line drawn, or attempted to be drawn, separating fiction and illusion from reality and knowledge? Subjective and objective were hopelessly mingled and confounded together, a vivid subjective fancy taken into full confidence as a solid and very practical reality of experience.

Few, indeed, there are among us, very few to-day, who do not deem that at some times they receive messages and monitions from the world of the departed. None, perhaps, to whom the cemetery does not carry something still of its drear and ghastly associations, and bear, especially in the night time, its spectral suggestions. Not only must the schoolmaster be long abroad, but education in all senses must be imparted and impressed, best books, lectures, the preaching that shall be teaching, must have free course and win their conquests for generations to come, doubtless, ere the last traces of superstition touching death and the grave shall be extirpated.

The spirits are widely believed to have much power for harm to those who remain behind in the flesh. This is held universally with rude races, and it comes up into present civilization. In Australia, Sir George Grey used to see the bush around the encampment dotted at night with little moving points of fire,—firesticks carried by the old women to guard the younger ones against invasions from the malevolent ghosts. It is a Scandinavian custom to carry fire for such protection. The old Norse colonists in Iceland bore fire around the lands they intended to occupy, in order to expel the evil spirits. Till a child is baptized, the fire must never be let out, lest the trolls should steal the infant; and, when the mother goes to be church, a live coal must be thrown after her, for protection from the fell spirits. In the Hebrides, mother and child must have fire carried round them, to keep the sprites from taking them. The custom of the burning of candles in the Catholic Church, and especially beside a corpse as it lies in the home, has beyond question its origin in the same belief. It is a survival. As is declared in the Roman Ritual that, "lighted or placed wherever these candles be, the powers of the shades shall be compelled to depart; shall tremble, and fear-stricken fly, with all their minions, from within those dwellings." In Russia, the watcher beside a corpse is armed with a potent charm against attack from it at midnight.

The dead are thought to draw after them the living, and so not seldom do exert fatal effect on household and friends. Facts sometimes come to our knowledge in this sort, that astonish at the depth and power still of that old superstition, even in our own communities. In Chicago, a few years since, Mr. Conway was credibly informed by a physician there—himself personally cognizant of the fact,—that the body of a woman who had died of consumption was taken from the grave, and the lungs were burned, from a belief that she was drawing after her into the grave some of her surviving relatives.

Are we not reminded perpetually of the pointed monition of John Randolph in old days to the lady who was so zealous and insistent in behalf of the distant sufferers in the Morea,—*"The Greeks madam,—the Greeks are at your own door!"*

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. OLIVER JOHNSON's recent statements in regard to William Lloyd Garrison's views of the Bible have naturally enough surprised and perplexed some of the readers of *The Index*. The fact is, Mr. Garrison was reared in the strictest Orthodoxy, and, since he (although an immediate emancipationist for others) emancipated himself but gradually from the bonds of the Baptist sect, it is not difficult to quote passages from some of his earlier works which are decidedly Orthodox, if one chooses to do so; but, in view of his decided and acknowledged change of theological views, it is no more fair to quote expressions from his early writings to define his matured convictions than it would be to refer to his enthusiastic advocacy in his youth of the protective system as evidence of his matured views on this subject, when, in later years, he became through conviction a radical free trader. We honor Mr. Garrison for the purity of his life, his lofty conception of duty, and his disinterested devotion to the cause of the oppressed rather than for his theological views or any contributions he made to religious thought. But, in justice to him, when his views respecting the Bible and Christianity are stated, they should be so stated as not to mislead. The following, copied from the fly-leaf of a large family Bible presented to his son William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., on his thirty-seventh birthday, may fairly be regarded as expressing the views of the distinguished abolitionist in regard to the Scriptures, and is here printed for the benefit of those who have been perplexed by some of the citations made from his early writings by Mr. Johnson:—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR.

ON THE COMPLETION OF HIS THIRTY-SEVENTH BIRTHDAY,
JANUARY 21, 1875.

FROM HIS AFFECTIONATE FATHER,

Who presents it not as "the Word of God," as it is by many dogmatically assumed to be (for that is from everlasting to everlasting), but as a volume to be studied, criticized, and judged, without prejudice, credulity, superstition, or regard to any popular or prevailing interpretation thereof, and with the same freedom as any other book or compilation of ancient manuscripts; in which case, reason and conscience holding mastery over it, it will still be found deserving of the highest consideration for its incomparable truths, solemn warnings, and precious promises.

A ZEALOUS writer in a paper named *Lucifer*, of which he is one of the editors, stops abusing *The Index* long enough to give the leaders of the National Liberal League to understand that, if that organization holds its next congress at Cassadaga, N.Y., he and others will form a "Western Free-thinkers' Association." He says: "The idea of holding a National Congress or Convention of any kind in New York is absurd. Do New York Liberals imagine that the centres of population and of radical thought are east of Ohio? . . . Has it never occurred to them that it is possible for us to form a Western Free-thinkers' Association, or North-western and South-western Free-thought Societies? Have they never heard of the Brotherhood of Humanitarians, with head-quarters at Liberal, Mo., which is rapidly spreading, and needs but the adherence of Western Leaguers to enable it to smother out every League west of the Mississippi?" If this writer's ability, eloquence, and influence were equal to his zeal and ambition, the excitement of the Presidential contest would be small in comparison with the enthusiasm he would arouse "to smother out every League west of the Mississippi" (which is pretty well "smoth-

ered out" already), and to get "Western Leaguers" to join a Brotherhood, "with head-quarters at Liberal, Mo." The desire to be at the head is not confined to great minds nor to great movements, but is found in all sorts of agitations, and among men of the most narrow, crude, and cranky notions. When so-called liberal papers pander to such men, as some do, they forfeit thereby the respect of intelligent and considerate Liberals, and soon become the organs and instruments of the various classes that take advantage of their flexibility, and make them mediums of all sorts of vagaries, destroying alike their independence, character, and influence. We are pleased to see that the *Liberal*—published at Liberal, Mo., and the organ of the Brotherhood referred to above—does not indorse the wild social theories of the writer from whom we have quoted. In reply to one of his pleas for greater "social freedom," the editor of the *Liberal* says: "We are free to confess that we do not place ourself in opposition to everything the Church does. We hold ourself open to embrace every good thing there is in the Church or in the Bible. We recognize good wherever we find it, without first asking if it is believed in or practised by the Church and church people. One thing can be said in honor of Orthodoxy: it does not openly advocate a doctrine which may be construed into the practice of varieties, and there is not a church paper that advocates such an ism. Though individual practice is quite different, we find there is quite enough variety in the world without openly championing it as a proper rule in domestic life."

OUR esteemed contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, declares that *The Index* "goes out of its way to indulge in cruel blasphemy against God present in the Eucharist." After quoting a few sentences from an editorial paragraph which recently appeared in this journal, the *Review* says: "We shudder at the mere thought of having reproduced these blasphemous words; but they go far to show how greatly opposed to Light, Liberty, and Right are those whose constant clamorings are for what they are pleased to term a Free Religion. *The Index* should note that only one religion enjoys Light, lumen mundi, encourages Liberty, born of the truth, that makes men free, and defends the Right as heavenly revealed. That religion would speedily become free, were the God of Peace removed from our tabernacles." Our good-natured comments on our contemporary's statement regarding "the God of Peace borne aloft in the hands of his worthy minister," was not designed to be blasphemous; nor is our suggestion now, that, if a religion which "enjoys Light," "encourages Liberty," and "defends the Right," would "speedily become free, were the God of Peace removed from our tabernacles," then every possible effort should be made by our Catholic fellow-citizens, and all others in favor of light, liberty, and right, to have the aforesaid "God of Peace removed from our tabernacles." Assuming the premise to be true, the conclusion is necessitated by common sense, logic, political economy and a common regard for the welfare of man.

THE *American Journal of Education*, to illustrate the absurdity and nonsense of "show" questions asked by inexperienced teachers and examiners, gives the following jargon as the reply of a boy who "seems to be smart, seems to know several things, but cannot, like many others, tell what he knows,—if he really does know anything more than a jargon of words":—

"Who was Moses?" He replies: "He was an Egyptian. He lived in a hark maid of bullrushers, and he kept a golden carl and worshipt brazen snakes, and he het nothin but qhales and manner for forty years. He was kort by the air of his ed while ridin under a bow of a tree, and he was killed by his

son Abslon as he was hanging from the bow. His end was peace." "What do you know of the patriarch, Abraham?" "He was the father of Lot, and had tew wives. Wun was called Hismale and tother Haygur. He kept wun at home, and he hurried the tother into the dessert, where she became a pillow of salt in the daytime and a pillow of fire at nite."

SAYS the *Springfield Republican*: "The *Catholic Review* goes into solemn hysterics over the rowdiness of some fellows who yelled 'Viva Garibaldi' in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome the other day. The *Review* says this happened 'while the God of Peace, borne aloft in the hands of his worthy minister, the Cardinal Vicar of the Eternal City, was about to bestow his infinite benediction upon all, worthy and unworthy, alike. The Roman Church's description of a little wheaten wafer in such awful terms is perhaps as offensive to the Italians as their patriotic improprieties are to the Church."

"POLAR BEAR" writes to the *Springfield Republican*, "My honest conviction is that even an editor of one paper would, if placed in position of the Greeley party, have eaten up the editor and printer's devil of another paper, if thereby he could have saved his own precious life."

EVERY subscriber who is in arrears for *The Index* is requested to send the amount due to this office with the least possible delay. We are in especial need of money during these summer months to meet current expenses,—which we shall be abundantly able to do, if our friends will promptly remit the sums they owe us on their subscriptions.

For *The Index*.

THE TASK OF CIVILIZATION.*

O Civilization, what is now thy task?
E'en this, to recreate the multitude,
From animalism low to lift the throng
Of men up to the lofty human plane,
Whereon the sense of beauty, justice, truth,
Beholds in prospect fair the ideal world
And weans from brutish instincts of the flesh.
Thus lifted to its glorious birthright high,
The mob shall cast its grimy slough away,
The low-browed countenance shall flash with gleams
Of rational consciousness, and bestial appetite
And base desire be tamed. The Demagogue
No more shall with his sophistries mislead
The vulgar mind, the Plutocrat no more
Pervert to his enrichment, selfishness
The popular strength; the Priest no longer fill
His coffers with superstition's offerings
For absolution and indulgences
And passports to pretended bliss. O Day
Of liberation of the multitude
From thralldom to the past, arise and shine
O'er all the sorrow-stricken fields of earth,
And be the herald of a just society,
Wherein man shall not prey on man, but all
Co-operate to noble, generous ends!
And lies the route to such millennial state
Of general justice, plenty, happiness,
Through Nihilistic hate and Dynamite
And violent erasure of all the past?
No: by degrees and through the gradual lapse
Of mellorating years shall justice come,
And on this earth at length be realized
The bright Atlantis of the sage's dreams,
The City of God, whereof Augustine wrote.

Aug. 15, 1884.

B. W. D.

* These lines were written after reading the two admirable essays recently published in *The Index* from the pen of Mr. Charles Froebel.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 28, 1884.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

III.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Like Zoroaster, Buddha, and the great religious teachers of India, Jesus of Nazareth left no written word. Absorbed in the pressing labors of the moment, anticipating no extended future for the existing order of society, knowing, probably, no language but his native Galilean tongue, his impassioned appeals, his charming illustrative parables, his brief and sententious aphorisms, have been transmitted to us through the medium of oral tradition, collected and put in writing some time after his death. In the extant documents, the original tradition is intermingled with a mythical and legendary accretion of subsequent origin and development, and translated into an alien tongue. We have absolutely no contemporary record of the life and teachings of Jesus, either in or out of the writings of the New Testament.

Early Christian Literature.—The Story of the Manuscripts.

The earliest of these writings, in the order of their composition, are the Epistles of Paul. These and the other genuine Epistles of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers throw valuable light upon the primitive phases of Christian belief; but, beyond the mere fact that they assume the previous existence and tragical death of Jesus, and give currency to the early tradition of his resurrection, they afford us absolutely no information concerning him. Paul quotes but once the language of Jesus,—a single phrase in connection with a reference to the commemoration of the last supper: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do ye as often as ye drink it in remembrance of me." (I. Cor. xi., 25.)

For information concerning the life and teach-

ings of Jesus, therefore, we are confined exclusively to the four Gospels.* Testimony, corroborative of his historical verity, may, as already indicated, be derived from the New Testament Epistles and the writings of the early Christian Fathers, who everywhere assume it as an unquestioned fact, and also from a few fragmentary allusions in the works of Jewish and Pagan writers in the first and early part of the second centuries. The destructive theory which doubts the existence of Jesus as an historical personage, and regards the gospel stories as entirely mythical, has no support whatever in the history and literature of the early Christian centuries. Of the reasons for the lack of frequent allusions to Jesus by Jewish and Pagan writers of the period, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

For testimony concerning the date and reliability of the gospel histories, apart from the internal evidence of the documents, we must depend almost exclusively upon the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, sustained or corrected by such pertinent facts as may be derived from the secular history of the period. We have also certain extant documents, mainly anonymous or pseudonymous, known as the Apocryphal Gospels† and Epistles, which were regarded as genuine by some portion of the early Christian communities, and which are valuable for comparison with the books of the New Testament. Some of them are doubtless as old or older than our canonical Gospels, and they throw considerable light upon the development of doctrine and the differentiation of heretical sects from the main body of Christian believers during the earliest Christian centuries. In this lecture, it is proposed to examine the bearings of this literature in all its branches upon the question of our actual information concerning the life and teachings of Jesus and the character of the earliest Christian tradition. A tolerably clear comprehension of this subject appears to be absolutely essen-

*Perhaps an exception should also be made in favor of the recently published *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and the extant fragments of the "Gospel of the Hebrews," which are doubtless as old or older than the Gospels, and in general confirm the testimony of the Synoptics. Reference will hereafter be made to these documents.

†The names of some of the early Apocryphal Gospels, as preserved to us in the writings of the Fathers, are as follows: 1. The Gospel of the Birth of Mary. "In primitive times," says Hone, "there was a Gospel extant, bearing this name, attributed to Matthew, and received as genuine and authentic by several of the ancient Christian sects." The extant copy was preserved to us in the writings of Jerome, who lived in the fourth century and the early part of the fifth century of our era. Other versions, apparently differing somewhat from Jerome's, are quoted by early writers. 2. The Protevangelion, or "First Gospel," sometimes called the Gospel of James, the brother of Jesus. From internal evidence, this Gospel must probably be regarded as of later date than any of those subsequently declared canonical, save, possibly, the Fourth. It was frequently alluded to in the writings of the Fathers. 3. The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ, received by certain Gnostic sects of the second century; 4. A Second Gospel of the Infancy, attributed to the Apostle Thomas; 5. The Gospel of Nicodemus, probably written during the third century; 6. The Gospel of the Egyptians, of very early date; 7. The Gospel of Peter; 8. The Gospel of Paul; 9. The Gospel of Andrew; 10. The Gospel of Apelles; 11. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. This important document, recently discovered by Bishop Bryennios in the Greek quarter of Constantinople, in a manuscript of the eleventh century, from internal evidence must be adjudged as old or older than any of our canonical Gospels. Its Christology is not more developed than that of the Synoptics. It terms Jesus "the servant of God," and contains no allusion to the stories of the miraculous birth or to Jesus as the Son of God. 12. The Gospel of Barnabas; 13. The Gospel of Basilides, a Gnostic work of the second century; 14. The Gospel of Cerinthus, also a Gnostic writing; 15. The Gospel of the Ebionites, said to have been written in Aramaic, and sometimes identified with the Gospel of the Hebrews; 16. The Gospel of the Encratites; 17. The Gospel of Eve; 18. The Gospel of Hesyclus. These, as well as the most of the following, were Gnostic works. 19. The Gospel of Marcion. Some orthodox writers regard this as a mutilated form of our Third Gospel, but it was doubtless of considerably earlier date,—as old or older than any of our Gospels. 20. The Gospel of Jude; 21. The Gospel of Judas Iscariot; 22. The Gospel of Matthias; 23. The Gospel of Merinthus; 24. The Gospel according to the Nazarenes; 25. The Gospel of Perfection; 26. The Gospel of Philip; 27. The Gospel of Scythianus; 28. The Gospel of Tatian; 29. The Gospel of Thaddeus; 30. The Gospel of Truth, used by the Valentines, a school of the Gnostics; 31. The Gospel of Valentinus; 32. The Gospel of Life; 33. The Gospel of Longinus. These and other unenumerated Gospels were all certainly in existence before the synod of Laodicea, 365 A.D., "the first Christian assembly at which the canon was made the subject of a special ordinance." Some of them are unquestionably of as early or even of earlier date than any of those subsequently called canonical.

tial to a true historical estimate of the beginnings of Christianity.

Character and Origin of the Four Gospels.

The four canonical Gospels are preserved to us in extant manuscripts of the fourth, fifth, and later Christian centuries. All of them were originally written, probably, during the second century of our era. Their authorship is unknown, and, with the possible exception of the Third Gospel, it cannot even be conjectured with reasonable probability. Renan supposes that Mark and Luke were written in Rome and Matthew in Palestine; but for these hypotheses we are obliged to rely mainly upon uncertain traditions, sustained or corrected by the known character of the documents themselves. Tradition also asserts that the Fourth Gospel was composed at Ephesus, but it presents strong internal evidence of Alexandrian origin or influence. Prof. Robertson Smith terms them all "unapostolic digests of the second century." In the extant Greek version of the earliest manuscripts, we undoubtedly possess the original form of these documents with but little modification. There is no probability that any of them were translated entire from the Aramaic or Hebrew languages. Certain memoranda in the Aramaic tongue, however, doubtless existed prior to the composition of our Gospels; and one or more of the so-called Apocryphal Gospels appears to have been written in Aramaic. Among these memoranda, there seems to have been a very early collection of the *logia* or sayings of Jesus, unaccompanied, probably, by any historical data, the compilation of which was currently attributed to the Apostle Matthew. The First Gospel presents strong internal evidence of manufacture or composition out of several primitive documents, and it is probable that its author incorporated a translation of this early collection of the sayings of Jesus nearly or quite entire in his manuscript. Ewald, one of the most acute and thorough of our modern Biblical critics, distinguishes no less than twelve documents which he believes to have been worked up into our Synoptical Gospels.

Divergent Traditions of the Fourth and the Synoptical Gospels.

In the first three Gospels, we find many points of agreement,—a general concurrence as to the leading features in the public career of Jesus, and a marked similarity, often amounting to identity, of language, which indicates the common use, in part, of an earlier oral or written tradition. Between the synopsis or concurrent testimony of the first three Gospels and that of the Fourth Gospel, however, there is a divergence so complete as often to amount to irreconcilable opposition. It is impossible to harmonize the manifest and radical differences of these two traditions. All attempts in this direction involve the greatest violence to the natural dictates of the rational judgment.

The Synoptical Gospels represent the public labors of Jesus to have occupied a period of only about one year, giving an account of but a single visit to Jerusalem during his ministry. The Fourth Gospel extends the period of his public ministrations to more than three years, and represents him as frequently travelling back and forth between Galilee and Judea. The synoptics assume that nearly all of his miracles were wrought in Galilee, only one or two being assigned to his final visit to Judea. The Fourth Gospel expressly limits the number of his miracles in Galilee to four, and assigns nearly all the more important ones to the vicinity of Jerusalem. The synoptics assume the prevalence of the belief in obsession or possession by evil spirits among the Jews,—a fact which is abundantly confirmed by extra-Biblical

evidence. Many of the miracles of Jesus, as therein reported, consist of the alleged exorcism of these personal demons. The Fourth Gospel hardly contains a reference to this current superstition, and reports no miracle of this character. The Synoptical Gospels contain no reference to the miraculous transformation of water into wine at Cana of Galilee or to the resurrection of Lazarus, though these most marvellous of all the wonderful works attributed to Jesus are made the corner-stone and key-stone of the superstructure of the Fourth Gospel narrative.

More significant even than these differences is the marked divergence in the reports of the conversations and teachings of Jesus in the two traditions. The synoptics report his words in brief and forcible aphorisms, illustrated by the apt and striking use of the parable. The style and language employed are as individual and characteristic as those of Shakspeare.* The chief burden and subject of his discourse is the explanation and illustration of his doctrine of the coming kingdom of heaven. In the Fourth Gospel, he is made to discourse in long, mystical disquisitions, largely devoted to the exaltation of his own personality, in style and matter wholly unlike that of the synoptical reports. None of the characteristic parables of the first three Gospels appear in the Fourth, which, indeed, contains no proper example of this allegorical method of teaching. In the synoptics, particularly in the first two Gospels, the Jews appear as the kin and people of the writers, differing only as those who rejected the Messianic claims of Jesus would naturally differ from his disciples and followers. They are represented everywhere with entire naturalness. Their different sects, customs, and beliefs are truthfully described, as we know them from independent sources. The Fourth Gospel, on the contrary, is manifestly the product of one who was not himself a Jew. The Jews are spoken of in the third person, as an alien people, and in a contemptuous tone as children of the Evil One. The scribes, Sadducees, and Herodians, so often introduced in the synoptical narratives, do not appear at all in the Fourth Gospel. The natural and human Jesus of the synoptics is displaced by one who seems rather like a ghostly apparition, flitting aimlessly to and fro between Judea and Galilee. He is no longer the "Son of Man," moving naturally among his people, and speaking the language of their daily concern, but the pre-existent Logos, whose human parentage was an illusion, who existed even before the creation of the world, co-eternally with God himself. The representation of God as "our Father" and of all mankind as his children, so characteristic of the humane teaching of Jesus in the synoptics, is supplanted in the Fourth Gospel by the everywhere intruded assumption of a special and supernatural relationship between Jesus and the Deity. The inclusive "our Father" gives place to the exclusive "my Father."

Artificial Theology of the Fourth Gospel.

The theology of the synoptics is natural and simple, though embodying the current anthropomorphic conceptions of the divine nature. That of the Fourth Gospel, on the contrary, is artificial and dogmatic. Its dualism is especially prominent and characteristic. Jesus, as the divine Logos, wages war against Satan and his emissaries, as Ormuzd against Ahriman in the Persian system. Faith in his supernatural character and mission is essential to salvation instead of conduct only, as in the synoptical tradition. The last supper, in the Fourth Gospel, loses its natural interpretation as

the paschal feast of the Jews, and takes on a character which prefigures its subsequent dogmatic importance as a Christian sacrament. To divest it of its Jewish characteristics, it is removed from the day of the paschal feast, the fourteenth of the month Nisan, to the preceding day; and Jesus himself appears as a substitute for the paschal lamb, sacrificed upon the anniversary of the Passover, instead of a day later, as represented in the synoptics. There are evidences, also, that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was even unacquainted with the topography of Palestine, which strongly favors the conclusion that the Apostle John neither wrote nor directly inspired it.

These considerations, which might be strengthened by other internal evidence, appear to render it impossible for us to accept the Fourth Gospel as a correct representation of the life, character, or teachings of the Prophet of Nazareth. For a true historical basis, we must "search the Scriptures" of the synoptics; relying mainly upon that consensus of testimony—those facts, ideas, and traditions which the three writers report in common—known to Biblical students as "The Triple Tradition." I have read with care, and with the respect due to so able and eminent an authority, the defence of the theory of the early appearance and Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel by Prof. Ezra Abbot; but his arguments, though subtle, refined, and exceedingly ingenious, are insufficient to my mind to explain away these very plain and evident discrepancies between this and the synoptical tradition. The only portion of the Fourth Gospel narrative as presented to us in the accepted version of the New Testament differing from the synoptics, which instantly appeals to all readers as bearing the impress of the Jesus of the parables and the Sermon on the Mount, is the story of the woman taken in adultery; and this is known and admitted by the learned revisers of the New Testament to have formed no part of the original version of this document. It is omitted from the oldest extant manuscripts. It is, however, quoted by early Christian writers from the more primitive "Gospel of the Hebrews," and doubtless constituted a part of an older tradition than that originally drawn upon by the writer of the Logos epic.*

The Patristic Literature and Early Apocryphal Gospels.

A correct understanding of the nature of our material for the study of the life and teachings of Jesus necessitates a brief inquiry as to the age and comparative reliability of the gospel narratives. The sources of our information in this investigation, in addition to such internal evidence as the documents themselves may furnish, must be sought in the writings of the Christian Fathers of the first three centuries. It is claimed by those who maintain an earlier authorship of the Gospels than the first quarter of the second century that they are recognized and quoted by the earliest non-canonical Christian writers. From a careful study of the patristic literature, however, it becomes evident that the narratives or memoranda thus quoted were never regarded as sacred Scripture in any such sense as were the writings of the Old Testament. It is also clear, upon examination, that the passages referred to are in no instance exact and literal excerpts from any extant manuscripts of our Gospels. Previous to the last quarter of the second century, moreover, no one of the canonical Gospels is identified in the writings of the Fathers by the titles now prefixed to them: so

that, even were the alleged quotations in complete agreement, it would be impossible to determine with certainty whether the excerpts were taken from our Gospels or from other documents whose language was in part identical with them.

Certain non-canonical writings, on the other hand, were undoubtedly extant, and were quoted by their titles before any of the canonical Gospels were so identified. One of the earliest of these writings was the "Gospel of the Hebrews," fragments of which have been preserved to us in the writings of the Fathers recently collected and collated by Dr. Nicholson. The "Gospel of the Infancy," preserved to us among other of the so-called "apocryphal" writings, was also so quoted at a very early period, and was accepted by a Gnostic sect of the second century as of equal authority and authenticity with our Fourth Gospel. Beside the writings of this character which we still possess, many others were doubtless in existence which are now lost. In support of this fact, indeed, we have the testimony of the New Testament itself. The writer of the Third Gospel declares: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, . . . it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus."

Besides forty or more primitive Gospels, the most of them known to us by their titles, there were also extant at a very early day a vast number of Epistles attributed to the apostles and early Fathers of the Church, together with such documents as the Acts of Peter, the Acts of Paul, the Acts of Andrew, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Revelations, respectively, of Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, Cerinthus, Stephen, Thomas, Moses, and Esdras, the sibylline oracles, and the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, King of Edessa, and the reply thereto. Many of these documents are quoted as genuine and authoritative in the same writings of the Fathers from which are derived the supposed evidences of the early existence of our Gospels. Some of them are now known to be spurious. Others are doubtless genuine. A number of these extant writings have been published together as the *Apocryphal New Testament*, constituting, as affirmed by William Wake, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, "a complete collection of the most primitive antiquity, for about a hundred and fifty years after Christ." Whatever may be the adjudged value or worthlessness of this extensive literature in other respects, it is important, as testifying to the universal belief in the historical verity of Jesus of Nazareth during the earliest Christian centuries.

For The Index.

A HUNDRED DAYS ABROAD.

BY GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

CHAPTER XX.

It is because the "politician" in America works mainly for spoils that the name is in disrepute. The system which gives all offices over to the winning party at an election of president attracts venal politicians and causes the politicians of probity to stand aloof from duty to the State. Artemas Ward said: "I am not a politician, and my other habits air good. I have allus sustained a good moral character. I was never a railway director in my life." In America as in England, the sense of responsibility for morality in public affairs is increasing among men of culture and wealth. It is coming to be regarded as criminal in them to stand aloof from municipal and national life. Republicans in America relate of one who, being neutral, when action for principle was needed, was accused of having gone over to the opposite party:

* Compare, for example, the parables of Jesus with those of Buddha or Buddhaghosa, or with those preserved to us in the Talmud and the Old Testament.

* Renan, speaking of the irreconcilable difference between the Fourth Gospel and the synoptics, declares that he would "stake his future salvation upon it without the slightest hesitation."—*Recollections of my Youth*, by Ernest Renan.

he denied being a Democrat, but admitted that he had the symptoms. In like manner, indifference to the honor of public life is now understood as connivance in its corruption; and they who do nothing personally to purify the State by their own action may deny their guilt, but they cannot deny that they have all the symptoms of participation in it. The decay of right principle in the mind is quite as obvious in persons as the decay of physical health. The consumption of honor, good faith, and reverence, has its signs in speech and action as plainly as the pale face and hectic flush pertaining to consumption of the lungs. The doom of immorality of mind is the same as the doom of disease,—death,—unless the symptoms are radically checked. Both forms of disease are equally manifest to the eyes of any practised observer. The only difference is that those who die physically are buried; while the morally dead still walk the past or the street, but their decayed souls nevertheless poison the circumambient air.

The principle of inculcating a sense of responsibility of some kind on the part of voters was undermined in the American mind by a famous speech of Franklin's, which was repeated to me in the Hall of Independence in Philadelphia, by one who regarded as conclusive his argument, which decided the open suffrage of the country. "If you give a vote to property," said Franklin, "suppose a man's qualification is the ownership of an ass,—when the ass dies, does his citizenship cease?" The story was a century old; but it had perfect freshness in the mind of the reciter of it, who considered the absurd-looking issue as warranting the non-provision of any qualification for citizenship. I confess it seemed to me that Franklin's argument of the ass was only fit to impose upon one of that species. The possession of property is thought by all communities to be a guarantee that he who has it is more likely to vote for its security than he who has none. If he who possessed only a five-dollar donkey was considered to have the sympathy with property (without which no civilization is possible), when the donkey died, the sense of property died in the owner, if he had no other possession. If, instead of a five-dollar ass, the voter's qualification was a five-pound note, if some one stole it from him or the bank broke in which he had deposited it, and he was left penniless, the sense of possession of property would be no longer left to him, and he might become reckless, as penniless men usually do. There may be other things higher than the possession of property which should constitute the qualification for citizenship. It may be education in the duties of citizenship, it may be mere womanhood or mere manhood; but, if the condition taken as sufficient is that of property, the possession of a donkey or a pig is as good a qualification as the possession of a donkey-house or a pig-house, of a hunting stable or a mansion. I am one of those who think manhood or womanhood a sufficient qualification for citizenship in any State, where social education, by precept and example, is strenuously maintained, and all the conditions under which private interest can be pursued at the expense of the State rendered, as far as they can be, impossible.

Mr. John Gledhill, representative buyer in New York for the English and Scotch Wholesale Societies, gave important evidence before the Senatorial Committee on Education and Labor on the "benefits to be derived from co-operation." As an exposition of the economic, social, and pacific force of co-operation, Mr. Gledhill's testimony is a distinct and authoritative addition to the national knowledge of America upon this subject. I have sufficiently expressed in these pages my opinion that co-operation is a new force in civilized States, introducing equity in industry and rendering morality profitable in commerce. There is a mineral now found in Missouri, called Adam's cobite, so hard that it will cut steel without losing its edge. Co-operation is the "cobite" stone of social progress, which will cut through competition where it is hardest and its own quality remain undulled.

By securing to industry the fruits of its labor, it alone promises to restore labor to honor. This is the need of England as it is in America. This has been shown with insight and force by Mr. Medill, of the *Chicago Times*, whose evidence before the Senatorial Committee (where Mr. Gledhill gave testimony, as I have said) was as follows. The reader need not be dismayed: it is the last passage from others I shall cite. Relevant quotations, I hold, are like stars in the

firmament of an author's statement, and are often the only bright parts in it. What Mr. Medill said was this: "The educational system of America—that practised by high schools and colleges—certainly does not train our youth in habits of useful industry. Its purpose is not to increase the effectiveness of labor, to make 'Two blades of grass grow where only one grew before.' It does not show a pupil how, by acquiring a manual art, he can double or treble the value of his labor. It does not teach art or science in a practical way. On the contrary, college instruction is conducted with the view of imparting dead languages, elegant literature, and higher mathematics to the students, which is all well enough for the boys of the wealthy leisure classes, but is not best suited to equip the future bread-winners for their work. These academies attract hundreds of thousands of our youth, whose purpose is to acquire the art of living by their wits and avoiding manual labor; and this, too, is the purpose of their parents in sending them there. These schools have flooded the professions with men destitute of natural capacity for them, and have swollen the ranks of office-seekers and speculators and professional sharps who subsist by pilfer and pillage. The American system of education has pretty nearly destroyed all desire on the part of our youths to learn trades and become artisans, and it has crowded the ranks of the middlemen with swarms of seekers after genteel employment at wretched wages. Multitudes of farmers' and mechanics' sons seek to be salesmen, clerks, bookkeepers, or agents; and, failing to find or retain those situations, they become 'sports,' billiard-players, bartenders, confidence-men,—anything, in short, but hand-soiling laborers. With the exception of a few special branches of industry, Americans have surrendered the mechanical field to foreigners; and, when more artisans are needed, they are imported like other commodities. Every institution of learning should teach art practically, every college should have a technical department. We need industrial schools in every city, where the youth can learn trades that will equip them for the struggles of life, and increase the productiveness and power of labor and elevate it in the eyes of the rising generation. They must be taught to respect rather than despise handicraft, and to hold in higher esteem the working bees than the drones in the human hive."

The modern folly of parents hurrying competition and foregoing all wise leisure themselves, in order to amass money that their children may do nothing, breeds contempt for labor. The remedy for this is industrial education, and especially of that sort which fits the young for the inevitable emigration which awaits them in over-populated countries.

If a mechanic wants to emigrate, he will be the better if he has a friend who can procure him a situation, or ascertain himself in what district persons of his trade are needed, otherwise he will do well to get what knowledge he can, which a settler on the land may need.

Tell farm laborers that they should leave the fields for Clerkenwell, to make watches, or go to Northampton to make ladies' boots, they would be discouraged exceedingly, and delay their going. But, to become farmers, they would go gladly. I have known watchmakers and shoemakers go out to farm work in foreign lands, for which they were no more fit than ploughmen are to make watches or wagoners to be tailors.

The Canadian Government Guide Book, as the reader is aware, has already conferred great advantage upon intending settlers. It commences by wise and candid sentences, explaining who are the fit and the unfit, and advising the unfit to stay where they are. As I stated (Jan. 21, 1883) in a letter to the *Times*: "The Canadian Guide Book is written by Mr. John Lowe, Chief Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, whose inexhaustible and exact knowledge of every species of information needed by emigrants I had means of judging by observation and report of those who knew more than myself. Before long, the remaining sheets will reach me. The luminousness of the narrative, the variety and newness of the information conveyed in the first sheet, will not less interest than surprise the reader. Few are aware that Canada is larger than the United States, and has resources of health, fertility, and riches inconceivable to those who know it only through artists who paint its snows and not its harvests and wondrous scenery."

"It is amazing that England should send out millions of her sons to 'fight the wilderness' in America and Canada, and never give attention to emigrant education at home. If Lord Derby should give heed to this neglected question, emigration would need no votes to promote it in the next generation."

We read in the history of ancient races that it was a practice to bury a faithful dog in the grave of its master, under the impression that, as a dog finds its way about better than a man, it would be useful in the next world as a guide to its owner. Every man who goes to bury himself in America or Canada would be the better for a dog guide book, to lead him safely about the new and pleasant world in which he will find himself.

Though I have admitted that there are things, both in Canada and America, that might be changed for the better, I do not conceal from myself that there are many things in England that require amendment,—political, moral, and social. Yet I am persuaded that great waves of improvement are sweeping over the world. Even within the period of my own life, changes for the better have been so much greater than I expected to see that this seems like a new world to me. The eternal transition which is the law of all things, great and small, inanimate and human, is the result of the unseen forces which, never resting, never hasting, advance the affairs of men. Every system which has fallen, every creed which has been superseded, has, in every age, filled good men with dismay, as that which they thought perfect has been forsaken for new ideals, and that upon which alone they were able to rely for security or consolation has glided silently away before them. The wail of alarm has been heard in every age in the rear of the march of progress. I have no transition terror. There is ever struggle and pain and conflict going forward; but there is greater peril in lingering in the darkness of decay, when experience and science and truth open new paths of life and light before us.

My story of the "Hundred Days among the Canadians and Americans in 1883," is ended. Like its predecessor, "Among the Americans in 1879," it has been written without any ambition other than that of usefulness. Both narratives might bear the one title of "Travels in Canada and America in search of a Settlers' Guide Book." Of some three hundred persons who have written to me for copies of the Guide Book since issued by the government of Canada, most have taken occasion to say that they have been interested in reading these chapters on their periodical appearance. Carlyle, in his earliest letter to Emerson, relates that "one Irishman in Cork wrote a letter to another in Edinburgh (Fraser read it to me without names) containing the friendliest possible recognitions of me. One mortal then says I am not utterly wrong. Blessings on him for it." Thus, I have more encouragement to issue this story in a separate form than fell to the author of *Taufelsdröckh*. Though I am a cosmopolitan and believe in universal principles, I do not believe in universal buyers, and therefore print only five hundred copies. As I shall probably give away one hundred copies, there will remain four hundred for sale. As there are one million and a half of co-operators, I calculate that each ten thousand, by co-operating together, may take one copy among them. That, if it comes so to pass, will carry off one hundred and fifty copies. Mr. Mullins, of Birmingham,—it being my native town,—may buy one for the free library, of which he is custodian. And Mr. W. E. A. Axon may do the same for the free library of Manchester. In Leicester, where I have a friend who is a bookstore keeper, another copy may be disposed of; and in Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, one may be got into the market in each of those places. In the American cities of New York, Springfield, Florence, Boston, and Washington, one copy each is sure to be sold; and not less in the Canadian cities of Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. Probably, the Pueblo Indians, who come into Santa Fé to sell wood, may take a copy; and one I feel sure will be bought in Calcutta. Since Mr. Nuttall has gone to Melbourne, I count upon one being sold in Australia. I am told I might put down two copies for the nine American and Canadian cities I have named, making twenty-seven copies in all. Thus, one hundred plus one hundred and fifty plus twenty-seven make the disposal of two hundred and seventy-seven almost certain. As neither the *Co-operative News* nor the *Boston Index* (which have issued these chapters) is

able to supply any complete sets of them, there will remain two hundred and twenty-eight copies for what are called the "general public"; namely, for those rash, curious, irresponsible, and venturesome readers happily to be found in the six nations named, who, being without fear or discretion, are the ultimate friends in whom an author puts his final trust for means of paying his printer's bill. Their day of reward comes when the second-hand bookseller's catalogue marks the book "very scarce" at four times its original price.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD:

My dear Sir,—My last letter to you was not intended for publication, but I am not sorry you printed it. If you publish this, I shall be glad.

To the anonymous "friend" who says he "was positively astonished" at my assertion as to Mr. Garrison's estimate of the Bible and his attitude toward Christianity, and who "hopes some one will run over the files of the *Liberator* in later years, where Garrison unquestionably, and in his usually perfectly distinct manner, boldly repudiated the Bible as authority," allow me to say that, if time and health permitted, I would gladly make the desired examination myself, reporting every word that Garrison uttered on the subject down to the day the paper was discontinued. I shall be glad if any one else will perform this task, being sure the result will only confirm what I have said.

Meanwhile, perhaps I shall oblige your "astonished" friend as well as some others, and do something to settle the question at issue, if I furnish you with an utterance of Mr. Garrison's, made in December, 1863, at the third decade meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society. This, you will observe, was just before the final end of the anti-slavery conflict, when his views had attained their most radical shape. The passage I shall quote presents both sides of the shield, the positive as well as the negative, and was very deliberately uttered:—

Allow me to take this opportunity to say that there is one interpolation in the Declaration of Sentiments which I did not like at the time, and which I have never liked since. An esteemed friend in the Convention thought it would take off the edge a little of one of the allegations, if we would verify it by a reference to Scripture. As originally written, it stood thus: "That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property is a man-stealer." But this was amended so as to read: "That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property is (according to Scripture, Exodus xxi., 16) a man-stealer." That weakens instead of strengthening it. It raises a Biblical question. It makes the rights of man depend upon a text. Now, it matters not what the Bible may say, so far as these rights are concerned. They never originated in any parchment, are not dependent upon any parchment, but are in the nature of man himself, written upon the human faculties and powers by the finger of God. It matters not, though all the books in the universe, claiming to be never so sacred and holy should declare that man has not a natural and inalienable right to himself. Those books would only deserve to be given to the consuming fire. [Applause.] We do not base this cause upon any book. We base it upon man, upon God in man; and it will stand invulnerable, whether we can prove it or not by mere texts of Scripture, that a man has a right to his own body and his own soul. I believe that, if the Bible denounces any one sin more than another, it denounces the sin of oppression; if it represents God as being particularly incensed in his moral nature, it is in view of the treatment of the poor and the needy and the outcast. "Wash you; make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; undo the heavy burden; break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

I have never refrained from making use of the Bible as a mighty weapon to batter down slavery; but not to settle the question of the right or wrong of slavery by the Bible or any other book. Slavery is a self-evident wrong.

If the *Christian Union* had said simply that Mr. Garrison repudiated the doctrine of plenary or infallible inspiration as neither contained in the Bible itself nor sanctioned by common sense, I should not have contradicted it. What it did say was that he and his associates "abandoned the Bible and set themselves at work to abolish Christianity with one hand and slavery with the other." This was a libel, calling for contradiction; and I set my heel upon it

accordingly, quoting Garrison's own words as a sufficient refutation.

The passage above quoted is in perfect harmony with those I have cited heretofore. And, in truth, Mr. Garrison's use of the Bible as a weapon against slavery was just as persistent after he gave up the doctrine of plenary inspiration as it was before. At every anniversary of the American Anti-slavery Society after he became President until the day of his retirement, he never failed to open the book and read from it passages that made the ears of oppressors tingle, while his speeches bristled with quotations from it of the same kind. As he himself says above, he "never refrained from making use of the Bible as a mighty weapon to batter down slavery"; and this is all that I have asserted or claimed. I have again and again heard him say that the doctrine of plenary inspiration, instead of augmenting the power of the Bible for good, was a dead weight upon it; and that, when that doctrine should be universally repudiated, the moral influence of the book would be vastly increased.

NEW YORK, Aug. 23, 1884.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

EGOISM UNSATISFACTORY.

Editors of *The Index*:—

I always hail with pleasure any effort to unravel the mystery of the universe, and especially anything that promises to throw any light on the origin and destiny of humanity. For that reason, I was particularly interested in an article which appeared in *The Index* of July 24 on the "Permanence and Simplicity of the Ego," by William I. Gill.

Mr. Gill as a philosopher is both analytical and synthetic, both destructive and constructive. After disposing in a summary manner of Epicurus, Lucretius, Leibnitz, Hegel, Schelling, Kant, and Hamilton, he pays his addresses to Maudsley, Tyndall, Spencer, etc., and informs us that modern evolution has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; that it is, in fact, but "a low-born theory," and does not meet the requirements of the case; that requirement is immortality, and no system of philosophy can pass muster that does not include immortality for the ego. That is a *sine qua non* upon which Mr. Gill insists, and without which he will not be satisfied.

I confess that I sympathize with the gentleman in his "longing after immortality"; but, with me, the idea is only entertained "subject to the action of nature's convention."

As I hold it, it is no Procrustean bed, to which all philosophies and even science itself must be made to conform. We are much obliged to Mr. Gill for pointing out the weak points in other systems, but did it never occur to him that his own pet monism might have some "logical difficulties"? He says, "I am the universe, which is only a congeries of my subjective states." That is certainly simple enough and comprehensive enough for any purpose. The ego, the all in all, that resolves the non-ego into nonentity, the "objective" into the "subjective," and leaves no room for matter in the universe except as a mode of the ego, "the only conceivable substance of the universe, the one great force everywhere and always working." So, then, matter and force are one: that one is the ego, and the ego is Mr. Gill. That seems to be the inevitable inference from his language. That I do not misrepresent him is plain. "Thoughts and volitions are no more real than matter and motion, which in the last analysis are subjective states. Rocks, clouds, and stars are equally sensations." "I am the universe." I would like to ask Mr. Gill a few questions. If you are the universe, then you must be infinite; and, if so, where is there any room for the rest of us? Billions of individuals have lived and died on this planet alone, each an ego in the ordinary acceptance of the term. How can the ego be a unit and at the same time multiplex? Are you not involved in the same difficulty with the Trinitarians? If your existence did not begin with your birth, then you may be immortal; and the same may be true of all other beings. But, if so, it is certainly curious that no remembrance of any former state of existence adheres in us. If identity is continuous,—and without that there can be no immortality,—how is it that memory as to our antecedents is a perfect blank? You say, "Without a perduring permanent, there is no possible change, but only successive annihilations and creations." True enough. Matter is that "per-

during permanent," and it presents itself to our consciousness in an infinite variety of forms. Matter itself is indestructible, but its individual forms are

"Like the snow-fall in the river,—
A moment white, then melts forever";

or "inseparably connected with matter, and moving in the same never-ending cycle, is immanent force."

While force itself is indestructible, it presents itself to our consciousness in an infinite variety of modes, these modes eternally changing and evolving,—becoming individualized,—but none of them permanent. Force is only known to us as it manifests itself through matter. This is the dictum of science, which Mr. Gill thinks "has no right to speak on the question at all."

I recognize the claims of the spiritual philosophy upon our attention, and acknowledge our inability to explain scientifically all its phenomena; but, if I must "choose this day" my guides to truth, I will accept chemistry, evolution, the conservation of energy, and spectrum analysis in preference to an egoistic Fichtean philosophy, which is, to say the best of it, an unverified and unverifiable hypothesis.

HARRY HOOVER.

PITTSBURGH, PA., Aug. 3, 1884.

SUNDAY PIETY IN LONDON.

Editors of *The Index*:—

In the "Editorial Notes" of this week's *Index*, I note an extract from the *Boston Transcript*, containing one of those senseless untruths about London, to the effect that "London is still too good to allow restaurants to be open on Sunday," which appear to be published for the mere purpose of gratifying that hatred of my countrymen which seems to be the strongest feeling in a certain class of Americans.

The simple fact is that many restaurants are closed in London, because it would not pay to keep them open on Sundays; and, surely, the waiters are entitled to one day's holiday in the week. I know from personal experience, extending over thirty-one years, that it is easy to obtain a good and well-cooked meal at all hours of the day on Sundays, and that the only restaurants which are closed by law on Sundays are those which, having a license to sell liquors, are obliged to close during the hours of religious service. I have often dined at such houses on Sundays between 1 and 3 and after 6 P.M.

I have had occasion to note how such erroneous statements arise, and am therefore very careful, in writing to England on American affairs, to avoid anything derogatory to America, because I know it will do no good; and, as *The Index* is the standard bearer of principles which I would gladly see promulgated on both sides of the Atlantic, any error therein touches me more than it would do in most papers.

Yours truly,

JOHN FRETWELL.

PROVIDENCE, R.I., August 21.

IRRELEVANT REFUTATIONS.

Editors of *The Index*:—

The respectful and able critic of my article on the "Simplicity of the Ego" has erroneously described my doctrine, and then thoroughly refuted the falsity. That leaves me really intact; but, as others may think with him that it is my death, I will give a sign to the contrary.

Mr. Smith assumes that the simple being or entity of which I speak in said article is the same as the German "pure being," which is described as devoid of internal differences and qualitative marks, so that it is *nil* to conception and equal to nothing, whence Hegel drew the absurd conclusion that being and nothing are one and the same, and on this absurdity built a huge and monstrous fabric called philosophy. This "pure being" I repudiate as an empty phrase. My simple being, as all being must be, is qualitative. In previous articles of this series, I have explained (as well as in my "Evolution and Progress" and in my "Analytical Principles") that substance, quality, and force are one, so that no being can be devoid of quality, or be "pure being," so called. Hence, my monism is so far just like that which Mr. Smith affirms against Dr. Davidson, when he says that "all the facts and operations of nature tend to prove that the world is the product or expression of a single principle, or *substance*."

But the simplicity of which I have spoken is very complex, as I have explained. However simple,

everything is necessarily complex. Its simplicity consists in a logically disruptible unity of forces. Nitrogen, for instance, is called a simple force or substance; and from this, it has been hinted, the kosmos may have been evolved. But this simple substance is very complex. It is a congeries of qualities, such as extension, weight, expansion, contraction, and power of motion, with affinities and diffinities for various other bodies. Infinitely more complex is the simple *ego* which I have defined. It is a unitary complexus of force, which admits neither of diminution nor increase nor disruption, though in its modes it is multiplex and forever changing, because forever acting on itself.

But I do not hold that "all things spring from" this entity or *ego*, but that it comprises all things, because all these are the modes or states and forms in which it exists and operates. These things are not something different from it (the *ego*); and they spring from it only as thought springs from mind or waves from water, the waves being water and thought being mind. The *ego* is the cosmic force, which is ever the same in its essential nature and degree, but forever changing its modes by a law of self-evolution. It is thus seen that I differ, as before explained, from other evolutionists only in that they make the cosmic force *non-ego*, and I make it *ego*. I am a subjective evolutionist, and they are objective evolutionists, to which class, I suppose, belongs my critic.

WILLIAM ICRIN GILL.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Editors of The Index:—

My own opinion is that, when Mr. Garrison laid himself down in Humanity's lap to rest, he had no "faith" in the Bible as a supernal "revelation," none whatever. I knew him as a brother. I read each number of the *Liberator*, from the first one in 1830 to the last one. And we always pulled together, and on all the aspects of theology. He assured me, when he began the publication of his paper, that he had felt friendly toward the Hicksite or "progressive" Quakers; but he was not a Christian. I was at his funeral, and do not remember that Wendell Phillips uttered a word as to any "faith" Mr. Garrison had in mysticism.

Moreover, we might, to serve a purpose, quote extracts from the early writings of any number of Liberals, now dead, to show that, in their early manhood, they took favorable views of the Bible. Horace Seaver, Elizur Wright, and numerous other Liberals were once believers in the Bible. When I was thirty-four years of age, the American Anti-slavery Society published a volume I wrote, with the following title, *The Testimony of God against Slavery*; and, in seven years after,—that is, in 1836,—I discovered that there was more in that book in favor of slavery than there was against it. Whereupon, my Methodist coat fell from my shoulders at once and forever.

Faith in the Bible is often imposed upon children by Christian parents. And yet what we may have believed when green in youth should not be quoted against us after we have been matured in manhood. My opinion is that Mr. Garrison, at the close of his life, had a hope of a better future; but he was not a Christian nor a believer in the supernatural inspiration of the Bible.

QUINCY, MASS., August 24.

LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

A GOOD book, whether a novel or not, is one that leaves you farther on than when you took it up. If, when you drop it, it drops you down in the same old spot, with no finer outlook, no cleared vision, no stimulated desires for that which is better and higher, it is in no sense a good book.—*Anna Warner*.

My dear Mr. Gimp, when you tell me that you have a mysterious revelation that a mysterious power will punish me and cast me out from happiness because I make myself glad on a certain day of the week, you are talking nonsense! You are telling me something that might do for the Middle Ages, but that will not do at all now. I do not believe your story. You never have been able to substantiate it, even from your own records. And, even if you brought me a stack of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts as high as the tower of Babel, I should not believe it. I should tell you that you were flying in

the face of a greater revelation than was ever written in books,—the revelation of the changing seasons, of the winds, of the waves, of the green things of the earth, and of the life of the earth and air and sea,—the eternal revelation of wise and kind Nature. The maker of all these things never made laws that stultified and outraged his own creation.—*Puck*.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE DEVELOPMENT THEORY. A Brief Statement for General Readers. By Joseph T. Bergen, Jr., and Fanny D. Bergen. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. pp. 240.

The doctrine of evolution has now become so well established among scientific thinkers, exerts so powerful an influence on the general thought of the day, and is destined to become so far-reaching in its results in modifying systems, theories, and methods, that no person who has an intelligent interest in his race and age can willingly remain ignorant of this great scientific generalization. But the majority of readers have neither the time nor the acquaintance with science to read and understand readily the works of the great original thinkers and expounders in this province of thought. They need works containing outlines of the theory, presented briefly, clearly, comprehensively, free from technicalities, and with numerous, simple, concrete illustrations. Such a work is the one whose title is given above. The preface says: "By reason of their very fulness and wealth of illustration, as well as from the necessarily frequent use of technical terms, the classic works of Darwin and the other great founders of the modern view of the origin of species fail to command the attention of the non-scientific reader. The lack of simple and inexpensive illustrated books, which place the outline of the evolution hypothesis clearly before the general reader, has aided in continuing popular ignorance concerning the theory. To assist in supplying this want as well as to furnish to those who require it an elementary text-book on the subject is the task which the authors of the present little volume have set for themselves." The authors have performed their task in a very creditable manner. Their statement of organic evolution, with proofs, arguments, and illustrations in support and exposition of it, is one that any reader of ordinary intelligence can understand. The work evinces acquaintance with the best writers on the subject, and much discrimination and skill in presenting essential and omitting unessential parts of the theory, in the selections of examples and illustrations, and in the general arrangement of material. The demand for works of this sort is one of the very encouraging signs of the times; for it shows a desire for something more than a mere exposure of fancies and fallacies that originated in the intellectual childhood of the race, a desire for ascertainable information respecting the natural history of life on this planet,—information which, once acquired, with its implications understood, will forever destroy all special creation hypotheses, and render unnecessary and a waste of time and effort all arguments against the "mistakes of Moses."

B. F. U.

THE WIND AND THE WHIRLWIND. By Wilfred Scawen Blunt. Boston: Benjamin R. Tucker, publisher. Paper covers. Price 25 cents.

This poem of thirty pages has neither preface nor note explanatory of its author's whereabouts or nativity or the why and wherefore of the poem. It appears to be a somewhat morbid arraignment of the government of England for its action in regard to Egyptian affairs and its culpability in the matter of the War in the Soudan. In spite of the tragic and prophetically dismal tone of the poem, the verse is smooth and flowing, and the thought often vigorous and not lacking in poetic merit. But it is not to be one of the great poems of the day; nor will it materially hasten on that dissolution of the English nation which it so fiercely prophesies in verses like the following:—

"The nations of the East have left their childhood.
Thou art grown old. Their manhood is to come;
And they shall carry on earth's high tradition
Through the long ages when thy lips are dumb."

We give a further specimen verse or two:—

"Nay, here, by heaven,
This task at least a poet best may do,—
To stand alone against the mighty many,
To force a hearing for the weak and few."

"And who shall say that this year's cause of freedom
Lost on the Nile has not as worthy proved
Of poets' hymning as the cause which Milton
Sang in his blindness, or which Dante loved?"

S. A. U.

THE leading article of the September number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is "Scientific Culture: Its Spirit, its Aim, and its Methods," by Prof. J. P. Cooke, who, taking his illustrations from chemistry, aims to show that scientific study may be most valuable in training the mind in inductive reasoning. The portrait of the number gives the features of Prof. Lesley, chief geologist of Pennsylvania, of whom a biographical sketch is also given. "The Upper Missouri River System," by Lester F. Ward, describes the action of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in continually cutting away one side of their valleys and building up the other. "Where and How we Remember" is by M. Allen Starr, M.D. "The Astronomy of Primitive Peoples" and "Chinese Coroners' Inquests" are interesting. In "National Health and Work," Sir James Paget presents an additional reason for sanitary activity. The "Chemistry of Cookery" and "Morality of Happiness" are continued; and other articles are: "Aims of the Study of Anthropology," "Sorghum as a Source of Sugar," "Hygiene for Smokers," "How the Dodder became a Parasite," "Sun-Kinks," "The Problem of Population," and "Protection against Lightning." The editor writes on the coming meetings of the British and American associations, and discusses "The College Fetish Once More."

THE leading article in the *North American Review* for September is by Bishop J. Lancaster Spalding, who insists that the only sure "Basis of Popular Government" is morality, not culture of the intellect, nor universal suffrage, nor the development of material resources. The policy of "The Exclusion of the Chinese" is advocated by John H. Durst, who presents a striking array of arguments against Mongolian emigration. Four distinguished writers on political economy—namely, David A. Wells, Thomas G. Shearman, J. B. Sargent, and Prof. W. G. Sumner—set forth, from nearly every conceivable point of view, the "Evils of the Tariff System"; and it is announced that in the *Review* for October several writers of no less distinction will exhibit the "Benefits of the Tariff System." The other articles in the current number are: "The Demand of the Industrial Spirit," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Inspiration and Infallibility," by Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance; "The Need of Liberal Divorce Laws," by Elizabeth Cady Stanton; and "Our Remote Ancestry," by Prof. Alexander Winchell.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A CHINESE translation of Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Education* has just reached England. The book has been translated into every living language of Europe, into Japanese and Chinese, and, it is believed, into several of the vernacular languages of India.

COMMENTING upon the aggressive spirit with which the Salvation Army seems to fill the public wherever its soldiers appear, the *New York Tribune* remarks that this antipathy "is to be regretted, because it is perhaps the only influence which can keep the Salvation Army as a movement alive. Nothing that is persecuted perishes during the persecution. That is the rule as regards all organizations; and therefore this craze, which is vulgar, profane, sensational, unintellectual, and utterly delusive as to its spiritual consequences, may be kept from dying, and given a foothold at last, through the stupidity of those who cannot restrain their inclination to make targets of the hallelujah lads and lassies."

THREE Milwaukee lawyers having charged \$25,000 for settling an estate worth \$32,000, Judge Drummond, of the Federal Court, expressed himself in regard to this "piece of rapine" as follows: "How much more are your services worth to your clients than mine to the people? You have charged \$25,000 for sixty days' service. Could you not be content, each of you, to take my *pro rata* for the same time? These charges are infamous. They are such as scoundrels and thieves at heart would make. This charge of \$15,000 is cut down to \$1,500, those of \$5,000 each to \$500. Repeat such a piece of rapine in this court, and I will debar every one of you."

THE *Ottawa Free Press* says that a large number of free thinkers from all parts of Ontario assembled recently at Alton, Ont., "to celebrate laying the corner-stone of a free-thought hall, for the meeting of local free thinkers." As this is the first hall of the kind ever built in Canada, the

affair attracted much attention. The same paper states: "By an early steamer, Charles Watts, formerly an associate of Charles Bradlaugh, having disposed of all interest in his English publications, arrives in Canada to reside permanently at Toronto, where a weekly organ is to be started and a magnificent lecture hall erected. A guarantee fund has been subscribed to keep Mr. Watts steadily employed lecturing throughout Canada."

"THE abolition of public or official prayer," says the *Nation*, "by the French Legislature has led to much very heated discussion. Its authors maintain that it means simply that the State has no religion and has nothing to do with religion. But some of the bishops declare that it is a formal repudiation of God or a denial of his existence by the State. M. Paul de Cassagnac, who says he is a pious man, sides with the unbelievers or 'laicizers,' as they prefer to be called, but for a reason peculiar to himself; namely, that he does not pray for the Republic, lest his prayers should be answered, and a form of government which he hates should profit by them. This is probably the oddest expression of belief in the efficacy of prayer yet produced."

FROM a paragraph in the *Banner of Light*, we take the following: "Prof. Tyndall has been quoted as saying to a London thief, 'You must not steal; not because it is immoral to steal, but because society, the State, cannot stand, cannot endure, unless there is an observance and enforcement of the laws of common honesty.' The obvious error lies in the fact that, without certain fixed moral purposes, neither society nor the State could endure. The laws of common honesty of which Prof. Tyndall speaks are but the laws of common morality." Our contemporary's criticism of what "Prof. Tyndall has been quoted as saying to a London thief" is sound; but the most "obvious error" is in assuming that Tyndall ever spoke to a thief as represented.

THE committee appointed by the French government, at the request of M. Pasteur, to verify his experiments in treating hydrophobia by inoculation, have reported that inoculation with the attenuated virus of hydrophobia gives a dog immunity from the disease, just as similar treatment preserves a sheep from charbon. All the twenty-three dogs submitted by M. Pasteur as having been thus inoculated have resisted the strongest virus on inoculation, whereas the majority of the nineteen non-inoculated dogs have succumbed. Of the latter, six were bitten by mad dogs, three of them becoming mad; eight were subjected to intravenous inoculation, all becoming mad; and five to inoculation by trepanning, all becoming mad. The committee will now inoculate a large number of fresh dogs, and will compare these with an equal number of dogs not inoculated. It will likewise investigate the question whether, after a dog has been bitten, inoculation with the attenuated virus will prevent any consequences from the bite. M. Pasteur will lay before the International Health Congress at Copenhagen results which, as

the committee remark, "are so honorable for French science, and give it a fresh claim on the gratitude of mankind."

THE difference of views as to the merits of existing political parties and their Presidential candidates seems to be as great among Liberals as among other people. Truly liberal are they only who recognize and respect the right of members of all parties and of no party to express and defend their views on the political issues of the hour as well as on subjects of a religious and speculative nature. To the moral aspects of our Presidential contest, none of our readers can be indifferent; and, since their discussion is within the province and germane to the object of *The Index*, the editors of the paper would neither be true to their liberal professions nor faithful to their trust, did they exclude such discussion from these columns. But, since the subject is one on which there is a variety of opinions, it is not unlikely that those who cannot agree with Mr. Potter in his view of the situation presented this week will, before the discussion is ended, find their own positions stated in these columns with a clearness and force which will gratify them quite as much as they may now be annoyed by strictures on their parties and candidates. As Liberals, we should all divest ourselves of an unreasoning, bigoted, partisan spirit, and, agreeing to differ where we cannot agree, frankly discuss our positions, dominated by love of truth and a generous spirit toward those from whose opinions we are obliged to dissent.

IN a letter to the Committee of South Place Religious Society, Moncure D. Conway writes: "My wife and I have both and equally endeavored to prolong our stay in England for the sake of our work in South Place, but have now made up our minds that we cannot remain in Europe longer than next year, if so long. If you should desire me to speak again at South Place in the early part of next year, and I am able to do so, my present resignation will not prevent it. Meanwhile, after August, the society will again have the opportunity of listening to my colleague, to whom I have been looking, and still look, to commend himself to you as one able to carry on the work which I must leave. It is unnecessary that I should say more concerning the reasons that have impelled me to this decision than that they are of a purely private and domestic character, and include no dissatisfaction with South Place or with the country in which I have so long and happily resided. My residence in England was never pleasanter; and my relations with South Place, so far as I know, were never happier than at present. The giving up of South Place will mean for me giving up the ministry altogether. I have no intention of ever again taking charge of a congregation. It seems a kind of death to leave the work to which twenty-one years, representing the heart of one's life, have been devoted; and, as the time of my departure draws near, I trust it may be attended with kindly sentiments, and that I may have the consolation of passing away amid peace and friendship."

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MORALITY:

A Question of the Presidential Campaign.

Probably in no former Presidential contest in this country have so large a proportion of intelligent and conscientious voters been perplexed with the question how to vote as in the pending political campaign. Party ties have been weakening now for a number of years, in spite of the annual or quadrennial plying of the party whip. Between the statements of principles of the two leading parties, one of whom, most probably, will win, there is not sufficient difference to prevent a very considerable number of voters from passing easily from one side to the other; and neither of these parties presents now in its platform a central moral principle of predominant authority. As between these two great parties, consequently, the contest turns almost wholly on the personal character and competency of the candidates whom they have respectively nominated for the Presidential office. And, unfortunately, it happens that both parties have nominated candidates of such questionable moral character that the conscientious voter, feeling very sure that one of them must be President, is put to great stress to decide to which he shall give his aid.

Into the question of the serious charges which have been made against the characters of Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, we do not propose here to enter farther than this: Mr. Blaine is accused of official immorality, or of using his high office as speaker of the national House of Representatives for purposes of private gain; and on this charge his own letters offer the most damning evidence of their truthfulness,—evidence which no partisan explanations have succeeded in so washing away that the letters shall seem to the eyes of the voter of ordinary intelligence merely to refer to a clean business transaction. We chanced to hear their author's own memorable defence of these letters in the House of Representatives at Washington. As a piece of skilful and passionate oratory, the defence was a masterly success. The chairman of the investigating committee seemed to cower and sink into his seat under the blows of the speaker's invective, and the galleries vociferously applauded. But the more sober-minded among the throng of auditors, as they came out, said to each other, "After all, he has not answered the charges: he has only thrown dust over them." And it is in this way that the non-partisan, clear-headed voter views all present campaign attempts at excusing these letters. Mr. Cleveland is accused of private immorality, or of once living in illegitimate connection with a woman not his wife. The grossly exaggerated charge of general and notorious profligacy, at first published, has been sifted down to this admitted and perfectly authenticated fact. We may here say that, when this original charge was published, we were on a distant excursion, and did not see it, nor have we ever seen it. We only saw brief and veiled references to it, and were disposed to dismiss it as wholly and only a vile campaign slander. It was not until we saw the detailed account of the facts of the case, as given in the *Nation* of August 7, which were further authenticated by Dr. Twining's subsequent statement in the *Independent*, after a thorough investigation, and by the statement issued by prominent citizens of Buffalo, that we formed any conclusion as to the bearing of the charge on the moral duty of the voter; that is, we came to our conclusion in the case on statements intended to be a defence of Mr. Cleveland against the original charges, and which did disprove the grosser part of those charges. In other words, we have formed our

own conclusion as to the moral issue involved in the problem presented to the voter in the pending campaign on the so-called Mulligan letters written by Mr. Blaine, and impeaching his official integrity, on the one hand, and the one admitted fact of private immorality in the character of Mr. Cleveland, on the other hand.

And what is that conclusion? It is, in brief, that neither of these leading candidates is worthy to be placed in the office for which he has been nominated. And though, in the natural course of events, it is altogether probable that one of them will be placed there, we have ourselves too much respect for the Presidential office personally to help, by vote or voice, in elevating either of these men to the high position. Our motto is not, "Of two evils, choose the least," but "Of two evils, choose neither." Nor does the citizen who takes this ground throw away all his influence and make himself a political nonentity. Possibly, his vote may not be anywhere effectively counted this year. But his position will be marked, and his influence may tell on party nominations in the future. Indeed, if all those voters and political leaders who, irrespective of partisan considerations, have at any time, months ago or this present hour, openly or tacitly confessed themselves dissatisfied for moral reasons with these nominations, were now to withdraw their support from them and unite on a new ticket free from such reproach, they might have it in their power even now to prevent the election of either of the objectionable candidates. The weakness of the moral element in politics is that it too easily submits to party discipline, and thus loses its own opportunities. It, at least, behooves the party of the Independents, who started their separate organization on the avowed ground of a more strenuous application of moral principles to political action, now to reconsider their position, declare their distinctive platform, and name their separate candidates. That which seemed to us from the first their better course becomes now their urgent duty for the sake of simple consistency and self-respect. It were a pitiful conclusion to a moral-reform movement in politics that its first effort should aid in placing in the White House a man in whose private career there is an admitted immorality of a kind which cannot be discussed in the family circle.

We are well aware of the reasons on which it is claimed that the candidacy of Mr. Cleveland may still be supported in spite of the moral defect in his private life; that, for instance, private immorality, particularly of the kind of which Mr. Cleveland is admitted to have been guilty, may co-exist with the strictest official integrity and with great public usefulness, and should not therefore debar from public office; that the offence belongs to his past career, and should now be overlooked and forgiven on account of his upright public service; that, just now especially, there is much more danger in America from the kind of immorality of which Mr. Blaine is guilty than that with which Mr. Cleveland is burdened, and hence more evil would result from the example of elevating the former to the Presidency than the latter; that, if none but men of perfectly immaculate virtue were to be elected to public office, the offices would have to go vacant; and that even the moral test by which it is proposed to exclude Mr. Cleveland from the Presidency, were it impartially applied, would leave few public men untouched either in past or modern times. We have read all these arguments, some of them *ad nauseam*; and they all appear to us cases of patent and mischievous special pleading. Had the blot on the personal character of Mr. Cleveland been publicly known before the time of the convention which nominated him, we

do not believe that one of these reasons would have been urged in favor of his nomination, notwithstanding the exposure. They are the after-resorts of expediency, and some of them very desperate ones, to shore up a bad cause.

It is true that there was a lower acknowledged standard of private character for public men a century ago than exists to-day, and there is a lower standard in some countries to-day than in the United States. The improvement that has been wrought in this respect, and particularly the increased demand that those who stand in high official positions shall not be violators of the sacred obligations and rights of the institution of the family, are among the most important marks of moral progress. Let there be no retrograde in this feature of social ethics; no resuscitation of the lower obsolescent standard of virtue by knowingly placing in the highest office in the land—an office equal in dignity to that of any sovereign in the world—a man whose reputation is stained with this offence against chastity. Surely there is no such dearth of able and pure men in our country that such a choice has become a necessity. We do not believe that men of good private morals are so rare in the public service as some of the defenders of Mr. Cleveland's candidacy would have us think. But, if they are so few as is alleged, then it is all the more important, with a view of reforming this state of things, that the highest office in the country should be reserved for one whose character in this particular is without a spot. It is not, of course, to be expected that an absolutely perfect character will be found every four years for President; but social morality has at least advanced far enough to demand that no one shall be made the administrative head of the nation (and head, by consequence, of the most conspicuous home in the land), who would not be freely admitted as a moral equal in the most virtuous circles of American society. As to Mr. Cleveland's offence being a thing of the past, to be condoned, it is, unfortunately, not so far in the past—only ten years—but that the question will necessarily arise in the mind of the non-partisan voter whether it must not be regarded as marking a habitude of the man rather than as a youthful ebullition of passion which has been outlived and put away. Nor is it so certain that the faults of Mr. Blaine, though they undoubtedly represent a grave moral peril to which the young men of our country are peculiarly exposed at this time, that of making haste to be rich at whatever cost to honor or integrity, need to be more vigilantly guarded against than does the kind of moral frailty of which Mr. Cleveland has been guilty. There is just now a tendency to loose views in respect to the marriage institution and the relation of the sexes; and it can but increase this tendency and set a most harmful lesson to the more than one and a half millions of young men who will vote this year for the first time, to appeal to them to elevate to the greatest office in the gift of the people a man who has been guilty of practical laxity on this central point of social morality. Both the leading candidates for the Presidency represent dangerous evils that beset our country at the present time: therefore, we repeat, choose neither.

We have spoken plainly, as we did a few weeks ago concerning the platforms of the two parties. Doubtless, we have expressed opinions with which many of our readers will not be pleased. We write, however, not to please, but to utter what seems to us important truth; and, as most of the readers of *The Index* are Liberals, we give them credit for wishing us to utter our own opinions instead of echoing theirs. This article we have

felt specially impelled to write as a needed sequel to the former one. We believe, moreover, while we have no intention of turning *The Index* into a political paper, that thoughtful discussions of political issues from a moral point of view are always in place in its columns. It is in this way that we have approached the subject here treated. We, at least, have no interest nor faith in any Liberalism or Free Religion which does not involve—nay, necessitate—the earnest consideration of all questions of political and social morality. And we would remind our readers that in the standing prospectus of *The Index* one of the special objects of its publication, as of the Free Religious Association, is represented to be the promotion of “a higher Morality and an improved Social Welfare.” It is with this object that we have here spoken. In a subsequent paper, we expect to consider the Temperance issue in politics and the Prohibition party.

WM. J. POTTER.

“PRECISELY THE DOCTRINE HELD AND
TAUGHT BY MR. SPENCER.”

In *The Index* for August 14, Mr. B. F. Underwood calls attention to a recent remark of mine with reference to the precise doctrine held and taught by Mr. Spencer as to the nature of the Infinite Power manifested in the universe; and he cites from my *Cosmic Philosophy* several passages which seem inconsistent with that remark.

The remark in question was as follows: “In my opinion, the infinite and eternal Power which is manifested in every event of the universe is not material, but psychical in its nature, and it wells up in us in the form of consciousness, which is thus a divine effluence, and not the product of an ephemeral collocation of particles of matter. Now, this is precisely the doctrine held and taught by Mr. Spencer.”

In the August number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, p. 453, Mr. Spencer makes a remark of similar purport: “The final outcome of that speculation commenced by the primitive man is that the Power manifested throughout the universe distinguished as material is the same power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness; and the ‘necessity we are under, to think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy, gives rather a spiritualistic than a materialistic aspect to the universe’; at the same time, the ‘phenomenal manifestations of this ultimate energy can in no wise show us what it is.’”

I do not happen to have any of Mr. Spencer's works at hand; but this remark of his, juxtaposed with mine, will serve to explain what I meant to say. Mr. Underwood suggests that the letter in which my remark occurs may have been carelessly written. It was hurriedly written, and I freely admit that in one important particular the form of expression might have been more accurate. I ought to have said: “We are obliged to think of the infinite and eternal Power which is manifested in every event of the universe as psychical rather than material in its nature, and as welling up in us in the form of consciousness, which thus appears as a divine effluence,” etc.

As thus modified, my remark becomes substantially identical with Mr. Spencer's. The necessity we are under, to think of the universal energy as psychical rather than as material, is set forth in his *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i., pp. 159-161,—a wonderful passage,* which I have cited in *Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. ii., pp. 446-448, accompanying it with the following comment: “The unconditioned Source of the phenomena which we

*The passage referred to may be found on page 118.—ED.

distinguish as psychical, and of the phenomena which we distinguish as material, may well be neither quasi-psychical nor quasi-material. Whichever set of terms we use, we are using symbols the values of which are determined by our experiences of conditioned existence, and which must therefore be totally inadequate to express the characteristics of unconditioned existence. Nevertheless, in so far as the exigencies of finite thinking require us to symbolize the Infinite Power manifested in the world of phenomena, we are clearly bound to symbolize it as quasi-psychical rather than as quasi-material.”

See also my remarks on Clifford's theory of a universe of mind-stuff in *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, pp. 327-336.

With regard to the passages cited by Mr. Underwood from *Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. ii., pp. 395, 402, 410, 450, they were all directed against the teleological doctrines of Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises, according to which the universe was manufactured by a God external to it, who “contrived” things,—i.e., had a limited quasi-human intelligence.

Now, I believe it is possible consistently to hold these three positions:—

1. The Universal Energy is in its intimate nature inscrutable.
2. We have no good reason for believing that it contrives, or is angry, or otherwise thinks and feels, after the fashion of the human mind.
3. But the conditions of human thought are such that we must either refrain from thinking of the Universal Energy at all, or think of it as in some inscrutable way psychical.

I held these positions ten years ago, when the *Cosmic Philosophy* was published, and hold them now, and hope some day to elucidate them in an essay entitled “A Defence of Theism.”

From the passage above cited from Mr. Spencer, from other passages not here accessible to me, and from the side-light thrown upon his works by innumerable conversations during a friendship of many years, I believe there is substantial agreement on this point between Mr. Spencer and myself.

JOHN FISKE.

PETERSHAM, MASS., Aug. 24, 1884.

STONES FOR BREAD.

It would seem to be the plainest duty of every man laying claim to honesty to express his opinions truly, and in the clearest way he can, every time he feels called upon to utter them at all. This would seem to be especially true, when the opinions relate to the most momentous of subjects, and when the person uttering them is a professional and accepted teacher. It is hardly possible to conceive circumstances in which it is more incumbent upon a man to utter the truth, as he believes it, than when, standing before a congregation who have chosen him as their teacher in morals and religion, he speaks to them on these subjects. Here, where political dishonesty, commercial dishonesty, and every other kind of dishonesty are, and ought to be, exposed and branded, we have a right to look for entire honesty and exemplary uprightness, implicit as well as explicit. The accepted moral and religious teacher is the salt of the earth; and, if the salt has lost its savor, we may well ask, How shall it be salted, and how shall the moral and religious world be held back from corruption? Thus, we have a right to demand of the religious teacher that he shall use every word in the sense which it bears in the current language of those to whom he is speaking, or, if he feel compelled to employ any word or form of words in a new or unwonted sense, to make his meaning as clear as possible. Moreover,

if, after due consideration, he finds himself compelled to change any of his views, we have a right to demand of him that he shall speak out his new convictions, and do his best to justify them for the good of his hearers and for the cause of honesty. In moral teaching there ought to be no play-acting, no reciting or declamation of a part committed to memory, but a simple, straightforward uttering of heart-felt convictions. This is the only thing that will ever raise preaching above the teaching of the scribes and Pharisees, and lend it authority and power to stir the hearts of men to purity and action.

But how do matters stand with the moral and religious teachers of our day? Do they speak out their inmost convictions with absolute truth and simplicity? It is sad that we must answer, For the most part, no. In no reputable profession in the world perhaps, not even in politics or commerce, is there so much dishonesty as among the very men whose professional duty it is to inculcate honesty and stigmatize dishonesty. There is more disingenuousness, more equivocation, more sanctimonious paltering with a double sense among the clergy of our time than there is among men of any other profession.

In the first place, their entire creed is, for the most part, dishonestly held. Few of them have examined their creed with sufficient care to have earned the right to hold and preach it. They have learned it by rote, “as children learn to spell, by reiteration chiefly,” and repeat it or act it out in a more or less unintelligent and perfunctory way. The fact that they hold it at all is due to a mere geographical accident. They would have held a different one, had they been born in India or Turkey. When this truth is forced upon them, they congratulate themselves upon having been placed by an inscrutable Providence at a point on the earth's surface where truth can be learned by rote, and does not require to be carefully thought and felt out.

But, after all, it is entirely possible for a man to commit a creed to memory, and then really think that he honestly believes it. Many Catholics who have abdicated their right, and denied their power, to comprehend certain doctrines, nevertheless, sincerely think that they believe them, and hold them to be of the utmost importance. Whatever act of dishonesty they are guilty of lies in accepting the principle that they have any duty, or even right, to hold a doctrine of whose content they have no experience or demonstration. Having once admitted this, they have reached a position from which their entire subsequent course may be honest.

What is true of Catholics is true in a less pronounced way of very many Protestants, whose dishonesty lies in believing certain doctrines on frivolous grounds, without dutifully inquiring into their origin and bearings. Such acceptance certainly argues a sad want of intellectual thoroughness, courage, and spirituality; but this want is so common among all but the highest type of men that it causes little surprise, and must be accepted with little rebuke. We have to accustom ourselves to the disagreeable fact that the great majority of men are naturally unintellectual, uncourageous, and unspiritual.

But there is something to which we cannot so easily accustom ourselves, to which we ought upon no condition to accustom ourselves; a far more flagrant kind of dishonesty, based upon meaner and more conscious motives than the other,—a dishonesty that is every year becoming more common among the professed teachers of morality, and threatening to introduce coarse, conscious falsehood into the very inmost shrine of the soul. This

dishonesty consists in cowardly, self-interested equivocation and paltering with the sense of doctrines which a man professes to hold, and which in many cases he accepts money for teaching. Historical criticism and philosophical discussion have rendered it almost impossible for any intelligent and unprejudiced person to accept the cardinal teachings of Christianity as they were currently maintained three hundred, or even two hundred, years ago. No man or woman who has, with candid mind, followed the criticism of the last twenty years, any longer believes that Jesus of Nazareth was begotten without a human father, that he was God, that his teachings have divine authority, that his death made atonement for the sins of the world, that belief in these facts is necessary to salvation, or that he shall one day appear upon condensed vapor to judge mankind and consign the greater portion of it to eternal, nameless agony. No one, moreover, who is at all familiar with the present state of philosophic thought, can any longer accept the capricious, short-sighted, incapable, narrow-minded, transcendental God whom Christianity inherited from Judaism, and who still figures largely in Orthodox pulpits. Under these circumstances, the professed teachers of Christian religion and morality are compelled to adopt one or another of three possible courses: (1) They either ignore criticism and philosophy altogether and stick doggedly to their old-fashioned notions; or (2) they calmly accept the results of criticism and philosophy, honestly declare their beliefs, and preach only what they can candidly affirm, if they find it possible to preach at all; or (3) they privately give assent to these same results, and yet go on preaching the old doctrines, trying, for the low motives of money, position, and popularity, to convince themselves and others, by means of vague, equivocal language, that they still adhere to them. The first of these courses is vulgar and borders upon dishonesty; the second alone is entirely honest and manly; the third is altogether dishonest and unmanly.

And yet this last course is one very frequently pursued and even defended. I was recently denouncing it to a well-known Episcopalian clergyman, when, to my surprise, he placed himself in direct antagonism to me, and warmly defended it as not only honest, but even as highly conducive to the interests of religion. "The Episcopal Church," he said, "does indeed insist that her ministers shall use certain symbolic forms of speech to express their religious beliefs; but she allows every one to interpret these forms as he sees fit. She insists upon no particular interpretation. She is liberal and large-minded, and at the same time by the use of certain uniform formulæ, attains outward harmony and extensive influence." "But," said I, as soon as I recovered myself, "your interpretation of these formulæ must be very different from that of the majority of the persons who listen to your sermons at any given time: do you then use these formulæ without telling them that you mean by them something very different from what they mean?" "Of course, I do," he replied: "I am not bound to tell them what I mean. I have a right to my interpretation, just as they have a right to theirs. In this way, we attain entire freedom of thought and avoid disputes." "In other words," I said, "you attain these results by using said forms of speech to conceal your real thoughts from those to whom you are speaking." "This may be so at first," he replied; "but, after I have used them for a while, my meaning gradually filters into the minds of my hearers by implication; and they come over to my views almost without knowing it. This is the only way in which the generality of men can be made to imbibe new

ideas." "For example," said I, "when you use the word *God*, you mean by it the Hegelian *Idea*, which evolves itself into the universe, while at the same time you know that nearly all, if not all, your hearers understand it as meaning the transcendental God of Jesus and Paul and Cranmer, the God who created the heavens and earth out of nothing." "Yes," he answered; "but they will in time come round to my view, and then my words will mean to them what they mean to me. Are you sure," said I, "that they will all come round?" "Well, if they don't, they ought to: I do my best," was the reply. "That does not seem very satisfactory," said I; "but, supposing they all did come round in the end, do not simplicity and plain dealing suffer in the mean while?" We were here interrupted, so that I received no reply. I was almost glad; for I felt myself becoming dizzy, as one does who suddenly finds himself upon the edge of an abyss. Here was a professed teacher of Christian morality openly admitting that Sunday after Sunday in the pulpit he acted the part of an insidious, Jesuitical impostor, instilling into the minds of his hearers doctrines which, if professed openly and in plain language, would be received with amazement and horror. And why was the confession made to me? Simply from intellectual vanity. The reverend Christian gentleman wished to impress me with the fact that he was abreast of modern thought, that he was an apostle of the most recent science and philosophy. What he did impress me with was that he was a true apostle of the most recent morality.

Perhaps few persons would allow their intellectual vanity so to overcome them that they would make such a brazen confession as the gentleman referred to did; but his case is, unfortunately, only one among many. I know some persons who loudly profess, without explanation, the doctrine of the tri-unity of God, and yet, when closely pressed, do not dare to say that they believe Jesus to have been the sole incarnation of the second person of that tri-unity. In this way, they are able to impose upon, and gain popularity among, simple, unsuspecting Christian people, who would loathe their views, if openly expressed.

The truth is, the Christian ministry is, at the present day, one of the most effective schools of deceit in existence. Many clergymen, knowing the truth about Christianity, but dependent for their means of livelihood upon congregations wedded to the old beliefs, have entered upon a systematic course of disingenuousness and deceit, which places them upon a lower level than that to which the corrupt politician, the cheating merchant, or the unfaithful contractor has sunk, and renders their entire influence baneful and degrading. Our country needs, above all things, honest teachers. Without these, we cannot have an honest people; and, without an honest people, no republic, no system of free government, can be permanent. It is inexpressibly sad to think that very many of our teachers—of those, too, who are called to deal with the most sacred and vital subjects—are, for the sake of a little gain or popularity, doing their best to undermine our national existence and break down the mightiest bulwark of human freedom, upon which so much other good depends.

In spite of all our boasted liberality and freedom of thought, it perhaps requires as much moral courage at the present day as ever it did to be a free thinker, and to express one's convictions freely. The retailers of traditional formulæ do not now burn the heretic; but, as a worthy heretic said recently, "they tell lies about him." They whisper about in the ears of friends and newspaper reporters that his doctrine is atheistic, and pretend

to refute it with mysterious, cabalistic phrases, which they know have a lien upon the popular ear. The man who has no other claim to be called a thinker than that, in the face of all reason and common sense, he maintains the universe to be a self-unfolding anthropomorphic idea, floats on the tide of popular applause by calling this idea God, and wins laurels by branding as atheist the man who finds the universe real and moral, not through the will of any anthropomorphic being, but in its very essence, and who speaks out frankly what he means, without seeking shelter under the prestige of any popular mythology. Fortunately, there are some men with moral courage still left in the world; and, however much they may suffer from the slander of interested and dishonest men, they have at least this consolation: that the truth which they have loved and served will in the end prevail, for the very reason that the universe is moral in its very essence. Truth is the bread of spiritual life, the bread for which the souls of men to-day, as much as ever, are hungering,—the only bread that will satisfy them. He who has no bread, but only stones, to feed them with, and offers these stones as bread, is doing what in him lies to starve and destroy the souls of his fellow-men, to make them impotent slaves of his own vanity, mere pariahs in the world of spirit. How long shall this be?

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

THE YOUNG GOD.

Beside the Jumna, the young herdsman, Krishna, played his flute and charmed the cow-maidens; and, when he danced with them, each believed that she alone had him for a partner. This, indeed, is the subtle art of young gods. As it was beside the Jumna, so it is beside the Thames, where there are over one hundred and forty religious sects and societies, each of which believes that it has the young god for its partner. It is not the English way to part with old names; but that there is a new deity wandering about is sufficiently proved by the determination with which the sects are showing their Christ and God to be quite unlike their Biblical and ecclesiastical portraits. Each is angry if their divinity is confused with that of Moses or Jesus, Paul or Athanasius, Calvin or Wesley, or even with the god of Channing. This improved and polished deity has to be reckoned with by the philosophers. Each thinker is impelled to make his theory into a religion. Why could not Comte invent a new social and scientific system without making it into a church? Why could not Herbert Spencer say his say about the unknowable without writing it with a capital U, and suggesting its divinity? Ah, artful Krishna! still do you go about fooling us with the belief that, in the cotillon of creeds and theories, we alone have Thee for a partner!

So long as the old sacerdotal and infra-human deities maintained any real hold on the heart and brain of England, sympathy in earnest negations was enough to keep heretical societies and schools of thought. But the verdict against Orthodoxy has been so completely gained that the liberal philosophers begin to criticise each other; and a remarkable encounter, with serious results, has recently occurred. Herbert Spencer, who insists that the young god is with him under name of the Unknowable, and Frederic Harrison, who maintains that the same divinity is with him under name of Humanity, have crossed pens; and the result of the duel has been summed up by cynicism in the robes of Mr. Justice Stephen. Mr. Harrison declares that Spencer's religion of the Unknowable is the ghost of a religion: Mr. Spencer declares that Harrison's religion of Humanity

is a relapse into the ancestor worship of primitive man. Mr. Justice Stephen decides that both have proved their point.

Mr. Justice Stephen has fortunately decided on the subject as a philosophical critic, not as a justice; for he has already announced that, if he were compelled to deal with them officially, he would have to sentence them to prison for heresy. This learned judge has done noble service in exposing the nefarious character of the laws against heresy and blasphemy, and bringing them near their end. But, as a thinker and writer, he is cynically impartial between Christianity and its critics; and, after reading his statement on the recent controversy, my first impression was that of having witnessed a philosophical duel of the Kilkenny kind: Positivism and the Unknowable were visible as two tails alone surviving from imposing movements.

Herbert Spencer's blow at Positivism is certainly damaging. Not only were Comte's estimates of the relative value of great men and movements too eccentric to form a cosmopolitan calendar of Saints, but his Great Being, Humanity, repeats too faithfully the faults of other great beings, natural and revealed, to evoke the enthusiasm essential to religious sentiment and service.

On the other hand, Mr. Harrison's remorseless criticism has compelled the confession that the Unknowable has nothing necessarily moral about it, nothing human or humane, nothing practically useful. It is to be feared that those theologians who have sought shelter for their creeds in the Unknowable, as the only ark afloat on the flood of scepticism, must now feel the waters rolling over them again. If hereafter they write about the unknowable, it is likely to be with a little *u*. Mr. Spencer is vexed that Mr. Harrison should say his Unknowable is of no more religious importance than if one should conceive it as electricity; but, surely, one may feel more veneration for electricity than for a Somewhat of which we can only know that it isn't something else. Mr. Spencer is so in love with his pet abstraction as to be unaware, no doubt, that it has been made into a theological imposition. Mr. Justice Stephen's criticism shows the utter worthlessness of this much-raunted generalization concerning the Infinite and Eternal Nothing-at-All.

Mr. Justice Stephen is apparently indifferent between all the claimants to possession of the true faith,—Christian as well as other. He is an intellectual Gallio, and represents the type to which England is steadily moulding the younger generation. He is not in the least upset by the alternative of unbelief. If there be no deity and no future life, he holds that life would still be found variously interesting and well worth living. No doubt, and the testimony is valuable; but the cynicism of Mr. Justice Stephen's criticism of those who seek to preserve the religious sentiment has a counterpart in vulgar indifferentism.

Even Prof. Huxley has shown unwonted warmth of affection for his word "Agnosticism." He claims to have coined it, but some day he may not felicitate himself about it. Agnosticism is but the epitaph of theology. Having of old assumed a place among the sciences, claiming basis in a revelation of equal authenticity to the subject-matter of other sciences, theology readily consented to the methods and tests of other sciences. For some time indeed it has been trying to escape them, but it cannot be done. Theology is in the position in which palæontology would be, if all the fossils could be proved to have been carved by men. By the laws of science, theology ends. In its place there remains only mythology. But the scientific sisterhood are tender-hearted: they hate to banish Theologia suddenly from their company, and are

compassionately deluding their dying sister. "Oh, of course, we cannot say but what you may be right: nobody can prove there isn't a God somewhere, and a heaven of bliss" (adding, *sotto voce*, "And nobody can prove there isn't a sky-blue peacock with a hundred heads and a million eyes on the other side of the moon!")

Agnosticism may have a temporary value as kindly "notice" given theology to quit the region of actualities. Into the fairyland where previous theologies have passed, Christian theology must now follow. It may henceforth concern itself with speculations about the possibly-existent inconceivable realms (whether Weissnichts, Erehwoses, or other unknowable universe), but must no more meddle with the real interests and urgent necessities of human existence.

Exit theology, and one more is added to the seven sleepers! Enter religion, and a leader appears for the seven champions! Detached finally from that crude science of primitive man called theology, religion for the first time is enabled to bring its influence to bear upon the actual world. Religion has nothing to do with the origin of nature or its destiny. It is in no sense a science. One important distinction is that, while in science not to doubt is the unpardonable sin, religion is essentially that which never doubts. Science regarding an unknown universe which it must try to make known must on one side be agnostic, but religion is gnostic. It cannot act where it does not know. Its knowledge has indeed no full expression in words; for religion is that profound passion for the best—for what is best in and for ourselves and others—that it expresses itself in the whole life, conduct, and influence. If a man knows (*i.e.*, believes without the least doubt) that there exists an omnipotent Deity, and a future hell and heaven to reward disobedience and obedience to that Deity, such knowledge will organize that man's religion, which may lead him to burn a fellow-man or to be willingly burnt himself; and if, at length, the knowledge becomes limited to the world of sense and experience, religion will fill these with its spirit, its emotion, its moral enthusiasm. For religion is a passion that needs only a recognized best to be loved, and basest to be abhorred. It inspired the psalmody of Israel while that tribe foresaw no future beyond the grave. It bore its great world-flower, Buddhism, out of atheistic negations and hope of the eternal sleep of consciousness. Nay, this day,—if the *Schwarmerei* of numbers is left out of consideration,—religious enthusiasm gathers to the side of antichristian as much as to that of Christian convictions. And these are equally constructive, for what is sometimes sneeringly called "mere negation" is but the other side of affirmation: to deny $2 + 2 = 5$ is affirmation that $2 + 2 = 4$. There is no doubt in religion. One cannot fall in love with an unknown quantity. Theology having committed suicide in agnosticism, religion is left to be devotion to the best. The "faith" that Tennyson finds in "honest doubt" is religious, but not by reason of the doubt: it rests on the unquestioned belief that it is best to confess the honest doubt at every cost. Religion is compelled to abide in the known world, and invest with its consecration the actual life and daily duties of men. It must now restore the union of *believe* and *belove*. There is faith, which accepts a basis on trust without knowledge; and hope which raises personal desire into proximate accord with universal law; but by these man knows only in part, or sees dimly, as in a mirror: when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part is done away. This "perfect" Jesus and John and Paul called love. And who can give us a better name for the soul of religion? The great-

est of all is love; for that alone is beyond dispute, free from doubt, casts out fear, and is the supreme joy of life.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE NEW ORGANIZATION.

A National Liberal Organization is needed for the diffusion of those principles which underly the movement called Liberalism. It is in the power of Liberals to prevent or precipitate one of the bloodiest revolutions or greatest social catastrophes in all history. A revolution there must be; and the only question is whether it shall be peaceful or violent, whether it shall be short or protracted, and what the measure of success shall be. If Liberals cannot work out the problem of reconciliation among themselves, then it is doubtful what the issue will be. Their influence can be made a potent—yes, a dominant—factor in the creation of the new social order, the new political dynasty. *Can be made*, I say, for it will not make itself. But, before Liberals can act as an integral force, they must meet together in general council, and prove by their fraternization that truth has unity, man a soul, and that liberty is the atmosphere that envelops both. Public spirit and private integrity must organize the army of freedom, and lead it to battle against the hosts of bigotry and selfishness, superstition and hypocrisy, whose purpose is to amend your laws in the interests of the Church and monopoly (whose interests are one), until the reins of power will be found in the hands of a priestly oligarchy. Is not this very day incense offered in the Capitol to the one God, Christ and mammon? A new political party will soon arise: it is forming; but what shall be the character of its forces, and to what tasks it shall bend its energies when in power, depends much on the temper and the wisdom displayed by Liberals.

There needs to be a league formed between head, heart, and hand. That is the great truth that is to usher in the dawn. It is what the world needs. It is where Liberalism should place its emphasis. We want an organization built, not on a religion nor a philosophy, but one that shall treat both of these as open questions. Its supreme aim will be truth; its guide, reason; its object, human welfare. Its sympathies will be for men as well as for ideas. It will be democratic; it will attract common as well as uncommon folk; it will win people by drawing near unto them. Its symbol will be the hand-clasp as well as the torch. It will unite in itself the elements of thought, feeling, and action. It will be a discernor of spirits, of good and evil, whatever their guise. Its interest will be in the present, while it will own its indebtedness to the past and its obligations to the future.

And what organization answers to this description? It does not exist. And who will say it is not desirable? I believe it both desirable and possible. The country is full of people ready to be converted, if rightfully approached or approached at all. The fault is our own as much as theirs. Liberalism is one-sided in its aims, half-hearted in its endeavors. These tendencies it must conquer before it conquers the world. There is a necessity for uniting not only Liberals of different isms, as Spiritualism, Materialism, Theism, Atheism, etc., but those who profess no ism, and who in their labors for the salvation of others' souls have forgotten their own; yes, and for the salvation of others' bodies have even forgotten their own. There are societies of great variety in the land that are aiming at the same thing, if they did but know it or had the courage or opportunity to

declare it. They are to be brought into correspondence by actual contact, and learn to co-operate. I will here give a rough draft of the principles and form of this organization:—

Principles. 1. Truth, freedom, humanity; 2. Associative effort in the work of reform; 3. Study and dissemination of the truth regarding religion, ethics, and man's political, social, and industrial relations.

Form. National and auxiliary societies. The national society to be composed of representatives from local societies, whatever their name or specialty, in sympathy with its spirit and aims, and to be organized into four committees representing those societies whose objects come under the four departments of study embraced in its constitution; namely, religious, political, social, and industrial. And to these committees are to be referred all matters which call for definite action, whose privilege it will be to report the result of their deliberations, accompanied by suggestion and appeal; but sympathy or aid in behalf of any project of a practical nature between the sections must be voluntary, and not by any official act of the parent society. Besides the annual congress, there will be a bureau of information, missionary agents, and a newspaper organ. Each section of the society is to have its full share of representation in the bureau, the missionary force, and the newspaper, and its management.

This, it seems to me, is the way to reap the best thoughts and impulses from the best minds and hearts on the highest themes and of the greatest practical value, and to return these rich gleanings as a thank-offering to the Giver of all good, the commonwealth of man.

T. W. CURTIS.

THE POSITION OF HERBERT SPENCER.

Although Mr. Fiske in this number of *The Index* corrects the main statement regarding Mr. Spencer's position to which we took exception, the correction, in one respect, seems hardly less open to criticism than the original statement which he qualifies and supplements. This we say reluctantly, and only after full consideration of the subject, because there is no thinker in America whom we have regarded as the equal of Mr. Fiske as an expounder of Mr. Spencer's views.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the vast difference between the assertion of Mr. Fiske in the *Transcript*, that "the infinite and eternal power is not material, but psychical in its nature," and that of Mr. Spencer, that "the Power manifested throughout the universe distinguished as material is the same power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness," together with the statement that "the necessity we are under, to think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy, gives rather a spiritualistic than a materialistic aspect to the universe"; that at the same time the "phenomenal manifestation of this ultimate energy can in no wise show us what it is." The former statement seems to us a mere theological assumption: the latter statements we regard as profound philosophic truths logically and clearly proven by Mr. Spencer's matchless reasoning.

It is true, according to Mr. Spencer's philosophy, that we must "think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy"; that is, that we must think of matter in terms of mind, and that this necessity "gives rather a spiritualistic aspect to the universe." It is equally true that we must think of mind in terms of matter. There is no necessity (according to Spencer) that we think of the Universal Energy, the Ultimate Reality, as psychical. This great thinker observes that "it continually happens that

propositions which cannot be rendered into thought at all are supposed to be not only thought, but believed. The proposition that Evolution is caused by Mind is one of this nature. The two terms are separately intelligible, but they can be regarded in the relation of effect and cause only so long as no attempt is made to put them together in this relation. . . . If I am asked to frame a notion of mind divested of all those structural traits under which alone I am conscious of mind in myself, I cannot do it. I know nothing of thought save as carried on in ideas originally traceable to the effects wrought by objects on me. . . . If, then, I have to conceive evolution as caused by an 'originating Mind,' I must conceive this Mind as having attributes akin to those of the only mind I know and without which I cannot conceive mind at all. . . . I will ask, What happens if we ascribe to the 'originating Mind' the character absolutely essential to the conception of mind, that it consists of a series of states of consciousness? . . . If, to account for this infinitude of physical changes everywhere going on, 'mind must be conceived as there under the guise of simple dynamics,' then the reply is that, to be so conceived, mind must be divested of all attributes by which it is distinguished; and that, when thus divested of its distinguishing attributes, the conception disappears, the word 'mind' stands for a blank. . . . Clearly, therefore, the proposition that an 'originating Mind' is the cause of evolution is a proposition that can be entertained so long only as no attempt is made to unite in thought its two terms in the alleged relation."—*Essays*, Vol. III., pp. 246-249 (1874).

Just as, by the necessity we are under to think of matter in terms of mind, the material universe is given a spiritualistic aspect, so by the necessity we are under to think of mind in terms of matter gives to mind a materialistic aspect. "We can," says Spencer, "form no notion of a substance of Mind absolutely divested of attributes connoted by the word 'substance,' and all such attributes are abstracted from our experiences of material phenomena. Expel from the conception of Mind every one of those attributes by which we distinguish an external something and an external nothing, and the conception of Mind becomes nothing. . . . We can think of entities that differ from one another and from nonentity only by bringing into our thoughts the remembrances of entities which we distinguish as objective and material. . . . We can think of Matter only in terms of Mind. We can think of Mind only in terms of Matter. When we have pushed our explorations of the first to the uttermost limit, we are referred to the second for a final answer; and, when we have got the final answer of the second, we are referred back to the first for an interpretation of it. We find the value of x in terms of y , then we find the value of y in terms of x , and so on we may continue forever without coming nearer to a solution. The antithesis of subject and object, never to be transcended while consciousness lasts, renders impossible all knowledge of that Ultimate Reality in which subject and object are united."—*Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I., pp. 626, 627.

And so Mr. Fiske argues "that to represent the Deity as intelligent is to surround Deity with an environment, and thus to destroy its infinity and its self-existence" (*Cosmic Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 395). "In ascribing intelligence to unembodied Spirit, we are either using meaningless jargon, or we are implicitly surrounding unembodied Spirit with an environment of some kind, and are thus declaring it to be both limited and dependent" (p. 396).

Mr. Spencer, in the paragraph following that

copied into *The Index* this week from his great work, *Principles of Psychology*, adds: "Hence, though of the two it seems easier to translate so-called Matter into so-called Spirit than to translate so-called Spirit into so-called Matter (which latter is, indeed, wholly impossible), yet no translation can carry us beyond our symbols. Such vague conceptions as loom before us are illusions conjured up by the wrong connotations of our words. The expression, substance of Mind, if we use it in any other way than as the x of our equation, inevitably betrays us into errors; for we cannot think of substance save in terms that imply material properties. Our only course is constantly to recognize our symbols as symbols only, and to rest content with that duality of them which our constitution necessitates. The Unknowable as manifested to us within the limits of consciousness in the shape of feeling, being no less inscrutable than the Unknowable as manifested beyond the limits of consciousness in other shapes, we approach no nearer to understanding the last by rendering it into the first. The conditioned form under which Being is presented in the Subject cannot, any more than the conditioned form under which Being is presented in the Object, be the Unconditioned Being common to the two."

The passage from Mr. Spencer's *Principles of Psychology* does not, in our opinion, or in the opinion of the author, so far as we can judge from his writings, contain any theistic or spiritualistic implications. He supposes that mind is composed of units of feeling, similar in nature to those we know as nervous shocks, and that these answer to the waves of molecular motion that traverse nerves and nerve centres. Now, units of feeling are the only units of which, strictly speaking, we are or can be cognizant. Whatever be the nature of the units of external force, it must be more easy to conceive them to be of the nature of the units of feeling, the only entities of which we are directly conscious, than to identify them in thought with units which we cannot cognize, and of which conception is therefore impossible. As Mr. Fiske says, we do not "know force, but we know continual modifications of our consciousness, which we are compelled to regard as the manifestations of force." The activities not included in the circumscribed aggregate of activities known as Mind "can be thought of only in terms furnished by this aggregate,"—terms of Mind. Ideas of Matter and Motion are "complex states of consciousness built out of units of feeling."

It is, of course, more easy to conceive what we do not know as resembling what we know than to conceive what we know to be like something that we do not know. To translate units of feeling into units of external force is to "translate" (to quote from Spencer) "the known into the unknown, which is absurd." But there is no proof, no indication, that the units of external force and units of feeling are identical or similar in their nature; nor does Mr. Spencer find anything in these speculations to warrant the inference that the Universal Energy is psychical.

Conceivability is no test of truth here, wherein is involved the inconceivable relation that exists between subjective and objective existence. "Though I have argued," says Spencer, in the August number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, "that in ascribing to the Unknowable Cause of things such human attributes as emotion, will, and intelligence, we are using words which, when thus applied, have no corresponding ideas, yet I have also argued that we are just as much debarred from affirming such attributes; since, as ultimate analysis brings us everywhere to alternative impossibilities of thought, we are shown that, beyond the

phenomenal order of things, our ideas of possible and impossible are irrelevant."

The phrase "Cosmic Theism," which Mr. Fiske uses to define his view of the Unknowable,—of which he affirms neither personality nor intelligence,—belongs to a terminology which has never received the approval of Mr. Spencer, and, as we endeavored to show in an essay published a few years ago, is a kind of Theism which postulates that only which is common to all philosophic thinkers, be they called theists or atheists, who hold to the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts have issued a circular, which says:—

A woman over twenty-one years of age who has a receipted tax-bill for a tax assessed upon property anywhere within the State for 1883 or 1884, either in her own name or that of her guardian, by presenting this tax-bill herself, in person, to the board of registrars (in cities) or the selectmen (in towns), can have her name put on the voting list as a voter for school committee without paying a poll-tax. A woman not paying any tax on property must apply to the assessors of her town or city on or before September 15, to be assessed a poll-tax of fifty cents. After paying this, she can, by presenting the receipted bill to the registrars (or selectmen), have her name put on the list. By preserving her receipted tax-bill (on property or poll) and presenting it the next year following the date of the bill, she can also have her name registered,—the law allowing women to vote two years on one tax-bill. The last day on which application for assessment can be made is changed from October 1 to September 15.

A few weeks ago, two or three excited partisans among our subscribers discontinued their subscriptions, because, they said, *The Index* was supporting the Democratic party,—a statement that was without truth. About the same time appeared in *The Index* a passage from Robertson, which was, we think, in type for this paper before any of the Presidential candidates was nominated, and certainly was not quoted with special reference to any of them. The passage was as follows:—

Moral decay in the family is the invariable prelude to public corruption. It is a false distinction which we make between public integrity and private honor. The man whom you cannot admit into your family, whose morals are corrupt, cannot be a pure statesman. Whoever studies history will be profoundly convinced that a nation stands or falls with the sanctity of its domestic ties. Rome fell not until she was tainted at the heart. When there was no longer purity upon the hearthstone nor integrity in her senate, then, and not till then, her death-knell was rung.

In a New York political paper, we find the passage reproduced, with the following comment: "This passage from Robertson is used by the Boston Journal in the evident hope to catch the favor of the Broad Churchmen. But it will be noted that it credits its original quotation to *The Index*. This fact is the only one which we need to know. *The Index* is the special organ of the Liberals and free thinkers of the country, and as such is justly the object of the distrust of all moral and conservative citizens. The people of America will not readily believe that a journal which never scruples to speak with wanton profaneness and disrespect of their most holy religion and of the clergy can be inspired by a good motive in quoting such passages as this at this time. Whatever such sheets may echo or invent, militate it for Mr. Blaine or against him, can only prejudice his case with all conscientious men." The reader may form some idea of the "mixed" character of the foregoing extract, and the confused condition of its writer's mind, when we state it is copied from an article in the New York Tribune.

The Index.

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

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For *The Index*.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

III.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The Probable Age of the Canonical Gospels.

In regard to the testimony of the early Fathers of the Church, as bearing upon the probable age of the canonical Gospels, Prof. Davidson * asserts that "Papias (150 A.D.) knew nothing, so far as we can learn, of a New Testament canon. . . . He neither felt the want, nor knew the existence, of inspired Gospels. . . . Justin Martyr's canon (150 A.D.), so far as divine authority and inspiration are concerned, was the Old Testament. . . . In his time, none of our Gospels had been canonized, not even the synoptics, if, indeed, he knew them all. Oral tradition was the chief fountain of Christian knowledge." Clement of Rome, the earliest of the Christian writers outside of the New Testament, quotes freely and frequently from the Old Testament and from other writings, probably apocryphal books now lost. His Epistle to the Corinthians, generally recognized as genuine, contains no quotation from the New Testament. It alludes, however, to certain "words of Jesus, our Lord," which are nowhere to be found in our canonical writings, and which must have been derived from lost Gospels or from oral tradition: "Remember the words of Jesus, our Lord, for he said: Woe unto that man. It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of mine elect."† The superficial verbal resemblance

* *The New Testament Canon*. By Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D. See also article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians may be found entire in the recently published *Christian Literature Primer*, No. I., "The Apostolic Fathers."

of this passage to a familiar New Testament quotation, and also its notable variations therefrom, are evident at a glance. The so-called Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, documents of doubtful date and authorship, contain no New Testament quotations, or passages claimed to be such. The Apostolic Canons and Constitutions, formerly attributed to Clement, are now known to be of much later date, probably as late as the sixth century.

There are several extant versions of epistles ascribed to Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom, as alleged, about 116 A.D. They are, however, of doubtful authenticity. The shorter and more probably genuine collection contains a few quotations which bear some resemblance to New Testament passages; but the language is not wholly identical with that of the Gospels, and no claim is made by the author that they are quoted therefrom. The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philipians, generally conceded to be genuine, contains numerous passages which conservative apologists regard as quotations from the canonical Gospels. In every instance, however, there are obvious deviations from the New Testament phraseology. A few instances will enable the reader to compare and judge for himself:—

"Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven you; be pitiful, that ye may be pitied; for with the measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again. . . .

"Not rendering evil for evil, nor railing for railing. . . .

"Blessed are the poor, and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of God."

These passages, like those contained in the first chapter of the recently published *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, present satisfactory evidence of the existence of a very early tradition, in many respects similar to that embodied in our Gospels; but the manifest differences in language, together with the fact that they are nowhere referred to the books of the New Testament, forbid us to receive them as quotations therefrom.

Justin, who suffered martyrdom in the year 167 A.D., evidently knew nothing of our Gospels, though he quotes from certain *Memoirs of the Apostles*, of uncertain authorship and contents. The only genealogy of Jesus which he recognizes is traced through the Virgin Mary, whereas the genealogies of Matthew and Luke are both traced through Joseph. The only writing of the New Testament certainly identified by him is the Apocalypse, which he attributes to "a certain man whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation made to him." Unlike Papias, however, and the earlier Fathers, whose reliance was placed mainly on oral tradition, Justin evidently depends upon writings which he deems authoritative, and which contained much that our Gospels present, in a slightly modified form. His account of the occasion of the alleged birth of Jesus in Bethlehem agrees, in the main, with that of the Third Gospel, and ignores the totally irreconcilable tradition of the First Gospel. It differs from Luke, however, in representing Jesus to have been born in "a cave near the village," instead of in a manger near the inn in Bethlehem. This tradition is also preserved in some of the Apocryphal Gospels, but in none of those declared canonical. A comparison of many parallel passages from the writings of Justin and our Gospels, made by the author of *Supernatural Religion*, demonstrates that Justin's version is almost always the terser and more abbreviated, which indicates that he drew probably from a more primitive tradition than that of the canon-

cal Gospels.* In the writings of Hegisippus, a contemporary of Justin, there are a few similar verbal resemblances to the language of the New Testament. In no instance, however, is there absolute identity of expression.

Papias, bishop of Hieropolis, in Phrygia, during the first half of the second century, who died about 167 A.D., and who wrote, probably, about the middle of the century, was the first to mention a tradition that Mark and Matthew composed accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus. We have already quoted the opinion of Dr. Davidson that he knew nothing of inspired Gospels or of a New Testament canon. It is evident also, from his descriptions, that he could not have known our First and Second Gospels as at present constituted. The writing of Mark, as described by him, was an Ebionitic document, more like the pseudo-Clementine Homilies than like our Gospel; and that of Matthew he asserts to have been written in Aramaic, whereas the original of our First Gospel was undoubtedly written in Greek. The writing known to Papias was probably the *Logia*, or record of the teachings of Jesus, ascribed to Matthew, or some similar primitive document which may have served as the basis, in part, of our First Gospel. Papias placed little reliance on these writings, whatever they may have been. "I held," he says, "that what was to be derived from books did not profit me as that from the living and abiding voice."

The limits of this discussion forbid a detailed examination of all the passages which throw light upon the questions of the age and authenticity of the canonical Gospels. The author of *Supernatural Religion*, whose treatment of this subject is most thorough and exhaustive, and whose facts have never been successfully impugned, has placed side by side, in the original Greek, all the excerpts from the writings of the Fathers supposed to bear upon this question, with the corresponding New Testament passages. We may safely adopt, as our own, his conclusions: "After having exhausted the literature and testimony bearing on the point, we have not found a single distinct trace of any one of those Gospels during the first century and a half after the birth of Jesus. Only once during the whole of that period do we find any tradition even that any one of our Evangelists composed any gospel at all, and that tradition, so far from favoring our synoptics, is fatal to the claims of the First and the Second. . . . There is no other reference during the period to any writing of Matthew or Mark, and no mention at all of any writing ascribed to Luke. . . . Any argument for the mere existence of our synoptics, based upon their supposed rejection by heretical readers or sects, has the inevitable disadvantage that the very testimony which would show their existence would oppose their authenticity. There is no evidence of their use, however, by heretical leaders, and no direct reference to them by any writer, heretical or orthodox."

The Earliest References to the Four Gospels.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul from 178 to 200 A.D., was the real founder of the Christian canon. He was the first to use our four Gospels exclusively. He also accepted the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul (rejecting Hebrews), the first Epistle of John, and the Apocalypse. Some of the remaining books of the New Testament he published in an appendix as of less authority, and some he ignored entirely.

*Dr. Ezra Abbot argues learnedly that our Gospels, and especially the Fourth, were known to Justin Martyr. His arguments, however, do not appear conclusive. The numerous alleged resemblances to the Fourth Gospel in Justin's writings are more reasonably accounted for on the supposition of his acquaintance with the writings of Philo.

Irenæus thus explains why he accepted the four Gospels and no others:—

"It is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are. For, since there are four quarters of the earth in which we live and four universal winds, while the Church is scattered throughout all the world, and the 'pillar and ground' of the Church is the gospel and the spirit of life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars breathing out immortality on every side and vivifying men afresh. . . . Therefore, the Gospels are in accord with these things. . . . For the living creatures are quadriform, and the gospel is quadriform. . . . These things being so, all who destroy the form of the gospel are vain, unlearned, and audacious,—those, I mean, who represent the aspects of the gospel as being either more in number than as aforesaid, or, on the other hand, fewer." The argument is certainly a remarkable, if not a convincing, one!

The Canon of Muratori, of uncertain date, but believed by conservative scholars to have been contemporary with the writings of Irenæus, also recognizes the four Gospels, and no others. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and the Christian writers of the third century generally did likewise, though they differed greatly among themselves as to the authenticity of other books afterward pronounced canonical. The four Gospels are also found in the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament, known as the Peshito, which Dr. Ezra Abbot* assigns to the latter part of the second century; and they were probably current in North Africa about this time, as is evidenced by their existence in the old Latin version. The genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, however, was still denied by a considerable section of the Christian Church, who are mentioned, and of course condemned, by Irenæus and other writers for their heresy. Epiphanius calls them, in contempt, *'Αλογοι*,—a term which has the double meaning of "deniers of the Logos" and "men without reason."

The rational conclusion upon the whole matter appears to be that the four canonical Gospels became generally recognized as exclusively authoritative in orthodox circles during the last quarter of the second century. Though we have no positive evidence of their existence before this time, it is reasonable to presume that they were compiled, and existed pretty nearly in their present shape, some years previous to their general acceptance, having originally been used by different and widely separated communities, and, therefore, on account of their local use and origin, not being generally known. At the same time, there were other Gospels, some of them of earlier origin, which were similarly regarded as authoritative by certain sections of the Church, though neither these nor our canonical Gospels were at first looked upon as sacred or inspired writings like the Old Testament, or even as of equal value with oral tradition. None of them probably existed during the lifetime of any of the Apostles, nor can be traced with certainty to their personal influence or inspiration.

From the general consent of the tradition preserved in the first three Gospels, and its agreement, in the main, with the information transmitted to us from other sources, such as the primitive Gospel of the Hebrews and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, we may conclude that the main features of the picture of the life and teachings of Jesus which they present to us, when freed from its evident mythical accretions, may be

*Dr. Abbot quotes approvingly from Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels* the opinion that at least sixty thousand copies of our Gospels were extant during the last quarter of the second century; but, since not a single copy of this period has descended to us, we may safely regard the opinion as baseless and extravagant.

accepted as historically trustworthy. The numerous though minor differences in the synoptical narratives which forbid the conception of collusion between their authors, and the consequent rational probability that they originated in diverse localities, and reported a generally prevalent and universally accepted tradition, renders them in the main reliable, though anonymous, witnesses. Yet we must admit, in all candor, with a recent able writer,* that we cannot affirm, with absolute certainty, of any single word attributed to Jesus that he spoke it exactly as recorded. With the author of *The Cradle of the Christ*, we may recognize the fact that the features of the historical Jesus have been so obscured by legendary accretions, which enter into the popular evangelical conception of the ideal Christ, that it is a problem for the nicest and most accurate critical analysis to separate the one from the other, and thereby reveal the truth of history. Fortunately, however, the accurate scholarship of the present generation has furnished us with a rational clew to the legendary labyrinth of the Gospels.

The Testimony of Josephus and the Pagan Historians.

Of contemporaneous references to Jesus, as has been remarked, there exists not a single one. Josephus, the Jewish historian, writing at about the close of the first century, possibly alludes to him in a passage where he is reported as referring to "James, the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ." The longer passage, written in the tone of a Christian believer, in strong contrast with every other portion of the writings of Josephus, is now admitted by all candid critics, whether of the orthodox or the liberal faith, to be an interpolation. Josephus, however, gives us an interesting account of the character, preaching, and death of John the Baptist in passages of unquestioned authenticity, tending to confirm the impressions of that remarkable man obtained from the glimpses of him afforded by the gospel narratives, and thus, indirectly, to confirm the general truth of the Christian tradition.

The earliest references to Jesus in the writings of the Roman historians date from the early part of the second century, and are exceedingly brief and unsatisfactory, tending only to confirm the facts of his existence and of his tragical death. Suetonius alludes to him as "one Chrestus, a Jew, who stirred up tumults in Rome" at the time of the Emperor Claudius. A longer passage from Tacitus,† of doubtful authenticity, but generally accepted as genuine by Christian historians, adds but little to our information, and is valuable only as confirmation of the general belief of the period in the existence of Jesus as an historical personage. The younger Pliny, about 104 A.D., writes from Bythinia, of which province he was the Roman governor, an interesting account of the Christians who resided in that neighborhood, but adds nothing to our knowledge of the life and work of Jesus.‡

We must turn then to the Synoptical Gospels as our only reliable source of information concerning the religion of Jesus. We may recognize the probability that the author of the Fourth Gospel built up his doctrinal system around an extant local tradition of the life of Jesus, differing in some respects from that of the synoptics, and in others confirming the testimony of the first three Gospels. The additional features, however, which

*Rev. John W. Chadwick, in *The Bible of To-day*.

†Tacitus speaks of the Jews as a people "without religion," and regards Christianity as *extitabilis superstitio*,—"a miserable superstition." He says that Jesus was "executed, in the reign of Tiberias, by the procurator, Pontius Pilate," thus confirming the gospel narrative.

‡He speaks of Christianity as *prava et immodica superstitio*.

constitute the main part of this Gospel, for reasons already given, we cannot regard as trustworthy. To the Epistles of Paul, we may go for a history of the remarkable development of doctrine and expansion of the universalizing tendencies in the new religion which occurred under his leadership and inspiration, to the Apostolic Fathers for the succeeding phase of the growing faith, and to the Christian writers, the Gnostics, and the contemporary pagan historians and scholars of later periods, for its subsequent development.

The Relative Age and Tendencies of the Canonical Gospels.

Concerning the relative age, purport, and reliability of the Gospels, widely different views have prevailed in the past, and still prevail, among Biblical scholars. The most rational conclusion appears to be that which regards Mark, our Second Gospel, as the earliest in composition, Matthew the second, and, but little later in time, Luke the third, and John, or the Fourth Gospel, the last in the order of time. Those critics who consider that the exaltation of the personality of Jesus, and the more frequent use of the term, "the Son of God," in Mark, indicate a later development of Christology, would place Matthew before Mark in chronological order, as does Keim.* Those who regard Luke as merely an expansion of Marcion's Gospel would place the Third Gospel before either Mark or Matthew. This view is adopted by Waite, Keeler, and other recent liberal writers. The arguments in favor of the priority of Mark, presented by Dr. E. A. Abbott, the writer of the article on the Gospels in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Renan, and other able and competent critics, appear to me, however, to be conclusive and unanswerable. Dr. Abbott regards this view as the most satisfactorily demonstrated proposition in New Testament controversy.

The principal reasons for accepting the priority of Mark may thus be briefly stated:—

1. Its style is more crude and primitive than that of either of the other canonical Gospels. Its Greek is more corrupt. It reports certain of the sayings of Jesus in the original Aramaic in which they were spoken. It was written probably by a Jewish Christian, of no great pretensions to scholarship, but familiar with both the Greek and the Aramaic languages.

2. It is the shortest and least systematic in its arrangement of all the biographies of Jesus. It contains only twenty-four verses not also found in Matthew and Luke. This would naturally be the fact, if the last-named Gospels were written later, using either Mark, or the material from which Mark was compiled, as a basis. The later writers would naturally use much of the material of the earlier, adding to it such facts or modifications of these original statements as they should deem important.

3. Luke and Mark contain matter in common which is not found in Matthew; Matthew and Mark also contain matter in common not found in Luke; but Matthew and Luke contain no matter in common which is not also found in a slightly modified form in Mark. This condition of affairs is hardly explainable upon any theory save that of the priority of Mark.

4. The supernatural element is less developed in Mark than in either of the other Gospels. The stories of the miraculous birth are wholly wanting, and also the story of the resurrection and ascension; the final verses of the concluding chapter not being found in the earliest manuscripts, and being, doubtless, a later addition by a different author.

* *The History of Jesus of Nazareth*, by Prof. Theodor Keim,—one of the most valuable and interesting historical studies of the New Testament period.

5. The term "Son of God," as applied to Jesus in the Second Gospel, is not, as some assume, an evidence of developed Christology, but the contrary. It was the common designation of the members of the "kingdom of God," the regenerate Jewish state. It is used in this natural sense in the Fourth Gospel, in some of the Epistles, and in early Hebrew writings.* "The genesis of Jesus as Son of God," says Prof. Allen, "precedes his genesis as the Messiah of the Jews."†

The Gospels are all what are known to scholars as "tendency writings"; that is to say, they have each some ulterior motive and object beyond that of making a clear and succinct statement of historical truth. Thus, the writer of Mark aims, above all, to exalt and magnify the human personality of Jesus. The tradition which refers its authorship to a personal follower of the Apostle Peter is significant and not improbable. Its character is such as we would naturally anticipate, if inspired by contact with one who had seen and known the Master.

The writer of the First Gospel (Matthew) aims to present Jesus in the character of the Messiah of the Jews, fulfilling the alleged Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Its style of composition is less natural and more mechanical than that of Mark. It presents distinct evidences of manufacture, and the free use of older documents which are apparently wrought into its structure with little alteration. Some of them even embody contradictory traditions, as the genealogy of Jesus, which names Joseph as his father, and the inconsistent birth-story of the early chapters. The short sentences and aphorisms scattered through the Second and Third Gospels are collected into the "Sermon on the Mount," in Matthew. The story of the birth of Jesus and the reports of his public career are arranged with special reference to the fulfilment of Messianic prophecies.

The author of the Third Gospel presents Jesus as the Saviour of both Jews and Gentiles, emphasizing his relation toward the latter. He traces the genealogy of Jesus not only to Abraham, the father of the Hebrews, as in Matthew, but back of him to Adam, the father of the human race. He also relates the story of the healing of the Syro-Phœnician woman and the parable of the good Samaritan, illustrative of the universal or Pauline tendency of this Gospel. He makes Jesus send out not only the twelve apostles to the twelve tribes of Israel, as in Mark and in Matthew, but also seventy others, to every nation of the earth. The style of the Third Gospel is more finished and elegant, and its contents are more orderly in their arrangement than either the First or the Second.

The writer of the Fourth Gospel presents Jesus as the eternally existent, incarnate Logos, the maker of the world, and its supernatural redeemer. To this end, he omits the birth-stories as unnecessary to his purpose, and completely subordinates historical accuracy. A ghostly apparition, exalting his own spiritual office and supernatural power, and placing supreme emphasis on dogmatic statements of truth, takes the place of the living man, calling his fellow-men to salvation through righteousness.

In their quotations from the Old Testament, the gospel writers most frequently make use of the Septuagint version, as would be natural in a Greek writing. Mark and Matthew, however, sometimes vary from the renderings of the Septuagint, making, apparently, a direct translation from some extant Aramaic version of the Scriptures, either

* Notably, in the writings of Philo, of earlier date than any of the New Testament literature.

† *Christian History*, by Joseph Henry Allen, Professor in Cornell University, late lecturer in the Harvard Divinity School.

oral or written. Mark's renderings of Scriptural passages are freer and less literal than those of Matthew.

Bearing in mind the nature of these, our only sources of information concerning the life and teachings of the Nazarene Prophet, we will attempt hereafter to draw therefrom a just and true conception of his work, his doctrine, and his personality. If, haply, beneath the legendary accretions of an unscientific age and an uncritical people, through the false lights of a tendency literature, the composition of which was instigated by other aims than that of historical accuracy, we shall nevertheless be able to discover the features of a man in all respects like unto such as we are, but with a soul on fire with a righteous and unselfish purpose to elevate and save his fellow-men,—then, in the satisfaction and encouragement of this discovery, we need not repine at the vanishing of a god.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHY ARE MEN AFRAID OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE?

Editors of The Index:—

Mrs. Stanton tells us that the woman suffrage movement, having arrived at the point of seeming success, is met with an objection which is alike in America, England, and France; and she substantially admits that the objection is well founded. This opposition is exactly what was to be expected the moment the question came to be a practical one, and not merely a theoretical or sentimental one. Probably the men who advocate woman suffrage do it because they believe that women have precisely the same rights that men have. But, when it comes to facing the actual voting of women, the instincts of the men tell them, even if they have never reasoned it out, that the government by majority is only one form of the government of force, and is not one of the rights of MAN, in which all share alike, but "has its root in man's love of authority." No matter what they may say, men who think (or merely feel) know that our government is no more based on the consent of the governed than is that of the Czar of Russia. The majority govern, because they have the power and know of no better way of preserving social order; and the minority submit, because they, too, know no better way, and are the minority.

Men know, if women do not, that the vote does not lessen "bigotry and superstition" in men, and would not do so in the case of women. The freedom of men from bigotry and superstition has not been gained by taking part in Church and State or by the teaching of Church or State, which, as organizations, are the right and left hand of oppression, but in direct opposition to both.

What both men and women need is to be taught to discover the eternal and immutable laws of the universe, not to attempt the futile task of making laws which require to be tinkered and unmade every year. If women would study those living laws which carry their own enforcement and do not need to be backed by constables and votes, and would teach them to their husbands and children, political governments would soon become extinct, and a true society would have room to grow; and the only government would be the self-government of every individual with his own consent.

If the noble, devoted, and persevering women suffragists will take this work in hand, all the good which the most ardent of them vainly hope to gain by restrictive legislation will be realized; and perhaps, so rapidly do things move nowadays, much sooner than we may think. At any rate, this is the first step, and one which no power can prevent, if the women will to take it. There is no permission required from men. No change in laws or customs needs to be made. This is the highest work a woman can do. Why should she try to emulate the tyranny of man and do wrong because he does, when she has the field clear before her to do right, and so help him out of his wrong? Choose ye!

F. S. C.

THE SOLIDS AS SUMS OF DYNAMIC ENTITIES.*

[ACCORDING TO FARADAY.]

The vulgar and prevailing opinion, says this famous scholar, in regard to the composition of matter from atoms, evidently considers the atom as something material, endowed with certain forces, by means of which it joins with others in groups, thus forming the various substances with their various properties. Since pressure and cold contract the solids into a smaller space, and heat and escape from pressure expand them, transform them into their liquid and gaseous state, where the atoms are united so loosely that they can move about each other freely, it is generally suggested that these atoms do not touch each other, but have a space between them which is smaller in solid bodies, but considerably larger in those of a liquid and specially of a gaseous state. Hence, as the atoms are thus in a greater or lesser distance from one another, in each body this space is the uninterrupted part pervading the whole bulk like a net. Then space alone is coherent, and by it the atoms are isolated from each other, as the grains of sand in the mortar are isolated by the lime.

Taking now a solid that is not conducting electricity,—for example, a piece of rosin,—we must consider the space within it as non-conductive; for, if the space which percolates the rosin coherently could conduct electricity, the rosin could not be non-conductor. Again, let us take a conductor, say copper. Also, in metals, space is the coherent part, as in all bodies; consequently, copper were likewise to be non-conductor, since, as we have learned from the rosin, space is non-conductive. Notwithstanding, the metals do conduct electricity. Hence, the space in the rosin would have to be non-conductor, and in the metals conductor! Kalium (potassium) and natrium are as well conductors as the other metals. One atom of potassium forms with one atom of oxygen potash; one atom of potash plus one atom of water, which consists of two atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, forms one atom of hydrate of kali, whence one atom of hydrate of kali contains four elementary atoms. The specific gravity of kalium is 0.865, its atomic gravity 40; the specific gravity of molten hydrate of kali almost equals 2, its atomic gravity 57. From this can be seen that a piece of kalium contains less kalium than an equally large piece of potash which is composed of the former and oxygen. If we combine kalium or potassium with oxygen, atom by atom, and then these two with hydrogen and oxygen in a double number of atoms, the substance will, in spite of all these additions, become less and less, until it possesses not quite two-thirds of the original bulk. If a given quantity of potassium contains 45 atoms, the same quantity of the hydrate of kali contains almost 70 atoms of the metal potassium, and, besides this, 210 atoms of hydrogen and oxygen. Ergo, according to the common atomic doctrine, the atoms of potassium would have to be in a considerable distance from each other,—there would be more space than matter in the body. As potassium is a good conductor, also the space in the same must be conductive; but why is this same space in non-conductors—as sulphur, rosin-lac, which according to the theory are also filled by space—non-conductive? This contemplation contributes to the argument that there is no space as a thing self-existent in the bodies; that, moreover, *all what we call bodies, matter, etc., is in its very essence nothing else but the manifestation of a plurality of dynamic entities, and space nothing else but the result of the interaction of the forces which these entities exert to certain distances.* Matter, therefore, consists not of solid particles and intermediate space; but there is no empty space within matter, as the atoms, which are but sums of activities, touch and penetrate each other. The centres of these atoms lie in different distances, the latter being in proportion to the greater or lesser density—from the solid to the liquid and gaseous state—of the bodies. It is the properties of the atoms which we perceive within and at the bodies, and from their nature depends the electric conductiveness or non-conductiveness of the bodies.

Space in itself is as little perceptible as light in itself, as electricity, heat, gravity in themselves. Gravity itself would never drive a mill, but the water, which, besides the power of being heavy, possesses

* From the German of M. Drossbach, translated for *The Index* by F. W. Opp.

the faculty of occupying a certain space, of acting chemically, of refracting the light, etc.; nor can space in itself conduct electricity, etc. We could in the same manner urge that space exists not, unless combined with the other properties (forces), as we must deny the absolute existence of gravity outside of the combination with the other forces. Spacialness can be as little separated from matter as the remnant of its activities. No space can only be occupied by a thing which has no activities; but a thing without activities is a no-thing.

A PASSAGE FROM SPENCER'S "PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY."*

"Mind, as known to the possessor of it, is a circumscribed aggregate of activities; and the cohesion of these activities, one with another, throughout the aggregate, compels the postulation of a something of which they are the activities. But the same experiences which make him aware of this coherent aggregate of mental activities, simultaneously make him aware of activities that are not included in it,—outlying activities which become known by their effects on this aggregate, but which are experimentally proved to be not coherent with it, and to be coherent with one another.† As, by the definition of them, these external activities cannot be brought within the aggregate of activities distinguished as those of Mind, they must forever remain to him nothing more than the unknown correlatives of their effects on this aggregate, and can be thought of only in terms furnished by this aggregate. Hence, if he regards his conceptions of these activities lying beyond Mind as constituting knowledge of them, he is deluding himself: he is but representing these activities in terms of Mind, and can never do otherwise. Eventually, he is obliged to admit that his ideas of Matter and Motion, merely symbolic of unknowable realities, are complex states of consciousness built out of units of feeling. But, if, after admitting this, he persists in asking whether units of feeling are of the same nature as the units of force distinguished as external, or whether the units of force distinguished as external are of the same nature as units of feeling, then the reply, still substantially the same, is that we may go farther toward conceiving units of external force to be identified with units of feeling than we can toward conceiving units of feeling to be identified with units of external force. Clearly, if units of external force are regarded as absolutely unknown and unknowable, then to translate units of feeling into them is to translate the known into the unknown, which is absurd. And, if they are what they are supposed to be by those who identify them with their symbols, then the difficulty of translating units of feeling into them is insurmountable. If Force, as it objectively exists, is absolutely alien in nature from that which exists subjectively as feeling, then the transformation of Force into Feeling is unthinkable. Either way, therefore, it is impossible to interpret inner existence in terms of outer existence. But, if, on the other hand, units of Force, as they exist objectively, are essentially the same in nature with those manifested subjectively as units of Feeling, then a conceivable hypothesis remains open. Every element of that aggregate of activities constituting a consciousness is known as belonging to consciousness only by its cohesion with the rest. Beyond the limits of this coherent aggregate of activities exist activities quite independent of it, and which cannot be brought into it. We may imagine, then, that by their exclusion from the circumscribed activities constituting consciousness, these outer activities, though of the same intrinsic nature, become antithetically opposed in aspect. Being disconnected from consciousness or cut off by its limits, they are thereby rendered foreign to it. Not being incorporated with its activities, or linked with these as they are with one another, consciousness cannot, as it were, run through them; and so they come to be figured as unconscious,—are symbolized as having the nature called material as opposed to that called spiritual. While, however, it thus seems an imaginable possibility that units of external Force may be identical in nature with units of the force known as Feeling, yet we cannot by so representing them get any nearer to a comprehension of external Force. For, . . . supposing all forms of

* Referred to in Mr. Fiske's article in *The Index* this week.

† See, in this connection, *First Principles*, pp. 143-156.

Mind to be composed of homogeneous units of feeling variously aggregated, the resolution of them into such units leaves us as unable as before to think of the substance of Mind as it exists in such units; and thus, even could we really figure to ourselves all units of external Force as being essentially like units of the force known as Feeling, and as so constituting a universal sentience, we should be as far as ever from forming a conception of that which is universally sentient." (Vol. I., pp. 159-161.)

An interesting collection of the originals of Prang's publications, to be opened at the exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association, which will begin in this city September 10, will contain pictures by Thomas Moran, Murphy, Miss Bridges, F. S. Church, J. W. Champney, Jean Robie, and many others, with their reproductions. Another collection will show the development of chromo-lithography in this country, and will consist of a comparative exhibit of works issued by Prang & Co., from the very first colored plate published up to date, and will comprise a complete set of Prize Cards. Studies from artists by Mrs. E. T. Fisher, Murphy, and others, will be shown; and not the least interesting exhibit will be that of a picture in every stage of reproduction by lithography. The Satin Prints, from original works by leading artists, will include a copy of F. S. Church's "Lion in Love."

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THE INDEX

LIGHT, LIBERTY, RIGHT.

VOL. XVI., OLD SERIES.—No. 768.
VOL. V., NEW SERIES.—No. 11.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1884.

THREE DOLLARS A YEAR.
SINGLE COPIES SEVEN CENTS.

Entered as Second Class Mail-Matter.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A DESPATCH states that, at a conference in Edinburgh with ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, Mr. Gladstone promised them that, if a distinct majority of the Scotch members returned to the House of Commons at the next election were pledged to disestablish the Church of Scotland, the government would carry out the popular will.

A MONTREAL friend writes: "The meeting of the British Association just closed has been one of extraordinary interest. Prof. Felix Adler gave a free lecture last Sunday in Queen's Hall, completely filling it. His subject was the 'Ethical Movement.' He had carefully prepared himself, and made a good impression. A number of our British visitors were present."

On the 6th inst. there was an immense demonstration at Glasgow in favor of the Franchise Bill. Fully seventy thousand persons were in the procession, which was ten miles in length. Numerous banners were displayed, bearing legends attacking the House of Lords or caricatures of Lord Randolph Churchill and other conservative members. Large Liberal demonstrations occurred also at Carlisle and Swansea on the same day.

DR. J. J. WOODWARD, whose death occurred recently, was the leading spirit of the Army Medical Museum, and author of the *Scientific Medical History of the War*. His scientific labors, especially his microscopical investigations, are highly valued among scientific men. He was a brother of the well-known writer, Auber Forestier, whose distinction has been won in another field of thought, and whose name, by her recent contributions to *The Index*, has become very familiar to all our readers.

The Longwood Society of Progressive Friends

in Chester County, Penn., have been in the habit of holding one meeting in each month on the fourth Sunday. During July and August of this year, however, they have been addressed every Sunday by Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley, of Providence; and now, in addition to their usual work and his, an arrangement has been completed by which Mr. Hinckley will speak for them during June, July, August, and September of next year. The Free Religious Society of Providence will open its meetings for the season with the first Sunday in October, and close them with the last Sunday in May.

THE fear of lightning is intense and wide-spread, and nobody ever wishes or thinks of a stroke as a remedy against disease. Yet the papers state that, at Port Jervis, N.Y., during a terrible thunder-storm, a man who was regarded by his physicians, as well as by those who knew him generally, as a hopeless paralytic, was rendered unconscious by a stroke of lightning, and afterward came to himself to find that he was entirely free from paralysis. The account says that "he regained the use of his limbs, and is able to walk and talk as usual. His natural appetite has also returned; and he now eats his meals, and says he enjoys them." If one could learn how to be struck by lightning so as to be benefited by it as this Port Jervis man was, instead of being blasted by the stroke, the dread it excites might, among invalids, give way to a desire to have it administered in proper doses. Until this knowledge is acquired, however, lightning is not likely to take a place among the popular "curatives," although of some of the latter it may fairly be said, as of lightning, the chance of being killed by them is greater than that of being cured.

THE following paragraph from an article in the *Springfield Republican* on "Sunday Excursion Riots" is worthy of consideration: "The Sunday excursion on the waters is a principal feature of the summer in the large sea-side cities of our Northern coasts, and in many respects it is a good one; for, to the working people who are its common patrons, it affords that change of scene and that refreshment of air which give them rest and zest for work. It must be recognized that the weight of constant work in the crowded cities cannot be thrown off by church-going in the same cities, and that it may be valuable and praiseworthy for hard-pushed laborers to take a sail down the bays and among the islands to music and with social cheer. But it is certain that such excursions need regulating in a way that has not yet been attempted. There should be no bars allowed on these occasions, in the first place; and there should be an adequate police protection. A dozen policemen, or perhaps even less, would have been enough when the row began, in either case cited, to have quelled it and kept peace. This is the practical consideration. In general, such occurrences tell us how every city is built upon a foundation of criminal elements, whose presence cannot be disregarded and is a constant menace."

SAYS the *Boston Herald*, referring to Mrs. Stanton's article in last number of the *North American*

Review: "Mrs. Stanton's argument in favor of easier divorces has occasioned a good deal of discussion. 'Liberal divorce laws for oppressed wives,' she declares, 'are what Canada was for Southern slaves.' 'No words,' she adds, 'can describe the infinite outrages to which women are subject in compulsory relations for which the law gives no redress.' And she holds that a contract, which may be so easily and lightly entered into, should not be so disproportionately difficult to annul. 'A legal marriage,' says Mrs. Stanton, 'in most of the States, may be contracted between a boy of fourteen and a girl of twelve without the consent of parents or guardians, without publication of banns, without witnesses, without even the signature of the parties, the presence of a priest or of any officer of the State.' The *New York Sun* remarks that this may not be a good argument in favor of easy divorce; but it does suggest that the marriage laws need reforming, and that 'agitation for the mending of the divorce laws should rightly be accompanied, if not preceded, by efforts for the improvement of the marriage laws.' Perhaps, if the legal unions were compelled to be more deliberate, formal, and public, there would be less call for easy separation. A system of easy marriage and hard divorce is certain to lead to much misery."

THE *Western Watchman*, in reply to an allusion of the *St. Louis Christian Evangelist* to the "pagan" ceremony of kissing the bishop's ring, as described in the press reports of the enthronement of Archbishop Ryan at Philadelphia, says of Protestants: "They are notorious kissers. They kiss anything in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth that wears petticoats. They are shocked at seeing Catholics kissing the hand of a successor of the apostles, but they think it right and proper to kiss a fair woman's hand in love or religion. There is not a preacher in Christendom who has not some time in his life kissed a lady's jewelled hand, even on bended knee; but the worship the preachers give to woman Catholics bestow on the ministers of Him who was and is to us 'father, sister, and mother.' The *Christian Evangelist* says kissing a bishop's hand is pagan. The seven wise men who edit that paper are bald about the chin from excessive osculatory exercise, and they gabble about the paganism of kissing! The Old Church an apostate! All the apostates who have gone out from her were of the kissing kind, from Martin Luther down to Hyacinthe. If she had allowed more latitude and promiscuousness in kissing, Protestantism would never have been." "The seven wise men who edit that paper" have not been heard from in reply up to date. Each may readily admit that he has "some time in his life kissed a lady's jewelled hand, even on bended knee"; but how will the admission of a natural and proper "exercise" like that lessen the folly of "kissing the bishop's ring"! We may add that a truthful comparison of Catholic and Protestant ecclesiastics in the respect mentioned would not be greatly to the credit of the former. Read Gibbon and Lecky.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION IN POLITICS.

The Prohibitory party has gone into the national political campaign with a more aggressive zeal and a more buoyant hope than at any previous Presidential election. And, whatever may be said of the fundamental right of bringing the temperance issue into politics, it must be admitted that the platform of the Prohibitory party has the advantage of the platforms of the two leading parties of the country, in that it distinctly enunciates a great moral principle, and makes a ringing appeal to the moral sentiment of the nation.

All earnestly moral people, it may be assumed, believe in temperance: the only question among them is with regard to the best method of promoting temperance. There is a difference, too, among moral people in the amount of serious attention they give to temperance in its public aspects. But, with every year, this view of the temperance problem is receiving wider consideration. Increasingly it is seen that alcoholism is not simply a personal and domestic evil, but an evil that is far-reaching in its social, public, and even governmental relations,—the prolific cause of a vast proportion of the crime, vice, poverty, degradation, disease, insanity with which governmental and philanthropic agencies have to deal. Here, therefore, is a question well calculated to arouse the conscience of the country. The Prohibitory party, moreover, has named national candidates against whose moral characters, public or private, no charge or suspicion has yet been cast. And, since the platforms of the two great parties now present no distinctive moral issues, and there is little difference between them even in the statement of political principles, and since their candidates for the Presidential office are both unsatisfactory from the highest moral stand-point, it will undoubtedly happen that the national Prohibitory ticket will receive this year a large accession of votes,—some of whom probably, cannot be counted upon to remain with the party permanently. Not a few voters, who may not be wholly ready to make temperance a political issue, seeing that the practical issue this year is chiefly concerned with the personal character of the several candidates, will vote for St. John in preference to either Blaine or Cleveland, and thereby rebuke the nominating conventions of their own parties.

Yet, to the conscientious voter, such a position cannot be entirely satisfactory. He wants to vote for principles that have won his convictions as well as for men to whom he can give his moral approval. And one good result of the vigorous canvass which is being made by the Prohibitory party will be the wider dissemination of facts on which the temperance problem is based, and the awakening of a fresh and more general interest in the question of the best methods of promoting the temperance reform. As these facts become known, they are evidently making one deep impression on the mind of the average common-sense American voter, who stops to think of them without partisan bias; and this impression is that, since the liquor traffic is a drain upon the industrial wealth of the nation at the rate of \$800,000,000 annually, and since the indirect cost to the country is nearly as much more each year on account of the prisons, almshouses, and governmental machinery made necessary by the evil results of intemperance, the temperance question becomes not simply a moral question for the Sunday-school, the pulpit, and the reform-meeting, but a question of political economics, that is reducible at last to one of simple taxation. And this feature in the political agitation of the temperance reform is likely to come more and more to the front, and to offer to many per-

sons who think temperance in itself may be too personal a matter to take into politics a really legitimate basis for a political party and for legislative interference with the commerce in liquor.

It may be said with truth that Liberals in general set an example of practical temperance. Not a few of them have been prominent workers in the temperance reform. But, in regard to the best methods of promoting the reform, they are divided; and in recent years there has doubtless been a tendency among them to oppose the principle of the Prohibitory law. Such legislation appears to many of them to violate personal liberty, and to be inconsistent with those methods of moral education and self-control which they maintain to be the chief reliances in the development of sound character. They would have as little legislation as possible with regard to personal morals, and none at all on questions of personal hygiene, under which they claim that the use of alcoholic beverages should be classed. On the other hand, there has been of late a growing tendency in the Prohibitory party to narrowness and sectarianism,—a disposition to rule out of the temperance movement all who do not adopt their methods and pronounce the shibboleth of their one idea; and, still more recently, an inclination manifests itself in their declarations and conventions to take a certain theological and religious attitude, which commends their movement to the favor of the party that is seeking an amendment to the United States' Constitution in the interest of evangelical Christianity. This feature in the present attitude of the national Prohibitory party is a stumbling-block in the way of some Liberals who otherwise might join the movement.

In our own view, intemperance is an evil so dire and vast that all arms of the reform service are needed in the war against it,—moral suasion, legislation, Holly-Tree Inns, temperance-instruction in the schools and at home, Law-and-Order Leagues for better enforcement of the laws, etc. Every volunteer should be welcomed who can anywhere and in any way deal an earnest blow against the monster iniquity. With regard to legislation, which presents the issue on which the political battle is fought, we think the temperance reform has been much damaged by a badly chosen and really misappropriate nomenclature on both sides. There has never been a prohibitory liquor law which did not in terms admit a number of exceptions wherein the sale of liquor was allowed. Nor has there ever been a liquor license law which did not admit the principle of certain restrictions in the sale of liquor. Yet the word "prohibition" has been a bugbear to many good people who are sensitively jealous for individual liberty, and the word "license" has been equally offensive to many good people on the other side whose consciences rebel against the very suggestion of guaranteeing security by law to an admitted evil. Thus, these two extreme words, which, after all, do not accurately represent the principles they are used for, have tended to keep people apart in hostile camps who might otherwise have been brought together in a common cause. A *regulative* law with regard to the sale of liquor is what both parties are aiming at, and the difference between them is with regard to the method and stringency of the regulation. Suppose that the Prohibitory party had called their law a *stringent regulative* law: much opposition would have been disarmed by the very change of name, while the chances, we believe, would have been greatly increased for securing an effective law which could have been enforced.

And the rational ground for a stringent regulative law concerning the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors is not far to seek. Society

has the same right to guard itself against the deleterious traffic in such liquors as it has in respect to the storing and selling of a poisonous drug or gun-powder or dynamite; nay, a better right, since the annual damage to life and property from the unrestricted sale of alcoholic liquors is greater. It is no more interference with individual liberty to prevent by law a free sale of whiskey than to prevent by law a free sale of fire-crackers; no more despotic for the law to say who may and who shall not sell intoxicating liquors and under what restrictions individuals must buy such liquors, if they buy them at all, than it is for the law sharply to define the conditions under which commerce in any explosive compound may be carried on.

Yet, though the temperance reform may be legitimately and greatly aided by such stringent legislation in its behalf (and to this extent the temperance question has a rightful place in politics), it were folly not to remember that at the source of this gigantic evil of intemperance is an imperious appetite unfortunately possessed by a great multitude of people. There is no such general appetite demanding corrosive sublimate or nitro-glycerine; and hence there is no such resistance to the making of laws for stringently restricting their sale and no such attempts at evading the laws when made as any kind of stringent temperance legislation will have to meet. And, hence, legislation alone, however legitimate and necessary, will not solve the temperance problem. No method will solve it which does not in some way reach and annul this appetite. This is the office of moral education in temperance work. It is an office which has manifold forms; but they are alike in this,—that they aim at engrafting upon character the power of self-control and at cultivating a pure appetite in the place of an evil one. Behind the ramparts of the law which political victory may win and place on the statute-book, there is need sedulously to continue the drill and discipline of this moral battle for temperance, or else the political victory may fail to reap the consequence of its own success.

WM. J. POTTER.

D'ALVIELLA'S DEFENCE OF HERBERT SPENCER.

It is some consolation for the victory of the Belgian Romanists to find that their brilliant opponent, Count Goblet d'Alviella, will be enabled by his release from labor in the legislature to deliver a course of lectures in the university of Brussels on the History of Religions, as well as to write more frequently for the press. The July number of the *Revue de Belgique* contains a luminous account of the reaction against Protestantism, which has just been described in M. Philippson's history, *La Contre-Revolution Religieuse au XVI. Siècle*. The Count has also recently contributed to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, a Parisian magazine carried on by Renan and the Révilles, a defence of Spencer against Harrison, in which the religious sanctity of the Unknowable is vindicated with a warmth equal to that of Mr. Chadwick's recent articles in *The Index*. After arguing that the conditions essential for the object of religious worship may be found in the Unknowable as easily as in the Eternal, the Highest, and other equivalents of the Divine, D'Alviella says: "The last word of evolutionism agrees with the definitions of those most refined forms of theology which have risen above the vulgar symbolism, and have always recognized not only God's reality, but also his incomprehensibility. It may be added that, before this conception became the scientific faith of Spencer, Huxley, and Haeckel, it proved sufficient for men of the most lofty spirit and most

religious imagination, like Giordano Bruno, Spinoza, Kant, Goethe, Shelley, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Emerson, and Renan. It is capable of leading not only to religion, but even to mysticism." "In the exalted expressions of Keshub Chunder Sen there is not a word which contradicts the religious ideas of Herbert Spencer." "Mr. Harrison says that the Unknowable can never have temples, or rites, or priests." "His assertion is disproved already by the facts. Not only are Protestant theologians laboring to bring the doctrine of evolution into harmony with the Christian faith, but above all would we speak of those independent and Unitarian churches, both in England and America, which have henceforth no theology but the doctrines of Herbert Spencer, and have no hesitation to say so openly. Let Mr. Harrison take the trouble to visit them, and he will find that those who have given up all the old creeds have been able to make the Unknowable serve as a foundation for worship."

It may be urged that religion is already assuming in these societies, as it did in the great men mentioned, more of a moral character than of a ceremonial. The more exalted the conception which we form of God, the harder it is for us to understand how our worship can really give him pleasure or do him honor. No good and wise man could wish to be addressed and discussed in any way like that in use throughout the churches. A being infinitely better and wiser than man could scarcely find our worship anything but repulsive. If Spencer's views fail to give an adequate basis for devotion, this may be fully explained by the mere fact of their elevation and their truth. The religion of the future is going to express itself in love to man rather than in praise and prayer to God. The only religious organizations of whose permanent value I feel certain are the ethical societies and other philanthropic associations. The social nature of men is so strong that we shall always be glad to work together for our highest good. And what really is our highest good has as yet been so imperfectly known that evolutionism has a great work to do in teaching those moral ideas which must form the basis of all religion worth keeping up. Valuable as the discoveries of the Utilitarians have been, there is still a general unwillingness to accept happiness in any form, even the greatest happiness of the greatest number, as our highest end and aim. Nothing would be more useful than to have the moral standard made plainer and more inspiring; and this can best be done by showing, as Mr. Fiske did recently at Concord, how plainly the history of human evolution brings out the loftiest ideas of justice, purity, and love. Whether the idea of the Unknowable is of much moral value in itself is sharply questioned by Mr. Harrison. Count d'Alviella, too, remarks that, "In reducing religion to a sort of mystical contemplation, Mr. Spencer leaves out those moral sentiments and practical applications which constitute, as Mr. Harrison justly observes, the chief and true sphere of religious activity." Mr. Spencer himself says, at the close of his own rejoinder, called "Retrospective Religion": "Lastly, let me point out that I am not concerned to show what effect religious sentiment, as hereafter thus modified, will have as a moral agent; though Mr. Harrison, by ridiculing the supposition that it will make good men, seems to imply that I have argued or am bound to argue that it will do this. If he will refer to the *Data of Ethics* and other books of mine, he will find that modification of human nature, past and future, I ascribe in the main to the continuous operation of surrounding social conditions and entailed habits of life, though past forms of the religious consciousness have exer-

cised, and future forms will, I believe, exercise co-operative influences."

This amounts, I think, to an admission that Mr. Spencer's critics are right in complaining that his presentation of the Unknowable is too barren of moral significance to possess much religious value. He himself, or some of his adherents, may yet supply the deficiency. Whether this work can be done is, however, of little importance in comparison with the brilliant success already achieved by evolutionism in establishing morality on a scientific foundation, independent of all theology, even the Spencerian.

F. M. HOLLAND.

"MORE," BUT NOT BETTER.

Christianity, says Rev. Rufus Ellis, in the *Christian Register* of August 21, is more than Theism. This is true, just as it is true that Roman Catholic Christianity is more than Protestant Christianity, and orthodox Protestantism more than Unitarianism. But the "more," in all these cases, is gained by accretion of assumptions, none of which can be proved, though some of them can be disproved.

Theism assumes the existence of God.

Christianity assumes the existence of God, *plus* the doctrine that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ of Old Testament prophecy, and thus the Lord and Master of mankind in things moral and spiritual. (This is the position of that portion of the Unitarian body to which Dr. Ellis belongs, and which, in virtue of this belief, is appropriately called Christian.)

Orthodox Christianity assumes all the doctrines above mentioned, *plus* the fall of Adam, the total depravity of his posterity, the doom of damnation impending over all of them who have ever sinned, the need of intercession to appease the wrath of God, and a release from the consequences of that wrath provided, through the crucifixion of Jesus, for those who accept his intercession and worship him.

Roman Catholic Christianity assumes all the doctrines above mentioned, *plus* the delegated spiritual rulership of the Church (meaning the clergy), the merciful arrangement of purgatory for millions who would otherwise be doomed to hell, and the opportunity of obtaining powerful intercessory influences by worshipping the Virgin Mary and the saints as well as Jesus.

Of those who read the above, a large proportion will be disposed to say, Then, by your own admission, Theism is founded on assumption as much as the more elaborate religious systems with which it stands in competition!

It is so. Let us not fear to confess the truth. My rejoinder is that the single assumption made by Theism is rational and probable, the necessary antithesis to the absurd assumption that we and our environment are products of chance and not of intelligent purpose. Moreover, if we cannot prove the existence of God, at any rate no one can disprove it; while the very corner-stone of the other systems above named can be shown to be untrustworthy, because unreal. I refer to the doctrine that Jesus of Nazareth was "the Christ"; that is to say, that in him the Messianic prophecies of Hebrew Scripture were fulfilled.

It seems plain, from the testimony of the first three Gospels, that Jesus did, in the latter portion of his career, claim the title of Christ or Messiah. How he felt justified in doing so, even under strong solicitation from his disciples and others, knowing as he did what Isaiah and Jeremiah had represented as the main function of the Messiah, is rather mysterious. I see no explanation of it but in another fact vouched for by the same evan-

gelists; namely, that Jesus really expected, after his own death, but within the lifetime of some who heard him speak, to come again in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, thenceforth to rule, not only over the Jews, but over all nations. Paul, whose Epistles were the earliest written of the documents ultimately brought together to form the New Testament, confidently expected this second coming all through his life, and was constantly warning the churches to which he wrote to watch for it, to be vigilant in preparation for it. We now see, as the Christians of the second century ought to have seen, that this expectation was delusive; that the hoped-for second coming never appeared; that the Jews have never been delivered from Gentile oppression, still less brought back in triumph to the land of Palestine, there to be ruled in peace and righteousness by a Prince of the house of David. Since, then, Jesus fulfilled the function of conquering deliverer and triumphant ruler no more after his crucifixion than before it, no ground remains for ranking him either as Christ or Lord. Let it suffice that he was the greatest of religious teachers, and that Theism, after the research of eighteen centuries and the opportunity of comparison of him with all other religious teachers, can ascribe to its God no higher attributes than some of those which Jesus ascribed to him in the ears of an unappreciative generation.

C. K. W.

JUDAISM.

II.

The dispersion of the Jews occurred something more than a half century after the commencement of the commotions incidental upon dawning intelligence; and no attempt appears to have been made to condense any account of the events until about the same period, when Christianity assuming such evidences of being a new civilization chroniclers attempted to reduce the occurrences to a record. They all unite in tracing the movement to a man named Jesus, surnamed The Christ,—hence the name Christianity.

It is not strange that there is no tangible contemporaneous history of the scenes and incidents attending the outbreak of Christianity, because historians were very rare at that time; and nothing languishes more than literature during the commotions incident upon warfare, particularly a war of invasion, which was the situation of Palestine until the final catastrophe to the Jews. None of these writers give Jesus Christ any characteristics but those which pertain to humanity; and for more than three hundred years Christianity progressed until it became a power to antagonize Pagan Rome, to the extent that the emperor was convinced that secular power alone was not sufficient to contend successfully with the tide of intelligence, which would be fatal to Pagan rule, if not overcome. Wherefore, he invented a superstition which he hoped would entice all the Christians and even the Jews.

This superstition was organized by merging Jehovah, the God of the Jews, with the memory of Jesus Christ, who was declared to have been God, with other attributes creating a co-partnership Godhead. The plan did not work; for the Jews were outraged that their Jehovah should have his attributes as the one and only Supreme Ruler questioned by introducing other persons into the Godhead, especially Jesus Christ, whom they looked upon as the worst of the many impostors who had deceived their hopes; and the Christians would not tolerate the idea that Jesus, whom they honored and venerated, had any but human attributes. To meet this emergency, a ritual was prepared, which every one must indorse or be de-

stroyed. This ritual was the declaration of a belief of the very things in regard to Jesus Christ which the Jews as well as the Christians abhorred, and they were both given over to destruction as heretics; but, as usual, the Jews had an extra prejudice thrown upon them by this superstition, which was the Church, for they were accused of having crucified God in the person of Jesus Christ, who is said to have met his fate upon the cross, the then mode of capital punishment, resorted to by the authorities almost daily. The Jews had no authority, and it is preposterous to suppose that any government would permit any but those in authority to use their implement for execution; but, even if a Jewish rabble lynched Jesus, the Romans alone can be held responsible, as they were the power of the land. But this cruel superstition, the Church hesitated at no fallacy, however preposterous, if it could arouse hate and vengeance against the Jews. Wherefore, to this day, many believe that the Jews were the original "Christ-killers," and hate the race and even individual Jews, their neighbors and fellow citizens, which was the intention of the Church.

This "Christ-killing" accusation has sealed the fate of many Jews, against whom no blame could rest before the magistrate; but this outcry would paralyze authority, and an angry mob was left to do vengeance upon an unoffending man, often extending to broad-spread massacre. If pestilence fell upon a community, it would be laid to the "dirty Christ-killers," in ignorance that Jews are cleanly by and through the force of a religious ordinance evidently established in the knowledge that diseases of the skin are induced by negligence, and Rachel must stand at the marriage altar free from a cutaneous blemish and Isaac must show a cuticle untarnished by so much as a pimple to enable him to enter into marriage.

Then, again, we sometimes hear the expression "drunken Jew"; but I have looked around for more than forty years to find a Jew who was an inebriate, that dreadful thing known as an habitual drunkard, but have never seen one, although most of the time in large cities where Jews are sure to be found, because they thrive upon commerce.

The claim that Jews are distinctly temperate as a race will surprise some persons. Wherefore, I will narrate the incident which caused the writer to make the subject an actual investigation.

A little more than forty-four years ago, when in the city of London, I was in the court room of the city magistrate, who held his court in the Mansion House where the mayor of London resides; and Sir Francis Hobhouse said: "I discharge these three young Jews upon general principles. They are accused of having been drunk and disorderly; and I have sat upon this bench for twenty years, and in that time have not had more than three indisputable cases of drunken Jews." Said he, "Jews may drink, but they do not get drunk." My experience of forty-four years justifies what I thought a remarkable judicial action at the time, but I now think that it was influenced by wisdom and justice. I will remark that these young men were not Rothschilds nor Montefiores released by influence, but they were from Petticoat Lane, Shoreditch, the old clothes exchange of London.

If philanthropists, statesmen, and philosophers could learn the secret of this inherent temperance among the Jews, the vexed question of intemperance might find a solution. That it is not merely incidental can be discovered by all, if they will investigate their Jew acquaintances, whom they will find entirely free from the curse of drunkenness; and yet they are convivial, certainly by no means ascetic.

I said that caricature worked to keep up prejudice against the Jews. The 5th of November in England is a great event, upon which occasion a celebration takes place to commemorate the attempt of Guy Fawkes to blow up the Houses of Parliament; and, after a sort of 4th of July carousal, the children carry an effigy, stuffed with straw and loaded with fireworks, which go off as the effigy burns, and this image is an unmistakable "Judy-Jew-Jew," which is the refrain of the boys while the effigy consumes. Do not suppose that the veritable Guy Fawkes was a Jew. He was a bigoted papist; but, as the ceremonies take place in charge of the church beadle, it looks suspicious of an intention to teach the youth of England that Guy Fawkes was a Jew. Wherefore, they must learn to hate the Judy-Jew-Jew.

Shakspeare intends to convey a truthful moral in all his writings, which fact convinces me that in the "Merchant of Venice" he intended to portray through Shylock the cruel wrongs inflicted upon the Jews, more than to indicate that Shylock is a type of the Jewish race; but I cannot pardon his erroneous conception of Jessica, the daughter of Shylock, whom he makes a betrayer of her household, which is almost inconceivable as within the possibility of crime that a Jewish maiden could be guilty of such an act, and he makes the matter worse by laying her conduct to the infatuation of love. Now, while I do not say that Jewesses are deficient in sentiment or sensibility, I do say they are wonderfully discreet in affairs of the heart, and love wisely rather than too well; while the inference, if we take Jessica as a model, is that they are trifling and giddy-headed.

Dickens in his *Fagin*, the Jew, receiver of stolen goods, is so graphic that unthinking readers jump to the conclusion that these receivers are necessarily Jews; while I am convinced that they would only be found in the same proportion as other nationalities, in any large city.

I will now ask, What has been the influence which has supported Judaism through such assaults from every possible source which could deter or interfere with progress, unless fortified by a civilization of a high order, aided by a cultivated intelligence, worthily commanding respectful esteem? I remember only one instance where a people have acknowledged that the Jews are possessed of an intelligence beyond their own civilization, and this was done unwittingly. In Germany, a year or two ago, an outbreak against the Jews as a race was imminent; and the inhabitants, in their petition to the crown that a burdensome license should be laid upon them, based the demand upon the fact that the Jews were invading every branch of industry, even to manufactures and agriculture, and it was impossible for the Teutonic race successfully to compete with them. As every citizen of Germany is supposed to stand upon an equal footing, it is a rather broad acknowledgment that intelligent Judaism is in advance of enlightened Teutons.

Retributive justice works compensation to balance arbitrary persecution. The Jews had inflicted upon them a proscription which compelled them to reside in a separate quarter from the rest of the community, which afforded opportunity to cultivate the rising generation more effectually in their own traditions than could otherwise have been possible; and thus their distinctive race characteristics were preserved. Deprivation from ability to learn artistic trades was conceived in a spirit of cruelty; but this drove the Jews to apply their intelligence to commerce, and thus become almost intuitively developed for finance and all branches of a commercial career.

This subject has been considered solely from the

point of civilization, without considering the question of religion; but, if I understand the matter, the Jewish belief in regard to that which is generally understood by the term "religion," and that enlightenment of cultivated intelligence inseparable from civilization, are so interwoven that it may be said that their religion is the basis which influences their conduct more forcibly than is the case with any other religion.

A high standard of morality is inseparable from cultivated civilization, and a system of ethics is necessary to formulate and control this morality.

The American system of ethics is the Declaration of Independence, correlated by the Constitution; and, if we influence our actions by those teachings, our morals and our civilization will attain the highest possible perfection.

It is generally assumed that the ethics of Judaism are recorded in the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament; but it seems as if there must be some other inspiration, if the translation be truthful, for I should as soon think of basing a system of ethics upon Dean Swift's *Gulliver*, a work conceived in a spirit of unbounded exaggeration with the intention of lampooning the court and society, and so coarse in language that it cannot be read in a mixed company, but full of moral teaching of the highest order.

The Pentateuch is full of assertions which cannot be made consistent with the intelligence of the present time, besides abounding in details as coarse as the worst of *Gulliver's*; but that is no reason for discarding all that is sound and consistent with our present knowledge. And this applies to the entire Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, from which a system of morality can be deduced such as will be an intelligent guide to the highest culture of which man is capable; and we are all justified to accept every teaching which is good, from whatever source it may come.

It is reasonable to suppose that Judaism is based upon that which is good in the Pentateuch, or it could never have supported its follower in a course of morality controlling intelligence to a standard of civilization which commands the respect of the world, in defiance of obstructions which would have overwhelmed any system not based upon great excellence.

It was assumed that Jews are an interesting race. I close in the conviction that Judaism is a high order of civilization, as it has been for centuries.

J. F. WETMORE.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Rise of Intellectual Liberty*, a History by Frederic M. Holland, is among the announcements of Holt's latest publications.

THE meetings of the Boston Ethical Society, under the direction of Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, will be resumed in Rev. M. J. Savage's church, Sunday, September 28, at three P.M.

THE Free Religious Association will have a social supper at Fraternity Hall (Parker Memorial) Wednesday evening, October 1. Mr. W. J. Potter will preside. Miss Mary F. Eastman will give an address. A pleasant time is anticipated. Tickets, at fifty cents each, can be had at *The Index* office.

THE *American Literary Churchman* remarks, "If every nominee for high office in the State—or even in the Church—is to be required to prove a large number of universal negatives, and to be held up to public odium as a filthy scoundrel if he fails to perform this impossible feat, high offices will soon be appropriated by the offscouring of society."

MR. T. W. CURTIS, who attended the convention of the New York Free-thinkers' Association, and

the congress of the National Liberal League which were held at Cassadaga, N.Y., the former September 3-7, the latter September 8-9, has promised to favor *The Index* with some account of what was done at both these gatherings, which will probably appear in the next issue of this paper.

LITTLE Willie was fond of throwing stones at the passing school-boys, and then taking refuge behind the hall door. One day, he did not get away so easily; and, faring pretty badly, he burst into his aunt's presence, with the tears running down his cheeks, and sobbed out in great wrath, "I just wish I was an angel 'way up high, where the policeman couldn't catch me, with my pocket full of rocks, if I wouldn't give it to them boys!" —*Harper's Bazar*.

MASSKS for the dead are now celebrated in the Church of England, but are called "Celebrations of the Blessed Sacrament on behalf of the Faithful Departed." The "Guild of All Souls" is an association formed for the purpose of extending this particular Romish rite in the English Church. And an English bishop has just declined to interfere with a rector who has celebrated a mass, although he acknowledges that an "illegal ritual is used." —*Presbyterian*.

"A SUBSCRIBER" writes from Cleveland: "I have always looked to *The Index* for everything in the way of reform. Why do you ignore Prohibition and Mr. St. John?" That temperance is a virtue all admit; but whether Prohibition, as commonly understood, is practicable and wise, and whether St. John and his party should be supported in the present Presidential contest, "A Subscriber" will probably admit are open questions. However, by reference to the first article on the second page this week, which was in type before the above inquiry was received, it will be seen that *The Index* does not "ignore Prohibition and Mr. St. John."

THE editor of the *Christian at Work* takes advantage of a disposition of many of the admirers of the public life of Gov. Cleveland to condone an admitted immorality in his private life to say the following of three ancient Jewish celebrities: "Samson was not an exemplary man in his private life, yet his great services as a judge were commended by the apostle. David committed a sin, which, had the scandal-mongers of to-day had their way, would have driven him from his throne; and Solomon, too, would have been forced to abdicate." Samson and Solomon, considering the ideas and practice of their times, should be regarded with much indulgence; but David, judged by the record of his life, fell so far below the morality of his day and was guilty of so much perfidy and crime that the people *should* have "driven him from his throne" and excluded him from decent society. But let us hope that he was not so bad as represented in the accounts that have come to us.

A FRIEND writes: "Miserable beyond compare is the life of the sincere, far-seeing radical. Surrounded by weak-hearted conservatives, the gates to literary utterance are rarely open to him; and, when he speaks, his words fall upon clods and empty air. If, on the other hand, he turns to those who cannot be justly charged with the cowardice of conservatism, he is met by a crowd of 'cranks,' each one of whom is wearing his special individual sectarian motley of radical orthodoxy. But yet, even under such conditions, the true, liberal radical's pessimistic melancholy is but a sign of his moral and mental immaturity,—moral, because he is not yet ready to leave all considerations of coward prudence behind him; mental, because he allows the moving mists of present history to dim his faith in the historic perspective

of the What-shall-be. Shallow or visionary are those who deem the golden day now upon them. But not unhappy is he who, knowing it to be thousands upon thousands of years away, yet

"Sees, fleet as night o'er snow-clad height
Flees when the day is breaking,
With future gray another day
Draw near to eyes awaking.

"The eyes that see illusion free
Behold it near and nearer:
Like unknown star long felt from far,
It groweth dear and dearer,—

"Till red its morn, and onward borne
With power beyond all story,
Like feathers frail before the gale
We're swept into its glory!"

MR. GEORGE CHAINEY, who was converted from Methodism to Unitarianism some years ago, and afterward from Unitarianism to "Ingersollism," announces now that he is a Spiritualist. He was converted to Spiritualism a few days ago, at the Spiritualists' camp-meeting held at Cassadaga, N.Y. He had, he states, "been for the last year" in "a constant state of disquietude"; but he is now as happy apparently as when he was first converted under Methodist influences, and as confident that there is a future state as he was a year ago of exactly the opposite. But, without further comment, we quote the following sentences from the account of his experience which he has seen fit to give to the public: "I am absolutely sure that this earth-life of ours is but the shell of things, the chrysalis of the ultimate end of organization. I know it. I ask for no more proof. If it comes, I am willing to receive it; but, for knowledge of the fact, I need it not. . . . Last Sunday night, I had fully resolved to leave the ground the next day. But, as I lay in bed, a sweet presence seemed to impress me that I must stay until every dark cloud was cleared from my mind. Long I reasoned against it. When I at last resolved to be guided, a soft hand was placed upon my fevered, aching brow, and lay there caressing it with touch as light as down and softer than velvet. I could not move hand or foot. Then through all my being seemed to course streams of life,—vibrations of ecstatic joy. The hand then seemed to change into a focus through which rays of light pierced and illuminated my brain, clearing it of all the haunting shadows of doubt and despair. Since then, my mind has been flooded with a wondrous sense of luminosity, and my heart brimming over with joy. The sky seems to attract me. I feel as though I had wings; I am all heaved up,—in other words, I am in heaven."

THERE is no reason to doubt that the great mass of Spiritualists are honest and worthy people, and among their representatives are certainly men and women of ability, character, and worth. But there is a vast amount of twaddle uttered in the name of Spiritualism; and the amount of fraud practised under its cover is discouraging to many Spiritualists and non-Spiritualists, who wish to see the subject fairly treated, and judged on its merits. One difficulty is in distinguishing, under the ordinary conditions of investigation insisted upon by mediums, between "genuine" and "spurious" manifestations. We extract the following from a letter in the *Springfield Sunday Republican* in regard to Lake Pleasant matters:—

Col. Bundy, Dr. Beals, and other leaders of the body, say they are working for the elevation of the standard of the organization; and what perhaps may be a long step in the right direction has been taken this week in holding the first annual convention of the American Spiritualists' association, an organization that aims at the union of the better elements of the order in one fairly cohesive body. This is the first time that the association has been brought prominently to the attention of the great body of Ameri-

can Spiritualists. Still, sensible people will be rather slow to take much stock either in the honesty or sense of those who, while claiming to be working for the extermination of all frauds and humbugs among mediums, continue to support J. Frank Baxter in his pretended and often exposed communications, and place him on the platform as a leading light of the sect. Cephas B. Lynn's address Sunday was rather remarkable for the boldness with which he spoke out against the frauds and mercenarily inclined among mediums; and that his words struck home is shown by the commotion that has been raised in the camp by them. "Angel ministry," said he, "cannot, in my humble opinion, be reduced to a cut-and-dried programme. . . . The theory of spirit communion has been largely overdone. It has been cheapened. Mediumship, in some places, has been put upon the plane of a county fair or a Saratoga race course." And there was "loud applause" when he repeated his statement, made five years ago, that, "with the average Spiritualist, inspiration is dirt-cheap, and angels are as common as tramps."

"Col. Bundy, Dr. Beals, and other leaders of the body," deserve credit for their successful efforts at Lake Pleasant, even though their judgment regarding mediums is sometimes at fault, and they are prevented by circumstances accomplishing all they desire.

DR. T. L. BROWN, the President of the New York Free-thinkers' Association, opened his address, which was published in advance of the annual meeting, held at Cassadaga last week, as follows:—

The science of human existence began with our knowledge of a cell. The religion of superstition began with our want of knowledge of a sell. One is spelled *cell*, the other *sell*. By the former, we find all vegetable and animal life sustained. By the latter, all the fictions and follies of religion are especially maintained. All physical and mental well-being depends upon the scientific cell.

In these statements there is more slang than truth. "The science of human existence" did *not* begin "with our knowledge of a cell." "The religion of superstition" did not begin "with our want of knowledge of a sell." It is not true that "we find all vegetable and animal life sustained" by a cell. It is not true that, by a "sell," "all the fictions and follies of religion are especially maintained." "All physical and mental well-being depends upon the scientific cell" no more than "the scientific cell" depends upon physical and mental well-being, both being dependent upon a common basis and a more ultimate existence. The only true sentence in this paragraph of Dr. Brown's opening address is the following: "One is spelled *cell*, the other *sell*." If Dr. Brown would but study the history of science and of intellectual development, he would learn that science began with the earliest observations and classifications of knowledge (which did not include "our knowledge of a cell"); that superstition began in man's ignorance and efforts to understand and explain phenomena which were above his comprehension; and that, while much deception and fraud have been practised in the name of religion, it was not originated by them, having had, with all its "fictions and follies," a natural evolution, in which "sells," as in the development of all systems of thought or activity, have been only incidental in their nature. The philosophy (?) of religion, exhibited in the above extract, belongs to the past, being no longer in favor among the representatives of any modern school of thought. Dr. Brown's theory is on a par with that which explained language by saying that certain men came together and agreed in convention that certain words should stand for certain objects and ideas. The President of the New York Free-thinkers' Association ought to acquaint himself with modern thought, and keep abreast of the age.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

MORMONISM IN A NEW LIGHT.

BY T. W. CURTIS.

I.

Statement of Question.

On a former occasion, I asserted the threefold aspect of the Mormon problem,—the religious, social, and political,—which seemed to have been, as a rule, lost sight of or but faintly apprehended. The political aspect has been freely discussed in *The Index*, which gave for the first time, I believe, in the history of this controversy, an opportunity for the expression of views so diverse and antagonistic. It is my purpose now to invite attention to the religious side of the question, by making the theme of a series of short articles the character and following of the Mormon faith. This is not a personal narrative. It may be that a passage from my life may find a fitting place in the series, but my object is not to make the public the confidant of my woes nor the avenger of my wrongs. The only confession or complaint I have now to make is that I find myself at odds, almost equally so, with Mormon and Gentile (and, I may add, with all previous writers on this subject). Though born and bred in the Mormon Church, its doctrines stand no longer identified in my mind with the truth. I am an apostate. I have either lost my reason or found it. And though I have now mingled with the world, and cherish deep in my inmost soul a love of free institutions, and look to the spirit that created them as my guide and tutor in all things, I am far from being *en rapport* with the public on this Mormon question. How much my thought is influenced by early associations I do not pretend to say; but that influence was not all of one kind, and soon met its rival. I have looked at Mormonism from the inside and from the outside, in the attitude of belief and of unbelief. But now, to get at the merits of this question, I know it to be my duty to forget myself and address the understanding, and not the prejudices of the reader. I must slight no fact and dodge no issue.

The fact that my audience is Gentile and not Mormon must make a difference in the manner of dealing with the subject. The existing state of the public mind is really a factor in the problem. Definite conclusions are supposed to have been arrived at, and the resulting estimate seems to be a condensation of the world's scorn and hatred, which can neither be acquiesced in nor ignored; for that would take away the need of investigation, the stimulus to inquiry. This opposition to Mormonism, it is important to observe, is not only pronounced, settled, and almost universal, but consists of verdicts on matters of fact and belief, character and creed. This would imply some one standard of appeal, whereas the opponents of Mormonism differ widely in this respect. Mormonism is a product of our age. In judging it, we judge ourselves. In this sense, it is a revelation, it is providential. To misjudge it is not only to deceive ourselves, but to aid its success. For persecution, which may take a thousand shapes, is a proof of conscious weakness and demerit, and makes the persecuted cause appear divine from very contrast. Truth only can conquer falsehood. It is therefore proper to ask, What is the tribunal before which Mormonism is to be tried; what are the scales in which it is to be weighed?

There are two sides to every question but one,—religion, for which the interrogation point was never invented: so, at least, history seems to say. A dogmatic faith assumes the certainty of mathematics without its demonstration, and the authority of intuition without its power. Not professing to be based on reason, it will have no parley with it. Not originating with man, it is above and independent of the human. Born of heaven, it is in no wise beholden to earth. Its author is God, whom not to know is proof of total depravity, and whom to deny is the seal of eternal perdition. The rulers of earth have sought alliance with this king of heaven, in order that their power may be as plenary and absolute as his. This is the secret of the hostility of sects and of religions, and shows why religious heresy has been treated as treason, blasphemy, and immorality. Every form of dissent from the prevailing belief, from the mildest heterodoxy to the boldest infidelity, has been confronted with this accusation in its triple form; and, since rack and fagot have gone out of use, slander and misrepresentation have taken their place, construing word and act of the offender into a confession of dark design and conscious guilt. And the rehearsal of these facts concerning religion explains the double origin of the opposition to Mormonism in Liberalism and Orthodoxy: the first looking on it as a self-consistent form of the theocratic idea, which it hoped was rapidly dying out of the world; and the latter regarding it as a caricature of that idea, under whose true yoke, as fashioned by itself, it still expects the world to bow. But, however much the Liberal and Orthodox mind may differ in their reasonings, they have been practically in accord in the anathematizing and outlawry of the new creed and its devotees. The charges are many, and it is at this day an unsolved problem on which of them the arraignment of Mormonism is chiefly based. Though parties differ as to emphasis, there appears to be a tacit agreement that there is to be no falling out on that account, as the deep-rooted conviction of nearly all is that Mormonism is heathenism, or but one remove from it. To demur to this charge is to throw suspicion on one's own mental or moral soundness. And I think it safe to say (and, if true, what a significance there is in the fact!) that on no question exciting so wide an interest does there exist at once such an amount of misintelligence and positive assertion, of itera-

tion of freedom of thought and a general conspiracy to keep the avenues of knowledge closed. Press, pulpit, and people seem to have formed a solemn league and covenant to continue the assault until Mormonism is hurled down the abyss whence it sprang. But that verdict which has been rendered, and meant to anticipate the final judgment, I will give in other language than my own.

The Hon. John Cradlebaugh, in a speech before the United States Senate in 1883, said: "The remoteness of Utah from the settled regions of our country, and the absence of any general intercourse between the Mormons and the masses of our people, have served to keep the latter in complete ignorance of the character and designs of the former. That ignorance, pardonable at first, becomes criminal, when the avenues to a full knowledge are open to us. Mormonism is one of the monstrosities of the age in which we live. It seems to have been reserved for the model republic of the world, where the light of knowledge is more generally diffused than ever before, . . . to produce an idle, worthless vagabond of an impostor, who heralds forth a creed repulsive to every refined mind, opposed to every generous impulse of the human heart, and a faith which commands a violation of the rights of hospitality, sanctifies bloodshed, enforces the systematic degradation of woman, not only permits, but orders the commission of the vilest lusts in the name of the Almighty God himself, and teaches that it is a sacred duty to commit the crimes of theft and murder. It is surprising that such a faith, taught too in the coarsest and most vulgar way, should meet with any success. Yet, in less than a third of a century, it girdles the globe. Its missionaries are planted in every place. . . . It was reserved for Mormonism, far off in the bosom of our beloved land, to rear its head, naked in all its hideous deformity, and unblushingly, yes, defiantly, proclaim a creed without the least redeeming feature, and of such character that the Thuggism of India cannot match it."

It is indeed surprising that such a religion, taught in such a way, should not only meet with success, but in "less than a third of a century girdle the globe" with its missionary posts! This speech was accepted as an authentic portraiture of Mormon faith and practice. And why? Because it was only the echo of beliefs and prejudices already existing which formed its warp and woof, in which were some scattered threads of isolated utterances from Mormon discourses. And this story, with scarcely any change of emphasis, has the credence of the public at this day. Want of space only prevents me quoting a similar passage from the speech of Senator Cullom in the very last session of Congress. A Methodist minister, who preaches to one of the largest congregations in the Eastern States, said to me, "It is plain the Mormon people must be either a very ignorant or hypocritical sect to believe in such doctrines." A leading light in the Unitarian denomination said to me, in reply to the remark that I had a little the best of him, as he was once a Baptist and I a Mormon, "Why, I always looked on Mormonism as a fraud from beginning to end." A Liberal of world-wide fame said to me: "What man or woman with the least intelligence can believe in that Book of Mormon? The Church pretends the Bible does not uphold polygamy, when it knows it does. We may yet have to drive these Mormons out of the country." In a late number of the *Catholic Quarterly Review*, I read: "Christianity and the Christian idea of the family are wholly repugnant to them. Their intellects are warped as completely by Joe Smith and the Book of Mormon as are

those of the Mohammedan world by the Arabian False Prophet and the Koran." The *Christian Union* speaks of it as "a despotism, compared with which Romanism is an embodied Sermon on the Mount." The *Independent* and other papers, religious, semi-religious, and "irreligious," utter views as extreme and in language as strong.

"The remoteness of Utah from the settled regions of our country," to quote again the oracle of the Senate Chamber, I am afraid is not the only cause tending to keep "the masses of our people" "in complete ignorance of the character and designs" of the Mormons. It is misleading, it is expunging half the record, to say, "It was reserved for Mormonism, far off in the bosom of our beloved land, to rear its head," etc. I met a gentleman the other day from Chicago, of social and business standing. We talked about the prospects of religion in that wonderful city, and passed from this topic to Mormonism. "What do your people think of this question?" "Oh, I can't say: the papers discuss it now and then. Of course we are in favor of putting a stop to polygamy." Was this gentleman aware that, nearly a generation back, the centre stake of the Mormon Zion was in this very State of Illinois, in Nauvoo, "the beautiful city," the largest city then in the State of Illinois? Was he aware they came hither from Missouri, whence they were driven *en masse* by mobs assisted by the State militia? Was he aware that, before this, they had settled in Ohio, where their first temple was reared, and which stands even now? Was he aware that, during the period covered by these persecutions, polygamy was no part of the Mormon creed? Was he aware that the Mormon prophet was assassinated at Carthage, Ill., after having surrendered himself to the State authorities with a pledge from the Governor for his safety, while not one of the perpetrators of that deed was ever brought to justice? And, finally, was he aware that the Mormons were expelled from the State, and forced to seek a home in the wilderness, leaving their city with its magnificent temple a prey to a Vandalism supposed to have died with the ages of barbarism?

But these things are of the past. Yes, though not quite so old as the capers of Joe Smith's boyhood, the story of the Spaulding manuscripts, etc., which seem to be abundantly remembered; nor quite so old as the persecutions of the early Christians, which are still fresh in the memory of the Church. I say nothing now as to the cause of these "persecutions," as the saints call them. My aim is to show that the opposition to Mormonism dates from its first appearance, and has been bitter and unrelenting; and that its first appearance was not "far off in the bosom of our beloved land" (more literally, the heart of the great American Desert), but here in the centre of our New England civilization. And it had grown to a sect before foreign immigration began to swell its numbers. The *Leeds Times* of 1840 says: "The most recent exhibition of fanaticism is the appearance of a new sect in many parts of England, called 'Latter Day Saints'; and it goes on to tell the manner of its rise in America and what its teachings are. The *Millennial Star*, a Mormon periodical just then started in England, said in reply, "We see nothing of the appearance of fanaticism in the doctrines described in the foregoing article, excepting that part of it which is not true." This little passage at arms illustrates the beginning of the contest between the new sect and Christendom. The Mormon takes courage from the fact that his belief is no more fanatical than what is professed by his Christian neighbor, and that, to bring it into contempt, either ignorant or wilful misrepresentation is indulged in. John Stuart Mill, in his

work on *Liberty*, speaks of "the language of down-right persecution that breaks out from the press of this country [England] whenever it feels called on to notice this remarkable phenomenon of Mormonism." What would he have said, had his eyes fallen on these utterances from the two leading journals in America? The *New York Herald* recently said, "There is a chance that blows at the church organization, which do not depend upon a jury for their execution, may tumble down the whole fabric of Mormonism, if they are dealt with all the vigor of which the government is capable." The other extract is from the *New York Tribune*, commenting on the murder of the five Mormon elders by twenty masked men at Cane Creek, Tenn., this last August. After deprecating the crime in a single sentence, the *Tribune* adds: "But it should be a warning to the polygamists of Utah that the propagandism of their odious doctrines will not be patiently allowed in any part of this country. They seem pretty well convinced of this, as far as the Northern States are concerned; but, for two or three years past, they have been trying to insult the intelligence and morals of the South by trying to make converts there. Last year their missionaries got into trouble in North Carolina, now they have been shot in Tennessee. These are hints that even thick-skinned sensuality ought to understand." The reader's attention surely needs not to be called to the not very remote connection between this deed and the doctrine of the *Herald*, and the identity in spirit between that doctrine and the sage reflections of the *Tribune*; and, still further, to the bearing of this incident on the discussion in hand. Two such journals, on opposite sides in politics, would scarcely indulge in such a strain, if it did not chord with the dominant feelings or sentiment of the time.

But this incident even has other phases equally significant. It is not surprising to hear that there is no clew to the slayers of the elders, and that the authorities have taken no effective steps in the matter, the governor even giving to the public rumors tending to palliate the deed; while all the facts, as far as known, show it to have been without any kind of provocation. It is not surprising that, since this affair, another Mormon missionary has been shot at Nashville, Tenn. Any one may become the intimate of a future yet unborn by pondering these words which passed between the Mormon elder and his interrogator, the other day: "What were you doing, when attacked by these men?" "We were preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ as we understood it." "Do you expect to continue the work in that locality?" "Most assuredly: others will be sent to take the place of those that were killed."

I propose now to try to bring Mormonism to the test of facts and reason, and, if possible, to adumbrate its future by ascertaining the proportion or disproportion between its virtues and defects, as compared with the same in other sects and religions. I shall begin with the story of the Spaulding Manuscripts and of the Golden Plates.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Boston Transcript* writes thus in regard to the word "agnostic": "Undoubtedly, as its root implies, it signifies 'a religious know-nothing'; but are not you wrong in giving it the further definition of one who 'cannot believe'? I may know nothing of a subject, religious or secular; but I may believe a great deal. There is no bound to human credulity. We know nothing of the future world, but our beliefs regarding it are as different as our temperaments. I know nothing about the formation of the centre of our earth, but may have a belief as to its composition."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE AGNOSTIC.

Editors of The Index:—

The word "agnostic" is from the Greek adjective "agnostos," of which the passive meaning is "unknown"; the active meaning, "not knowing," "ignorant of." Hence, the literal meaning of agnostic is one who does not know or does not claim to know. Perhaps the definition "one who neither affirms nor denies anything" (*Index*, Jan. 11, 1883) is as good as one so short well can be. But definitions have to be modified. Everybody both affirms and denies many things. We might modify the definition thus: an agnostic is one who neither affirms nor denies the truth of unprovable statements.

But, as knowledge is progressing, any question of science, though difficult now, cannot be said to be unprovable. Unprovable questions belong to that class of conceptions which are beyond human observation and experience. The existence of a conception does not prove its truth, for an idea does not always represent an objective fact. For instance, our present existence causes the idea of future existence, but does not prove its truth. Our definition needs a further amendment. An agnostic, then, is one who neither affirms nor denies the truth of propositions about anything beyond human observation and experience.

To illustrate, when an orthodox person wishes to annihilate a sceptic, he exclaims, "What absurdity, design without a designer!" But that is just the point at issue. If anything is designed, of course it had a designer. That little *if* again! A man designs a machine. There is an observation of certain facts, a molecular motion of the brain in combining them as antecedent, and the machine follows as consequent. But the man did not invent the matter of the machine. Just here the agnostic says: There may or may not be a designer of this great machine, the universe. I never saw any matter created. Neither did any of my ancestors. Nor has any of the human race even seen any matter created or any world designed. How, then, should I know? I had rather not dogmatically affirm either way.

But this does not preclude the agnostic from having an opinion more or less strong. He may either take the peasants' view in the anecdote given by Prof. Lange, or the contrary. "Indeed, sir, and there is a horse inside," cried the peasants at X., when their spiritual shepherd had spent some hours in explaining the nature of the locomotive.

If, after balancing the probabilities, it seems to him more probable that mind generated matter than that matter produced mind, or if he wonders with Prof. Tyndall whether there is not some infinite Mind capable of understanding the universe, or if the universe is not great enough for him, if he wants something greater than this world and humanity to love and worship and lean on, then the agnostic will say, I think it was designed, but I do not know that it was.

On the other hand, he might say this. Only carry the design argument back far enough, and you come to something that was not designed, or else your series is infinite. Why not stop with matter and say (also with Prof. Tyndall) that it carries within itself the form and potency of all life. Many other considerations, too abstruse to be popular, induce him to say, gravely and soberly and without intending disrespect to anybody: I see what appears to me to be a self-working machine. I do not think there is any horse inside of it. I do not affirm that there is not, but it does not seem to me that there is.

It may not be out of place here to note the true province of science. Science proper is the observing, knowing, and recording of the operations of Nature. The scientific methods of studying phenomena do not apply to finding out the origin of matter. By observing nature, science may show and in a great measure does show that matter does possess the form and potency of all life, and how that life has been developed; but why it possesses that form and power cannot be shown by the experimental methods of science, because it is with existence and not origin that science has to do. But just here where the orthodox says, I know, the scientific agnostic says, I do not know.

As it is with respect to origin, so it is in regard to supernatural interference with the order of nature.

Or, rather, we might say that, while science may not absolutely prove that there *cannot* be such interference, it proves that there *is* not. Science, which is the result of a long-continued observance of natural facts, does not furnish the least evidence that there has ever been any interference or break in the course of events. All proceeds by unvarying natural law. But it may be asked, Whence the law? The agnostic replies that, as the groundwork of existence must be eternal, these laws are part and parcel of that groundwork, and, further, that instead of being separate entities are the different modes in which nature acts. What the agnostic knows is nature and its actions. If there is anything which is not nature, it is unknown to him.

These theoretical ideas of course influence practical life. Perhaps the first result of agnosticism is that mere belief, disbelief, or neutrality in respect to unproved ideas, is in no sense a crime or disgrace. *Dubitatio non crimen est.* It is conduct and motive that should be judged.

Those who lead a moral life do so mainly through one of two motives. They either obey supposed supernatural commands or they strive to do right because the principles of right conduct can be and are discovered in the nature of things and the needs of life. The latter is the agnostic. Also, all rationalists get their authority for morals from the same source. So far from knowing nothing, he believes in knowing everything that can be known. He bases his conduct on what he does know. Still less does he attempt to regulate the conduct of others by what can only be matter of opinion.

The agnostic lives in this world here and now, and aims to live by what is known. He may not believe in a future life, but he does not dogmatically say that there is not and cannot be one. If he believes in it at all, he probably hopes that there is some law in nature by which consciousness and matter are carried over together. But, doing as well as he can in this life, he has no fears for the next, if such there be.

From individual right conduct or ethics, we come to combined or political conduct in the formation of the State. As the function of the State is in a measure to control its members, if we want freedom and not tyranny, great care should be taken in regard to the basis of authority. In past times, and even to this day in this country, the basis of authority was and is thought to be the doctrines of the Church. We are told that this is a Christian country, and there is a society whose object is to introduce church dogmas into the Constitution.

Here, the principles of the agnostic and of all liberal thinkers give rise to secularism or the complete separation of Church and State.

The fact that many of the people are Christians in belief does not make this a Christian country in the sense of giving Christians the right to enforce their opinions by legal enactment. The individual has a perfect right to regulate his conduct by supposed supernatural commands, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others thereby. But, whenever and however church doctrines which are believed in by only a part of the people are forcibly made the rule of conduct for the whole people, to that extent does tyranny reign.

The supposition that the majority believes them, and that the majority has the right to go behind human experience, thereby claiming a source of authority which is unproved, is to remove the basis of law from the world of known fact to that of uncertainty. In such cases, the real authority is arbitrary human will. A republic with a majority ruling by church dogmas would be one only in name. By experience as referred to above, we mean the objective facts of life, and not subjective feelings which may or may not be founded in reality.

In the United States, we have chiefly to guard against the revival of partially obsolete laws, and against those political reversions whose tendency is to retrograde toward an inferior type of statesmanship by putting church dogmas into the Constitution. There has lately been a case in point. In Pennsylvania, the testimony of a witness was admitted in court. But, because the witness admitted that he "did not believe in God as commonly understood by the people," Judge Briggs ordered a new trial. The attempted revival of the Sunday laws is another case of reversion to the old Puritan type.

In England, the secularists, led by Mr. G. J. Holyoake and others, have plenty of practical work.

They see that the condition of the people is far from perfect, and that the nobility with their vast landed estates, combining with the powers of Church and State, have grown up a powerful trio together. They believe in the complete separation of Church and State, and in applying the facts of the here and now to government as to private life. They are not wild anarchists, but believe that no government is too sacred to remain unmodified, until it fulfils the end for which it was made,—the welfare of the great mass of the people. The State idea of the agnostic may be thus expressed:—

"By the human mind alone
States are made; and States decay
When, the transient shell outgrown,
Freedom marches on her way."

An able liberal writer in defence of modern thought, in *Popular Science Monthly* for April, 1884, objects to the term "agnostic," as a general name for Liberals. The main objection is that the word defines our belief in terms of negation instead of affirmation. The criticism is good; but still, as it is well-nigh impossible to find any name which will accurately describe both the positive and negative belief of all Liberals, it answers very well to denote a certain mode of thought. The term was first used to denote the attitude of certain thinkers toward some questions which are beyond experience,—questions which the mind can raise, but cannot positively prove either way. Prof. Huxley himself says (as quoted in *Index* of Dec. 20, 1883): "Some twenty years ago or thereabouts, I invented the word 'agnostic' to denote people who, like myself, confess themselves to be hopelessly ignorant concerning a variety of matters about which metaphysicians and theologians, both orthodox and heterodox, dogmatize with the utmost confidence. Agnosticism simply means that a man shall not say he knows or believes that which he has no grounds for professing to know or believe. Agnosticism simply says that we know nothing of what may be beyond phenomena."

It is plain that the term "agnostic" refers to positive belief and practical conduct by implication. It leads to the separation of Church and State on the plain principle that no person has the right to regulate another's conduct on "grounds" which lie "beyond phenomena" or human experience.

JOSEPH EYLES PECK.

ANOTHER WORD FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD:

My dear Sir,—Permit me to thank you for publishing what Mr. Garrison wrote on the fly-leaf of a Bible which he presented to his son, William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., in 1875. If the inscription had been known to me, I should have been swift to quote it in my sketch of his life, and also in reply to the charge of the *Christian Union*,—namely, that the Garrisonians "abandoned the Bible" on account of its teachings in respect to slavery, and "set themselves at work to abolish Christianity with one hand and slavery with the other." Of all the quotations I have made from Mr. Garrison, not one would have served my purpose better than this. It embodies the identical view of the Bible in which all my quotations originated, and which he held from about 1841 to the day of his death, as I am able to testify from personal knowledge. Indeed, as early as 1836 he ceased to regard or to speak of the Bible as "the word of God," but he did not therefore "abandon" it. On the contrary, he clung to it, if possible, more tenaciously than before, his "reason and conscience" pronouncing it "deserving of the highest consideration for its incomparable truths, solemn warnings, and precious promises." Or, as he said in 1863, "I have never refrained from making use of it as a mighty weapon to battle down slavery."

You speak of my citations as made from Mr. Garrison's "early writings," meaning, as I understand you, that they were written before his departure from Orthodoxy. This seems to imply a purpose on my part to conceal his change of views, than which nothing could be more unjust. Every one of my quotations represented the period subsequent to his open rejection of the doctrine that the Bible is "the word of God." Moreover, I took the latest expressions that I could find at the moment, intending to represent his latest view of the subject. There is a perfect harmony, moreover, between those quotations and the one that you present from the fly-leaf

of his son's Bible; and, from my knowledge of his sentiments from 1841 to the day of his death, I am prepared to say that his views of the Bible at the former date were exactly the same as at the later.

Mr. La Roy Sunderland thinks Mr. Garrison had no faith in the Bible as a "supernal" or "supernatural" revelation. Who says he had? Certainly, I have made no such affirmation. Again, Mr. Sunderland says, Mr. Garrison "was not at the close of his life a Christian." According to orthodox creeds, he certainly was not; but, according to a better and truer definition, he was one of the grandest Christians that ever lived. So that he was able to say, with profound sincerity, in 1851, years after he had discarded the doctrine of the infallible inspiration of the Bible: "I am a Christian: why do you represent me as an infidel? I am a lover of Christian institutions: why do you accuse me of seeking their overthrow?" I was far more intimate with him than Mr. Sunderland was, and I know that he regarded himself as a disciple and follower of Jesus in the later years of his life. A more profoundly religious man, a firmer believer in God and a future life, I have never known. Mr. Sunderland's intimation that my quotations from Garrison are only such as might be made from Horace Seaver, Eliza Wright, and other avowed infidels, and that they were made "to serve a purpose," is an imputation that surprises me. It is most uncandid and unjust.

It is very true that Wendell Phillips, in his address at Mr. Garrison's funeral, said nothing as to any faith he (Mr. Garrison) had in "mysticism." But he said this, which is far better:—

"Believing at the outset that America could not be as corrupt as she seemed, he waits at the door of the churches, importunes leading clergymen, begs for a voice from the sanctuary, a consecrated protest from the pulpit. To his utter amazement, he learns, by thus probing it, that the Church will give him no help, but, on the contrary, surges into the movement in opposition. Serene, though astounded by the unexpected revelation, he simply turns his footsteps, and announces that 'a Christianity which keeps peace with the oppressor is no Christianity,' and goes on his way to supplant the religious element which the Church had allied with sin by a deeper religious faith. Yes, he sets himself to work, this stripling with his sling confronting the giant in complete steel, this solitary evangelist, to make Christians of twenty millions of people."

These words of Phillips are a correct representation of Garrison's attitude and spirit from first to last. He never ceased to regard the anti-slavery movement as in the truest sense of the words a religious and Christian enterprise. He never saw a day when he did not regard the epithet "infidel," which a pro-slavery church hurled at his head, as opprobrious and false.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

NEW YORK, Aug. 31, 1884.

[We had no intention, in the editorial paragraph above referred to, of charging Mr. Johnson with conscious unfairness, even by implication. He is doubtless correct in claiming that Mr. Garrison did not "abandon" the Bible. What he abandoned was the belief in which he was educated that the Bible is a special revelation from God, attested by miracles, to be accepted as authoritative because of its origin. This belief, and not the Bible itself, is what Hume, Volney, and Paine abandoned, what Strauss and Renan abandoned, what Kneeland, Frances Wright, Judge Herrtell, Judge Hurlburt, George Jacob Holyoake, Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Marius Robinson, Ernestine L. Rose, Henry C. Wright, Parker Pillsbury, Eliza Wright, Frederick Douglass, and C. K. Whipple abandoned. If respect for the character of Jesus as a human teacher and reformer, and a high estimate of the moral worth of portions of the Bible considered as a collection of ancient writings, human in their origin and nature, and therefore marked by many errors, make one a Christian, then Mr. Garrison was undoubtedly a Christian, as was also Thomas Paine, who made use of the Bible as a "mighty weapon" in attacking hereditary monarchy and urging American independence, expressed admiration for the character of Jesus and the morality he taught, and for portions of the Old Testament, and who was, too, like Mr. Garrison, a devout believer in God and in a future state. But if belief in the Bible or any portion

of it as a work of superhuman origin and of divine authority, because communicated from God to man in a miraculous or exceptional manner, together with belief that Jesus was more than a man, and a saviour in a sense in which a man cannot be a saviour, constitute one a Christian, then Mr. Garrison, during the latter part of his life, was not a Christian. He was not a Christian in the sense in which this word is commonly understood by the great mass of Catholic and Protestant Christians. He was an "infidel" in the sense in which that word is now often used by Christians in referring to those who do not believe in Christ as a supernatural being, and in the Bible as a series of divinely inspired and authoritative communications to man. He was not an "infidel," if by that word is meant one who is unfaithful to his convictions, or who is so ignorant as not to be able to appreciate the excellences of the Bible, so unfair as to be unwilling to acknowledge them, or so undeveloped morally as to wish to "abolish" any moral truth expressed in the Bible or in any other book. What Mr. Johnson has to say of Mr. Garrison in his way is perhaps substantially the same in meaning that we affirm in these remarks.—B. F. U.]

MORMONISM.

Editors of The Index:—

Rather late has *The Index* of May been presented to me; but I shall, nevertheless, express myself concerning an article called "Gentile Testimony to Mormon Worth." The writer quotes Bishop D. S. Tuttle's words on the subject thus: "I know the people of the East have judged them unjustly. We are accustomed to look on them as either a licentious, arrogant, or rebellious mob, bent only on defying the United States government. This is not so."

I was connected with Mormonism for about ten years, and spent nearly half of that time in Utah, and profess to know the system very well. I have no ill feelings against the Mormons as a people more than I have against the people of any other denomination. But, for the sake of truth, I must testify contrary to the statement above. I know of no people, not even in monarchical Europe, who are defying and undermining the United States government as much as the Mormons. John Kimball writes, "What the evidence of apostates is worth history has long ago told us." I am an apostate to Mormonism; and, as long as I live, shall I continue to apostatize from any snare or trap that cunning men possibly might get me into, and shall not at all hesitate to give my testimony on Mormonism and the Mormon priesthood, who are no less cunning than the most crafty Jesuit, who are no less despotic, cruel, and licentious than David and Solomon of the Jewish dispensation. In Europe, the Mormon missionaries tell the ignorant and fanatical people that God himself has been down on this earth speaking to their prophet, that holy angels daily communicate with the saints,—the Mormons,—which stories take like hot cake. As the case was with myself, so with others. As children, we are forced to study Bible stories, have to learn them by heart mechanically. At the age of fourteen years, the school is left; and children of poor parents are left to themselves too, as a prey for cunning Mormons or others that may come along. Only sixteen years old I became a Mormon, and was happy in the belief that God was again speaking to his children on earth as in olden days; but can you imagine my disappointment, after a fifty-six days' voyage in a sailing vessel across the Atlantic, a two weeks' ride on cattle cars through the Eastern States (when no trains were ready to transport us, we had to camp here and there until one came along), and a seven weeks' journey on foot across the plains, and arriving at Salt Lake City at last, toiling hard to get bread and molasses for me and my wife to live on; and then one fine day I was sitting in the tabernacle listening to Brigham Young, the prophet, who spoke thus: "There was a time when a great many Gentile preachers came through our country. One of them who called on me said, 'Do you have revelations, Mr. Young?' 'Yes,' said I: 'I have them every day.'" Continuing his discourse to the congregation, he said further: "You reveal to me, and I to you. We are revelations to each other. The best revelation I ever have had is good sound sense!" This last sentence knocked Mormonism out of me. The man spoke a truth which condemned himself and his own system.

Hence I became an apostate; and, according to Mr. John Kimball, my evidence is not worth much.

A short time before listening to this sermon on revelations, I was initiated in the secrets of Mormonism,—got my endowments,—believing that the prophets, whom God thus honored with frequent visits, could endow me with gifts that I did not already possess; but I found out, after the priesthood had told me that I should be a god on some distant orb after the resurrection, that the so-called endowment consisted mostly in swearing obedience to the Mormon priesthood to *obey them in all things*, and promising under oath again and again that I should willingly let my throat be cut from ear to ear, my breast be cut open so that the heart could be taken out, if I neglected to revenge myself on this damnable government which had persecuted the saints, and shed the blood of the prophet Joseph Smith; and, if I could not myself show revenge on this government, then to teach it to my children on my death-bed. From 7 o'clock A.M. till 3 P.M., the time was mainly occupied in swearing obedience to the Mormon Church and its priesthood, and defiance to this government which God himself in a very short time would send to hell.

If a thousand men should get up and bear testimony to "Mormon worth," my testimony is that the Mormon priesthood is a band of bitter enemies to the United States government, and the Mormon system a black and bloody spot on the pages of our history.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

CHARLES MICHELSEN.

THE METAPHYSICAL EGO.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Gill claims that his "Simplicity of the Ego" has been erroneously described. There is but one proper meaning to the term "ego," and that is the sense of identity of our self-consciousness. The subject for which this sense of "I" stands, according to Mr. Gill, embraces all things and all reality. But here arises a difficulty. The absolute condition of this I sense requires that there should be *something* in existence that is not I, as a prerequisite condition. How, then, can "I" include and embrace the all, the whole of things, when the not I is the very ground and condition of my sense of I? Hence no *conscious ego* can embrace all reality. The moment it does, it must cease to be ego.

Mr. Gill describes this *ego* as absolutely homogeneous, without parts or particles, its complexity consisting in its qualities and modes. But the great trouble in this case is that no qualities involving modes are conceivable by our minds without divisions, separations, and parts. He speaks of "congeries of qualities, such as extension, weight, expansion, contraction, and power of motion, with affinities and diffinities for various other bodies." These qualities all involve parts, and can have no existence without them, as he has himself shown in the above quotation. There can be no affinity nor diffinity, no attraction nor repulsion, no motion nor weight, without parts and heterogeneity. His "simple homogeneous substance" can have no "complexity of qualities." Mr. Gill says that qualities are identical with force (which I believe), but there can be no such thing as "force" without an opposite force to resist it; and hence force is never single, but always plural. "A simple unitary force" has no existence. Non-recognition of this fact has been the stumbling-block in the way of most modern philosophizing from the scientific standpoint.

The attempt to deduce all things from an absolute ego, which should include the universe, was made by one of the profoundest metaphysical thinkers, Fichte; but he was forced to admit that the ascription of any self-consciousness to this ego was inconceivable. He showed that "the mutual opposition of ego and non-ego, and the limitation of each by the other, is of the very essence of all conscious intelligence. Through this limitation and opposition (the ground of all will and force), both are something; without them, neither qualitative distinction nor intelligence could exist; all would be a pure blank." In an ego that did not involve these opposite processes, "there would be no distinction of subject and object, and consequently no self-consciousness." Without these, the impossibility of distinguishing consciousness from its object, he says, "makes it inexplicable and incomprehensible."

sible." Where the ego is "all in all," it is, "for that very reason, nothing."

The final outcome of all Fichte's philosophizing showed that his absolute ego was no ego at all, and had no right to the name, but was simply a *potential substratum*, out of which issued the divisions and separations—the heterogeneity—which constituted the properties and qualities, the non-egoness and the egoness, on which all conscious experience depends. The attempt to rehabilitate this ego as the sole, original, and all-embracing substratum of things and phenomena, when it proved such a failure under the hands of its great champion, is not likely to become a logical success.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

DEDHAM, MASS.

EGOISM INEVITABLE.

Editors of The Index:—

I wish to suggest that my critics should not judge my philosophy from one article, as each article, except the first, presupposes some things found in previous articles. I will answer those which have not been answered in those previous articles.

Mr. Harry Hoover says, If I am the universe, I am infinite, and asks where is there room for anything else. That the universe is infinite is an assertion without any proof, and in the nature of the case admits of no proof. On the other hand, its finity is susceptible of proof, because it is a mode of the ego, a congeries of conscious states, and as such bears all the marks of limitation. As the universe known to me and of which I speak is comprised within myself and my conscious states, there may be, for ought I know, universes beyond me next to infinite in number and variety; and of these I propose to treat in due time. And then also I shall answer Mr. Hoover's questions on the logic of pre-organic and post-organic existence and memory.

Mr. Hoover allows my statement that "without a perduring permanent there is no possible change, but only successive creations and annihilations"; but he says, "Matter is that perduring permanent." I agree with him entirely on that point, and adopt his assertion heartily. I differ from him in defining matter, *known matter*, the sensible world, as all philosophers of our time define it, as a congeries of subjective states, the ego existing in such modes. No less heartily than my critic do "I accept chemistry, evolution, and spectrum analysis," and several other things of modern science which seem to escape his notice.

Respectfully,

WM. ICKEN GILL.

A WORD REGARDING SOCIALISTS.

Editors of The Index:—

Your issue of August 14 contains an elegant article by Charles Froebel, the son perhaps of childhood's eminent friend, in which, even because of its unquestioned fairness of intention and amiable spirit, I find the more objectionable the ascription rather implied than asserted of equalitary aims to *Socialists* without distinction of school. Whether this view be correct for all *State socialists* or not I care not to discuss. It is certainly not for the school to which I belong,—the Phalansterian,—sleeping perhaps, but vivacious, and which I prophesy will yet flower and fruit upon the crumbling mould with which the social crudities of to-day are manuring the soil of humanity. It is not my purpose to tax the hospitality of *The Index* for a positive exposition of our social conception. Suffice it that the truth of my phalansterian repudiation of social equality, as a monstrosity in nature, is well known to all who choose to know.

M. E. LAZARUS, M.D.

To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage.—*Confucius*.

The plain doctrine of integrity is rarely found purely practised nowadays. It is easy to pick out plain men, geniuses, martyrs; but integrity is rare. The gods approve the depth, and not the tumult of the soul.—*R. W. Emerson*.

WHEN God has a great work for any one to do in the world, he usually gives him a peculiar training for it, and that training is just what no earthly friend would choose for him; and sometimes it is so long continued that there seems to be but little time left for work.—*Anon*.

EVERY subscriber who is in arrears for *The Index* is requested to send the amount due to this office with the least possible delay. We are in especial need of money during these summer months to meet current expenses,—which we shall be abundantly able to do, if our friends will promptly remit the sums they owe us on their subscriptions.

For *The Index*.

IN THE WOODS OF ST. LEON.

Let who will sing of ocean grand,
Give me the woods, the endless shade
Of trees on which no man e'er laid
A ruthless hand.

What peace, what blissful quietude
The rustle of these polished leaves
Around my dreamy spirit weaves
In this green wood!

Why have I fretted so and striven
In populous towns among my kind,
Where men who think they see are blind
And prate of heaven?

Here in this forest breathing spice,
And love-lorn odors, born of flowers
That woo me to their secret bowers,
Is paradise.

The droning of the humbebee,
The sighing of the wind that stirs
These pine-tops and aspiring firs,
Bring joy to me.

Stretched on this knoll of soft brown spines,
Let me life's true elixir drink,
Nor even tax myself to think,
Till day declines.

GEORGE MARTIN.

For *The Index*.

THE ORACLES OF THE OAK.

'Tis glorious to live in an age like this
And dwell in a land like ours,
Where ripen the seeds
Of the loveliest deeds
And the fairest of human flowers.

'Tis glorious to feel in our inmost soul
The wine of a higher life,
Though it bubble up
To the heart's deep cup
Through agony, toll, and strife.

The flowers that bloom in the month of June
Are beautiful things to see,
But the noble forms
That endure the storms
Are dearer than those to me.

The lily may smile and the rose may blush
And the violet cheer our way,
But the oracles spoke
By the stately oak
Have a mightier power than they.

They tell of years that have glided by
Since it lay in the acorn's shell,
A tiny thing
That the elves of spring
Guarded and tended well.

They tell of seasons of light and love,
When birds in its branches sung;
Of summers brief,
When every leaf
Was a musical lisping tongue.

They tell of surly November blasts,
When the Angel of Death swept by;
Of its vernal pride
That in glory died
As calmly as heroes die.

In crimson and gold, each leaf went down
To its grave on the forest floor;
But the stately oak
Stood firm, and spoke
To the winds with an answering roar,

Saying to them in a kingly voice,
"Ye may rob me of beauty's crown,
But in the path
Of your awful wrath
I fling my gauntlet down.

"For I welcome the winds and the wintry storms,
And I gather a strength from each;
And the lay I sing
As I wait for spring,
A lesson to men may teach.

"Oh! would it might reach to the hearts of all
And bid them be strong and true
To the brotherhood
Of the brave and good
Till right shall the wrong subdue."

The lily may smile and the rose may blush
And the violet cheer our way,
But the oracles spoke
By the stately oak
Have a mightier power than they.

BELLE C. BUSH.

BELVIDERE SEMINARY, NEW JERSEY.

BOOK NOTICES.

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND. A Sketch of his Life, to which is appended a Short Account of the Life of Thomas Andrews Hendricks. By Deshler Welch. New York: John W. Lovell Co. Price 20 cts.

This paper-covered campaign book devotes twenty-three chapters and one hundred and seventy-four pages to a sketch of some incidents in the private life of one of the Presidential candidates, and a more extended review of his public services; while about twenty pages are given to a consideration of Mr. Hendricks' political career. "Appendix A" gives the platform of the Democratic party for 1884, "Appendix B" gives the speech of Carl Schurz before the meeting of Independent voters in Brooklyn, N.Y., Aug. 5, 1884, in favor of the election of Cleveland to the Presidency, and "Appendix C" contains the letters of acceptance of their nominations by Gov. Cleveland and Mr. Hendricks. The volume in addition has woodcut portraits of these gentlemen, with pictures of Cleveland's birthplace, etc.; also fac-similes of the handwriting of Schurz and Cleveland.

BLAINE AND LOGAN SONG-BOOK. Cleveland, Ohio: S. Brainard's Sons, publishers. Price 10 cts.

In addition to over a dozen new songs, adapted to old tunes and to the campaign for Blaine and Logan, this little book contains about fifty of the old favorites of war-times, such as "Marching through Georgia," "Tramp, tramp," "Vacant Chair," "America," etc. Accompanying these, rules are given for the organizing of "Blaine and Logan" clubs.

SEVEN HUNDRED ALBUM VERSES. Original and Selected. Compiled by J. S. Ogilvie. New York: J. S. Ogilvie & Co. Price 15 cts.

These selections are varied, and suited to all moods, ages, conditions, and seasons. Many of them are of excellent literary merit, and most of them in good taste.

"MIND," the English quarterly, edited by George Croom Robertson, devoted to Psychology and Philosophy, is by far the best exponent of the most recent thought on these subjects published in the English language; and its columns are filled with the conclusions of the ablest and most advanced thinkers in the realms of psychologic and philosophic inquiry, both in Europe and in this country. It deserves to be better known and more extensively read than it is; and it does not speak well for the intellectual status of the American mind that there is no more demand for so valuable a publication. There has been an increasing interest in the character of its contents from its commencement in 1876; and the recent numbers (for January, April, and July of this year) contain some especially important essays, which cannot fail to

enlist the attention of all unprejudiced inquirers in the sciences of which it treats. In the July number, the first essay, by Mr. Charles Mercier, furnishes a new classification of feelings based on a deeper scientific principle than those heretofore made, and narrowing the chasm between feelings and their external objects by showing the nature of the relations between the two. His illustrations by analogies drawn from external nature are singularly beautiful and striking in their aptness. Dr. Edmund Montgomery, of Hempstead, Texas, whose essays in this review of two and three years ago elicited high praise for their profound penetration into mental and physiological phenomena, has a lengthy essay on "The Object of Knowledge," in which he contrasts the transcendental with what he would term the organic view of life and sentient phenomena. H. Havelock Ellis gives an account of the later views of James Hinton, whose unique philosophic works, especially the later ones, are of much interest and value. Francis Galton gives some introspective observations drawn from his own experiences, and inferences therefrom, on "Free Will." D'Arcy W. Thompson contributes an interesting paper on "The Regeneration of Lost Parts in Animals," as having an important bearing on some recent speculations of the idealistic school of thinkers, in an essay in *Mind* for last January, on "Life and Mechanism," by J. S. Haldane, and in other works. Edmund Gurney has a criticism on some novel ideas advanced in an essay in April *Mind*, by Prof. William James, on "What is an Emotion?" which is very interesting. The other critical essays are upon James Sully's "Outlines of Psychology," by Robert Adamson; "Leibnitz," by W. R. Sorley. "The Objectivity of Truth," by George Stokes, is reviewed by Andrew Seth. The other works reviewed are Miller's Lectures on the "Philosophy of Law," by F. Pollock; and Wundt's Logic, by John Venn. The notices of new books, English and foreign, bearing on subjects akin to the review, are, as usual, very full.

AMONG the extra attractions of the September *Wide Awake* are the narrative poem, "The Little Lion Charmer," by Harriet S. Fleming, and its accompanying beautiful frontispiece engraving by W. T. Smedley; Mrs. Frances A. Humphrey's story of "How Dolly attended the Convention"; the "Old School-Days" of Amanda B. Harris; Lucy Barri's "A Matinee"; "Intimations of Immortality," from Wordsworth; and Mrs. Clara Doty Bates' delightful versification of the fable of "The Fox and the Stork." These, with the many other excellent stories and poems which make up the number, are as usual profusely and handsomely illustrated by the best of artists, which in these days is saying a great deal for the high standard of this excellent magazine for young people.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

It is stated that the Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania University are making arrangements for a careful investigation of Spiritualism in compliance with the conditions of the Seybert legacy.

A RADICAL demonstration at Victoria Park, London, last Saturday, was attended by fifty thousand persons. Resolutions were adopted in favor of the franchise bill and of abolishing the House of Lords. Bradlaugh and other speakers made addresses.

THE French divorce laws recently passed are by no means lax; but they have given great offence to the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, which recognizes no divorce under any circumstances. The fear of the Vatican, which has forwarded a letter on the subject of divorce to the French government, is that civil laws, in opposition to the teachings of the Church, will lessen her authority; and that these divorce laws in particular will induce many Catholics to forsake their religious allegiance in order to obtain the relief which these enactments, sanctioned by the State, afford. Since the Church cannot recognize a divorce, however legal, all Catholics who avail themselves of the French divorce laws will be forced from her communion. Hence, the official letter from the Vatican. *Hinc illae lachrymae.*

THE people of Italy are wild with enthusiasm over the heroism of King Humbert, who, in visiting the cholera hospital of Naples and other cities, and scattering money and kind words right and left, has contributed largely in preventing a panic, and made himself, as one despatch says, "the most welcome royal picture Europe has looked on for years." The Catholic and Democratic papers join in bestowing upon him the highest praise for the course he has pursued. Humbert's visit to Naples recalls that of his father, Victor Emanuel, who, when Garibaldi had driven out Bomba and the Bourbons, found many of his army attacked by cholera, went among the sick, where his presence and encouragement did much to stem the course

of the epidemic by restoring confidence to the faint-hearted or panic-stricken.

SAYS an exchange: "It appears from a correspondent of the Newark *Daily Advertiser* that there is an Agnostic town, New Ulm, in Minnesota; and the Agnostics there in some particulars are a shining example to Christians. Here is a town of thirty-five hundred population, and with but a Marshal to keep the peace; and yet there has not been a street fight in New Ulm in fifteen years. Mr. J. C. Rudolph, one of the shining lights there, says that occasionally a young fellow from the country comes to town and takes more beer than he ought; but one of the old inhabitants will go to him and tell him that New Ulm wants no noise in the streets. And, added Mr. Rudolph, one of our citizens, looking squarely in the man's face, generally brings him to his senses. The people of the city and country are kept in their senses in a city that has four breweries and thirty beer saloons, without powder and shot and iron bars. The Agnostics, too, set a good example in the charities."

THE Ottawa *Free Press*, which generally discusses the political affairs of the United States fairly and intelligently, says: "In November next, 10,418,000 electors in the United States will elect a king, to whom they delegate for four years the right of administering public affairs by cabinet ministers, not one of whom is elected by the people. Under the British system, we have a king or queen nominally for life, but really at the pleasure of Parliament, all of whose advisers must be members of Parliament, and the majority members of the popular chamber. They can be made or unmade at the will of the people as expressed through their representatives in Parliament. Under the American system, the president or king is for four years almost an autocrat; but, under the British system, the electors hold the check rein directly upon the majority of the cabinet ministers. The fact is that the Americans, a century since, started with a measure of republicanism, which has never expanded; while the British people were oppressed by a monarchy which has progressed into republicanism."

SEVERAL Swiss cantons have petitioned for legislation against the liquor traffic. The petitioners give statistics to show that the consumption of alcohol in Switzerland is greater per head than in any other European country, that the consumption of brandy is increasing, and that, parallel with this, is an increase of mental diseases and of misery and want. The Federal Council declines to recommend restrictive legislation against the sale of liquor, which, it says, represents an annual return of 150,000,000 francs. To the surprise of the country, the Council, in its report, speaks in defence and encouragement of the practice of social drinking. The following is among the statements contained in one clause of the report: "The practice of social drinking of spirituous liquors brings a cheerful temper into society, effaces the traces of daily labor, opens the heart to other impressions, and is intimately associated with the

development of public life. The public house fosters intellectual activity, and is a remedy against misanthropy, egotism, vanity, narrowness of ideas, and extravagance of imagination."

THE terrible cholera scourge at Naples, which is carrying off its victims with almost incredible rapidity, is the occasion of some strange freaks of superstition. A despatch says that the gambling spirit has received a great impetus; that, one day, fifty-two mothers rushed to a school and took away fifty-one children, and everybody played these numbers in the government lottery and all won; that, on another day, the numbers three, four, and twenty-two corresponded to current events in the streets, and were played extensively, and all three came out. The result was a loss of two million francs by the government, a general debauch of the lucky inhabitants, and a violent increase of the cholera. "There has been," says the London *Times*, "an enormous revival of religious sentiment in Naples. The street shrines, which were walled up by Garibaldi in 1860, have all been opened, and the whitewash scraped off the holy pictures. Crowds, wild with joy, watch the work, and hail with shouts each restoration. The processions are continued in the poorer streets, chiefly by women. The churches are thronged, and street altars are erected. The police do not dare to interfere with the altars. Most extravagant stories of miracle work are received with credulity by the populace."

IN his paper read before the Science Association last week, Prof. Bell opposed the existing arrangements concerning the deaf and dumb in this country, which make them a separate class, and especially objected to their continual marriage with one another, which, he said, would ultimately evolve a race of deaf-mutes. He had found in one family ninety deaf-mutes in four generations connected by blood or marriage. Of deaf-mutes, forty-five per cent. marry, and with each succeeding generation the tendency to the infirmity increases. Of two thousand one hundred and six pupils in the National Deaf-Mute Asylum at Hartford, thirty-three per cent. had relatives afflicted in the same way. Of the forty-five per cent. of deaf-mutes who marry, eighty per cent. marry deaf-mutes. To remedy the evil, he said, we must separate the deaf-mute as much as possible from other deaf-mutes during the time he or she is being educated. They should not be sent to asylums. They should be taught English instead of the sign language. They should associate during play-hours with children not similarly afflicted; and they should be taught here, as they are in Germany, to enunciate artificially. Deaf-mutism, the speaker declared, is increasing here at an alarming rate. There is now one deaf-mute for every fifteen hundred people in the country. If the State were anxious to perpetuate a deaf-and-dumb variety of our race, it would not treat the deaf and dumb otherwise than it does. The local, State, and national associations of deaf-mutes, Prof. Bell said, bring the young people of both sexes together, and lead to marriages between them.

THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONFERENCE:

Will It Take down the Bars?

The "National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches"—so the uselessly cumbersome name still runs—is to meet at Saratoga next week. The published programme of the sessions does not promise an occasion of very exciting interest. So far as advertised, there is no topic of especial significance to the public to come up for consideration, excepting the report of the committee on the proposed Wade School at Cleveland. We await the report of that committee and the action of the Conference upon it with great interest.

But Unitarian meetings are not always run according to printed schedule, and opportunity may be allowed at Saratoga for considering other questions than those announced. We should be glad to think that the Constitution of the Conference would this year be thoroughly overhauled, that its theological preamble would be abolished, and the curious mosaic of articles which has been added to explain it (and to explain it away) would be cut off, and all necessity of further addenda of the same sort be radically obviated. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that this step will be taken at this meeting. But it is not too much to urge it; and we hope that those who are dissatisfied with the theological character of the Constitution will not let the occasion pass without, in some form, renewing their protest against it. It is probable that Mr. Savage—whom we understood to propose the new article, which was adopted at the last Conference, as a provisional platform for giving him standing-room in the organization, from which he and his radical friends could afterward work for a thorough reform of the Constitution—will hardly think it becoming in him to begin his assault so soon. The very readiness with which the conservative section of the Conference accepted his article makes it all the more difficult for him to declare battle against them.

Nevertheless, it seems to us very important that the radicals in the Conference should this year make it known that they do not acquiesce in the new tenth article to the Constitution as a final settlement. If they can do no more, they might at least unite in presenting to the Conference a brief, strong, and earnest statement of what changes, in their view, should be made in the Constitution, in order to make it a perfectly just and fair instrument, representing and guarding impartially the equal rights of all members. And let them add that, though they may not press the case this year, on that ground will inevitably come a future demand; that nothing is settled permanently which is not settled justly; and that it is an act of injustice for a portion of the Conference, whether a majority or a minority, to persist in keeping their theological views in the Constitution when another portion of the Conference, equally invited and enrolled as members according to the same Constitution, cannot conscientiously assent to those views, and, if they enter the Conference at all, can only do so under protest against a prominent feature of the very instrument by which they are organized. Thus much, it seems to us, the radicals who do not believe the theology of the Constitution, and yet take part in the Conference, are bound to do for the sake of intellectual and moral consistency.

Whether the radicals of the Conference will take this or any step in the matter, we, of course, do not know. We are an outsider, belonging to the small party of those who decided after the

battle was fought and lost on the preamble itself that the most consistent and effective protest could be made by staying away from the Conference; and, perhaps, therefore our right to express any opinion as to what should be done by those who remain in that body may be disputed. We have, however, never lost our interest in the Conference nor in many of the subjects it discusses; and, seeing the progress which Unitarianism is making toward positions which we have advocated in the organization and work of the Free Religious Association, we have in latter years not been without some hope that the Conference would yet remove entirely the theological bars which exclude us from its fellowship.

Perhaps the next and final move for theologically purging the Constitution of the Conference may come from the conservatives of the body. Such a step would not greatly surprise us. We have reason to believe that some of them are beginning to see the great injustice which the Constitution now is to many of their brethren. Since the last meeting of the Conference, the Memoir of Dr. Dewey has been published, revealing by his letters that he took the ground that the original position of the minority in protesting against the theological preamble should have been conceded on the ground of common fairness and equality. This was the position which Unitarianism, to be consistent with its professions of intellectual liberty, was bound to take. And the opinion of so eminent and sound a Unitarian as Dr. Dewey can but have weight in the denomination. Others, again, are sagacious enough to see that half measures, supplementary and explanatory articles, will not permanently satisfy the protesting party; that the disturbing question will not be removed and peace be established until all theological dogma be exorcised from the Constitution. There is, too, a growing dissatisfaction with the curious intellectual and literary medley which the Constitution, with its various amendments, now presents. For these and other reasons, it would not be surprising if the conservatives should now move in the matter. It would be a gracious act for them thus to make the proffer of relief to the consciences of their brethren. Thoroughly done, extending even to amending the awkward name of the Conference, it would knit the ties of fellowship in a lasting bond.

Will our Unitarian friends forgive us, if we add a homely illustration which has sometimes occurred to us, as we have thought of the present uncertain aspect of the Constitution of their Conference and of the various contests over it, in their struggles to make it express the mental attitude of their body concerning Christ and the Christian religion? There is a familiar children's play, which is also sometimes resorted to among mature persons in a despairing parlor circle of summer boarders, in which a leader, suiting his own action to his word, directs the company thus: Simon says, Thumbs up; Simon says, Thumbs down; Simon says, Wiggle-waggle. Which he is going to say the company never know, and they have difficulty accordingly in adjusting their thumb-movements to his swiftly recurring orders. Will the Unitarian Conference at Saratoga next week, with regard to the long-disputed theological phrases of its Constitution, say, "Thumbs up," or "Thumbs down," or (as two years ago) "Wiggle-waggle"? Our hope is that they will stop the child's play, and declare evermore for a frank, open hand, adjunct of a free mind, innocent of all mere sectarian imitation or manipulation, and ready to clasp fellowship with any earnest worker in any earnest work.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE SCIENCE MEETINGS IN MONTREAL AND PHILADELPHIA.

The idea of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was a happy one,—the formation of a body interested in science, popular in its character, easily joined by all who wish to do so, and migrating yearly from city to city and town to town. Its open parliament has given the ablest students of nature in Great Britain an opportunity to publish their researches, with all the advantages of face-to-face free and competent discussion. Nor has it denied the same privilege to unknown men of merit. At the Association meetings, friendships are formed and cemented, which but for these gatherings would never do their work of cheer and stimulus. The suggestions of thoughtful men thrown out in conference often prove to their hearers the seed of fruitful experiment and research. The specialist brings his fact to the common storehouse, and the philosopher and generalizer enounce the laws and principles according to which exploration may most profitably be extended. An entomologist or chemist finds that many worlds exist besides the one in which he toils, and grows to respect men in other fields, animated by his own care, patience, and faithfulness in the search for truth.

The American Association, based on the lines of its British prototype, has done similar good work. Its independence of popular prejudice is, however, less striking. Evolution was proclaimed as the key to the interpretation of nature by the British Association years before its American offspring dared the statement. In the matter too of cur-tailing camp-following, we have much to learn from our kin beyond sea. Our British brethren suffer from the difficulty presented by keeping a popular organization free from the parasites who are attracted by its picnic elements. Yet they exercise a watchfulness in this direction which we might well copy. Many of the best students and thinkers among us are repelled from our Association by the rabble who gather at the receptions, excursions, and the entertainments provided gratis by an unwise hospitality. A rigid contraction in this department would do great good. So also, perhaps, would the requirement of some original thesis, experiment, or research to qualify for such full membership as might entitle a student to the privileges of the Association year by year.

Crossing the Atlantic to hold a meeting of the British Association in Montreal marks a new era in science. Steam has bridged the ocean which hitherto divided the two halves of a great people. Montreal was visited during its meeting by many eminent American scientists, and the visit was returned by a goodly company of their British and Canadian brethren, who went to Philadelphia. At Montreal there was disappointment at the absence of Sir John Lubbock and Sir John Dalton Hooker, who were to have attended; but a galaxy of scientific stars were there to interest and instruct vast audiences. Among these may be named Sir William Thomson and W. H. Preece, the two first electricians living; Sir Frederick Bramwell, the projector of the Dover-Calais tunnel and the Manchester and Liverpool canal; George H. Darwin, as eminent as his father was at his age, but in mathematics instead of natural history; Dr. E. B. Tylor, first of living anthropologists and author of *Primitive Culture*; Sir Richard Temple, heir to a famous name, great as an administrator in India, and an authority in all matters of state, economics, and finance; Lord Rayleigh, who has chosen the better part of science to the idle splendors of a peerage, and instead of dawdling about London devotes himself to

original research and teaching in Cambridge University.

Besides these were John Couch Adams, who directed observers where they should find Neptune from calculations worked out from the perturbations noted in the orbits of its neighboring planets; Prof. Geikie, foremost of British geologists; Sir Charles Roscoe, perhaps the leading mind among English chemists; James Glaisher, famous both as astronomer and aeronaut; and Capt. Bedford Pim, arctic explorer, and the man of all others who brought the Association across the ocean, and made its meeting in Montreal a success.

Perhaps some readers of *The Index* will ask, Were there no distinctively radical thinkers present to show how inimical is science in result and drift to the superstitions still so well entrenched in America? Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, was perhaps the only one present who might have satisfied the demand here supposed to be made. On the Sunday afternoon of science week, he filled the large hall where the public meetings of the Association were held to hear a masterly exposition of the ethical movement which he has established, and which he conducts with so rare a union of the enthusiasm of an idealist and the common sense of a man of business. His discourse was an appeal to conscience, and did not deal with the oft-fought battle of science against the theologies. Far more potent than any such attack was the atmosphere of the Association and the fundamental principles on which its work moves forward. Every student and experimenter present thinks and works in the faith that nature is inviolable, that law reigns, and that neither miracle nor supernatural interference shall perturb the results of observation and careful deduction. The economists who discussed the problems of property, the betterment and relief of man's estate, did not take account of any other than natural forces and human motives. These, perhaps implicitly by many of the Association, stand for manifestations of the divine mind and intent. No one for a moment, however, mentioned any Force or Design which science is not privileged to investigate, nor the necessity for believing anything not to be understood. The faith which seemed to animate the meeting was the faith that happiness is the aim of life, knowledge its means, and morality its price. All this is vastly more destructive of the baneful elements of theology than direct assaults, which may not always discriminate between the wheat and chaff of organized religions. How can dogma and assumptions of infallible finalities survive the spectacle of conceptions of truth presented modestly for correction, comparison, and indefinite enlargement,—this, too, by the foremost living authorities in their several departments? How striking, too, the rigid truthfulness of men who, basing their life-work on the great finder thought that development is the law of life, still openly declare the gaps where evidence for their faith is lacking, and proclaim, for example, that spontaneous generation is as yet unknown to their observation! The disinterestedness, too, of the students of pure science is not without its beneficial effect on their entertainers. No merchant prince can be the host of a man devoted to original research and patient abstract thought without being in some measure aroused to the responsibilities of wealth in endowing the work which has no direct money value, but an immeasurable indirect value to mankind. Little did the old Greek geometers think, when they studied ellipse and parabola, that they were founding sciences of astronomy, navigation, and engineering! But so it was; and the students of to-day who are endeavoring to map out molecular paths, and discern the genesis of life at the limits

of microscopic observation, are doubtless building better than they know structures for human use and elevation, defences against the evils which still beset mankind.

G. I.

MONTREAL, Sept. 11, 1884.

PYTHAGORAS.

Occasionally, it is salutary to revert to the dawn of civilization, to go back far enough to find ourselves under that "distant Grecian sky" of which Schiller speaks, which overarched the island-cradles of primitive reflective thought, art, poetry, and rational inquiry and curiosity as to the phenomenal world, such as Samos, Teos, Chios, and the other members of the famous old Panionian confederacy in the eastern Mediterranean. There the world of the West first became reflective and philosophic as well as poetical. There the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle was beguiled by immortal dreams; and there the Samian sage, Pythagoras, had his birth, so that the region mentioned seems to be overhung by the eternal morning-red of primitive genius. Pythagoras looms vaguely from the remote Ionian past as a primitive astronomer, mystic, ascetic, social reformer, and far-travelled sage and thoughtful spectator of, rather than participant in, the Olympic games of life. He is also represented as having been a charlatan and miracle-monger. But such a reputation invariably attached itself in primitive times to all men of superior wisdom, knowledge, and insight, as all such were supposed by their barbaric contemporaries to exercise a magical power over nature,—Pythagoras flourished some twenty-five centuries ago. He first called the universe Kosmos, implying by the name that *natura rerum* was throughout a law-regulated system. In thus designating nature, he was the forerunner of the science of to-day, and of Humboldt, the grandest summarizer of the results of modern scientific research. He also is said to have invented the words "philosopher" and "philosophy,"—words which properly and modestly indicate the limitations of the human intellect in the presence of the mystery of existence, characterizing the efforts of that intellect to penetrate to the reality of things as rather indicating a love of truth and pursuit of it than an ability to attain to it. Pythagoras and his disciples were devotees of the Apolline worship,—the most beautiful, significant, and widely influential branch of Grecian polytheism. Apollo was in a special manner the presiding deity of Grecian civilization and Grecian genius. He was the god of light and poesy and rational forecast,—the deity of that oracle religion, whose priesthood professed to be able to foretell the events which constituted the historic evolution of primitive mankind. "In the entire religious life of the Greeks," says Ernst Curtius, the latest and best of the historians of primitive Greece, "no great epoch is more clearly marked than the first appearance of Apollo. It resembles a second day of creation in the history of their spiritual development. In all the Greek towns, from which a rich treasure of myths has been handed down to us, there attaches itself to his blessed arrival a lofty revolution of the social order of things, a higher development of life. The roads are levelled, the quarters of the towns are marked out, the castles are encircled with walls, things sacred are separated from things profane, the sound of song and stringed instruments is heard, men approach nearer to the gods; Zeus speaks to them through his prophets; and guilt, even the guilt of blood, no longer rests inexpiable like a leaden weight on ill-fated man,—no longer drags itself as a curse from generation to generation. . . . The dread power of the Erinnyes (the Furies, the avengers of the

outraged conscience) is broken; and a world of higher harmony, a reign of grace, is founded. As the Pythian god Apollo sits enthroned at Delphi, the god of light and right." In spring, Apollo was fabled to return to the steep of Delphi, his oracular See, in a car drawn by swans from the mysterious land of the Hyperboreans, who knew not old age or death, according to the myth concerning them as handed down to us by Pindar. At the approach of the Delphic deity, the Grecian olive groves, meadows, and thickets burst into song; and so did the disciples of Pythagoras, who were wont to sit in a group, while one of their number sang to the music of a harp what they called their vernal psalm, or spring carol, in celebration of the advent of the god of "sweetness and light." "The music of the spheres" is a phrase said to have been originated by Pythagoras, who inferred from the fitness and proportion which everywhere reigns in nature that the result of the cosmic movements must be a perpetual melody, but audible to soul rather than sense. Longfellow has a fine allusion to Pythagoras, as the inventor of the seven-stringed lyre:—

"I saw with its celestial keys,
Its chords of air, its frets of fire,
The Samian's great Eolian lyre
Rising through all its seven-fold bars
From earth unto the fixed stars."

As has been said, Pythagoras was an Ionian Greek, which was the democratic, progressive, rational, artistic, commercial branch of the Hellenic family. Of this branch, Humboldt says in the second volume of his *Kosmos* that it was remarkable for "a mobility which, under the stimulus of an eager spirit of inquiry and an ever-wakeful activity, was alike manifested in a faculty for mental contemplation and sensuous perception. Directed by the objective bent of their mode of thought and adorned by a luxuriance of fancy in poetry and art, the Ionians scattered the beneficent germs of progressive cultivation wherever they established their colonies in other countries." (Humboldt's *Kosmos*, Vol. II.) The first historic explorer of the western Mediterranean Sea was a Samian, like Pythagoras, namely, *Kolæus*, who was blown by a tempest in primitive times through what are now called the Straits of Gibraltar into the great outer-ocean. The Ionian Greeks were the original free thinkers and scientists of the West. Democritus and Herakleitos were Ionians, as well as Anaxagoras of Lampsaehos, who was the friend and instructor of Perikles, Euripides, the scenic poet, and of Aspasia, the Ionian charmer by her beauty and wisdom. Frederick von Schlegel says that Pythagoras and his followers held the same system of the universe which modern astronomy teaches. By the phrase "kosmos," Pythagoras defined the universe as an harmonious whole. The tyranny which reigned over his native Samos drove Pythagoras to Crotona in Italy, where he established, according to Tennemann, a species of philosophic congregation called the Italian School. As another authority says, "By forming an enlightened aristocracy of highly cultivated minds, of men of scientific attainments and of pure and noble morals, he hoped to establish a new and better polity, such as might check the reigning anarchy and revolutionary spirit of democracy" which distracted all the little factious city States and Republics into which Greece, both Greece proper and the outside Hellenic world, were then divided. But it was a hopeless task which the Samian and his disciples undertook,—to hush and allay the rivalries and factions of the Hellenic world, which were inextinguishable. By attempting to interfere with matters outside of his life of contemplation and reflective and scientific thought and to pour oil on the turbulent waters of Greek po-

litical life, Pythagoras perished. He is represented to have been an ascetic and vegetarian. In the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, we have a vivid picture of him haranguing his school of pupils and disciples at Crotona, who listened, hushed into the profoundest awe and silence, to the words of the master (*ipse dixit*). He is reported by the Roman poet as opening his discourse with a special exhortation to his pupils to confine themselves to a bloodless, vegetable diet. "Oh, pollute not your bodies," he exclaims, "with hideous viands of flesh and blood, with a loathsome animal diet! Let such be prohibited articles, so far as your boards are concerned. Are there not luscious fruits, which make the boughs of the trees droop by their weight? Are there not grapes swollen with delicious purple ripeness on the vines? Are there not nutritious garden vegetables, culinary herbs, which can be rendered edible by fire? Are there not milk and honey fragrant with the scent of thyme? The earth, prodigal of aliment, sets forth a table for man amply provided with dainties which require not the hand of the slayer and drip not with blood. Wild beasts appease their hunger with flesh. But the tame animals, such as the horse, flocks, and herds, are vegetarians."

Passing from the topic of diet to physics, Ovid represents Pythagoras as teaching the doctrine of the conservation and transmutation of force. For he makes him say that nothing perishes, but things and forces are undergoing a ceaseless round of transformations and changes, or, in other words, in this phenomenal world

"Naught may endure but mutability."

All mundane things are in a state of perpetual flux. "I have seen," says Pythagoras, in this Crotona discourse, "what had once been solid land turned to sea; and, on the other hand, I have seen the sea turned into dry land. Sea shells are found lying far from the beach. An old anchor has been found lying high and dry on the summit of a mountain. What was once plain has been furrowed into a valley by the descent of waters." Apropos of the above quotation, Pythagoras was represented in his character of thaumaturgist, or miracle-monger, as having lived many lives in the bodies of various heroic personages, and as having retained a vivid memory of the incidents of each of these lives, so that his own multi-personal experiences would give him an extensive geological perspective, such as is implied in the above quotation, which reminds us of Tennyson's lines:—

"Where rolls the deep, there grew the tree,—
O earth, what changes thou hast seen!
There, where the long street roars, hath been
The stillness of the central sea.
The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mist, the solid lands,—
Like clouds they shape themselves and go."

It seems that the Pythagoreans were communists. The sayings attributed to Pythagoras and the anecdotes of him are numerous. By intently gazing, one seems to see, through the haze of time and tradition, a splendid Ionian-Greek primitive thinker, scientist, poet, and traveller, with much of the sacerdotal, mystic, and ascetic in his mind and appearance, a worshipper of light, a rationalist, and discernor of the true system of nature or the phenomenal world, whose mode of designating it (*kosmos*) is current at this day. Dr. Oswald, in his book called *The Secret of the East*, alleges that Pythagoras intended to introduce the superstition of the Hindu Gnostics into Greece, but that he succeeded only in reforming the hygienic habits of his countrymen. The vegetarianism of the Samian sage would seem to imply that he travelled

beyond Egypt to India, where he, doubtless, became inoculated with a Brahminical kindliness for the lower animals and a horror of utilizing their flesh for food. Pythagoras was, during a part of his life, a contemporary of Buddha. At any rate, it is manifest that his scientific Ionian mind had contracted a deep taint of Oriental mysticism, probably in India, the cradle of religious mysticism and asceticism; possibly by communion with "the Light of Asia" himself, for he might have seen the Hindu prophet in the early part of his career.

B. W. BALL.

THE FAMILY UNIT.

The New York Sun of August 10 publishes a column from the triennial charge of Bishop Littlejohn, under the title "The Church and the Family."

In this charge, so remarkable for its retrogressive philosophy, the bishop deplors the spread of the great Protestant and republican idea of individual conscience and judgment, undermining, as he thinks it does, the authority of the Church and the unity of the family, and tending to social disintegrations and political anarchy. And the pivot of all these pending calamities, the bishop evidently thinks, is the growing independence and higher education of woman. Hence, he is opposed to co-education, and all the liberal legislation that for the last forty years has secured to married women their wages, children, property, and the right to escape from the conjugal yoke whenever galling and oppressive.

"Practically," says the bishop, "we have reached a point where the wife may cease to have property interests in common with her husband, may control absolutely her own means of living, and determine for herself the scale of expenditures that will suit her tastes or her caprices." The man is no longer the head of the household, the husband. It has been made "an open question whether the man or his wife will fulfil that function," and "a community of interests, with the recognized authority of the husband to rule the wife, and the recognized duty of the wife to obey that authority, is no longer deemed expedient or necessary." This rebellion against the old view of marriage is so strong that in many cases the word "obey" is omitted from the marriage service.

Well, good bishop, that is what we have been laboring for nearly half a century; and, if it is practically accomplished, there is no reason why married women should desire to return to the "family unit" idea, as set forth in the old common law of England. If men who are so afraid of "divided interests" would prefer to bury themselves in the "family unit" rather than have that time-honored idea sacrificed, if they wish to be under the absolute control of their wives, to have no right to their property, wages, children, no name even, if they really think slavery in the "family unit" is more blessed than individual freedom, no doubt wives generally would consent to let them try it for a season, feeling assured that in due time they, too, would assert themselves as equal factors in the conjugal problem.

If we should make this proposition to these clerical gentlemen, they would probably decline it on the ground that God had ordained them for other spheres of action, and fitted woman for a condition of subjection.

If this is so, it is very remarkable that, according to the bishop, woman should have practically set the whole plan at defiance and shattered the "family unit" into fragments. If the "family unit," in which the husband is endowed with absolute power and the wife made a mere subject, is "God's ordinance," it is somewhat remarkable that the woman should not have been so constituted as to accept the situation.

We find the birds, the fish, the trees, the flowers, the stars, all alike moving on in harmony and order in their appointed spheres of action, showing that a wise brain planned the natural world and a skilled hand carried out the design. But the "family unit" never did run smoothly: the silent partner, without property or name, has always been in a condition of chronic rebellion. Hence, we may rationally conclude, Bishop Littlejohn to the contrary, that it is not "God's ordinance," but "man's contrivance," to get all power into his own hands. Again says the bishop:—

Individualism resents the restraints and the authority of the Church. Men and women consider it their "indefeasible right to believe as much or as little as they please, to arrange their own church fellowships," and refuse to recognize the dignity and authority of the sacred ministry. Denying authority in the Church, they deny authority in the family. "The transition is easy from heresy in doctrine to heresy in morals, from schism in the Church to schism in family and in the State."

The preservation and protection of the family he regards as the peculiar duty of the Church, which is especially called on at this time to guard the sanctities of the home, because they are so seriously threatened by present secular influences.

Again, the Church must strictly enforce her doctrines as to marriage and divorce, clash as they may with the spirit of the time and the laws of the State. "If it be outside the province of the State to treat marriage as more than a contract between a man and a woman, the Church must make it understood, as it is not, that it is inside her province to treat it as a thing instituted of God."

In a series of lectures last winter during Lent, when even men are supposed to be in a humble frame of mind, Rev. Morgan A. Dix elaborated similar ideas, to which crowds of worshipful women listened with pious resignation and becoming respect. In one breath these bishops tell us that woman owes all the freedom and dignity of her present position to the Church, and in the next breath that the higher education she now enjoys and all the civil rights now secured are "opposed to the laws of God and the teachings of Christianity."

Whether woman, with her own unassisted common sense, will ever be able to find out the natural laws of her being, her rights and duties, under the steady outpouring of these clerical assumptions, is a serious question.

The above quotations are a fair sample of the false and degrading teachings of the pulpit to-day in regard to woman. The Catholic Church in its palmiest days never made a more audacious statement of its authority over the opinions and acts of the people than this bishop here does in claiming the absolute control of individual faith, of family life, of the civil laws regulating the marriage institution, and the right to enforce the doctrines of the Church, "however they may clash with the spirit of the age and the laws of the State." The Free Religious movement to uphold the secular nature of our government and to resist all encroachments of the Church beyond its legitimate domain has been inaugurated none too soon to preserve the individual freedom of our people. In the growing intelligence and independence of woman, the Church sees the end of authority and superstition, and hence of her power to mould the institutions of the family and the State to her will.

Every step that woman has taken thus far in the march of progress, she has encountered the serious opposition of the Church, alike in her demands for social, civil, and political equality.

To all our earnest appeals for personal and property rights, for higher education, for an honorable place in the world of work, the reply of the sectarian press has ever been "Infidelity!" "Free love!" "The destruction of the family unit!"

But, while these ominous words have served the purpose for those who had no arguments, they have no special significance to us who for over forty years have listened to the sad refrain, so out of tune with the times in which we live.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

IN MEMORIAM:

Miss M. A. Hardaker.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Miss M. A. Hardaker, which occurred on the 9th inst., at Canton, N.Y., whither she had gone, a few weeks previous, with the consumptive's illusive hope of soon regaining health and strength. When she left this city last June, she spoke with confidence of her recovery and return; but her physical condition, indicating plainly the progress the insidious disease had made, only impressed her friends with the painful conviction that her work was done, and that death would soon end her earthly hopes and ambitions. Miss Hardaker was born at Warren, Me., in 1845. She was educated at the Canton University. After her graduation, she taught for some time, and then went to Germany, where she studied, and also taught a private school for the children of American residents. Returning to this country in 1876, she accepted the position of a high school teacher in Chelsea. Soon afterward, she made writing for the press a profession; and her articles, which were marked by vigor of thought, analytical ability, and a fine and rather unique literary style, commanded the attention which they justly merited. Her name was brought into peculiar prominence by her articles published in the *North American Review* and the *Popular Science Monthly*, in opposition to woman suffrage, which called out numerous replies, and excited very general discussion of the subjects treated. Between three and four years prior to her death, she was attached to the *Boston Evening Transcript*, and was the writer of many of the ablest and most brilliant editorials which appeared in that paper. Her article on Emerson and Matthew Arnold—which, in our opinion, was the best reply to Arnold's lecture on Emerson that was published in this country, not excepting E. P. Whipple's paper in the *North American Review*—attracted wide attention, and brought her from literary critics many words of approval and praise. She had a large acquaintance with literature, was a good German scholar, was deeply interested in and acquainted with physical science, and fond of philosophical discussion. From her Alma Mater, she received about three years ago the degrees of Ph.D. and M.A., to which she was more entitled by her talents and attainments than the majority of men upon whom these honors are bestowed. She was aggressive, independent, and courageous, and, although small and frail physically, she was intellectually more masculine than feminine. Social, cheerful, and self-contained, with an easy command of language, of which deliberateness and precision of statement were prominent characteristics, she was always instructive and entertaining in discussion and conversation. Of the Parker Memorial Science Class, she was an active and leading spirit; and, from that body, her familiar face and voice will be sadly missed. A more thorough-going materialist than was Miss Hardaker we never knew, nor expect to meet; and she never hesitated to express her philosophical views plainly and frankly when the occasion required or she felt disposed to speak of them at all. For Biblical criticism she had no taste, and attacks on theology she regarded as a waste of time and strength. In her death, *The Index* has lost one of its valued con-

tributors. Her death will be mourned by numerous personal friends, and not least by those who differed from her in some of her theories, but esteemed her for her many admirable qualities of head and heart.

B. F. U.

OUR SOCIAL SUPPER.

Members of the Free Religious Association and all other friends of free thought are cordially invited to the Social Supper in Parker Fraternity Hall, corner of Berkeley and Appleton Streets, on Wednesday, October 1. The doors will be open at 6 P.M., and the repast will be followed at 8 P.M. by an address by Miss Mary F. Eastman. Mr. W. J. Potter will preside. The last hour, from 9 to 10 P.M., is to be given to social conversation. Friends are requested to apply early for tickets, which will be for sale at fifty cents each at *The Index* office.

F. M. HOLLAND,
Assistant Secretary.

THE OCTOBER SOCIAL MEETING.

The appropriate committee of the Free Religious Association have already given notice of the proposed social and literary meeting to be held at Parker Fraternity Hall on the evening of October 1. But we desire to call the attention of our readers, particularly of those in Boston and vicinity, to the occasion, and bespeak their interest in making it a success. This meeting is the first to be held under a plan that was adopted at the last annual meeting of the Association, according to a resolution as follows: "That (in order better to promote the objects of the Free Religious Association) a series of four meetings shall be held in Boston near the first of the approaching months, October, December, February, and April; that the programme for these meetings consist: first, of a simple repast, 7 to 8 P.M.; second, of a half-hour's dissertation, followed by five-minute addresses by chosen speakers, 8 to 9 P.M.; third, of informal conversation, 9 to 10 P.M." The Committee are making preparations that will insure an interesting and profitable evening. They have been fortunate in securing Miss Mary F. Eastman for the dissertation, and there will be no lack of good five-minute men and women to follow. Tickets for the evening, including the supper, are put at the low price of fifty cents, and can be obtained at *The Index* office. The Association does not expect to make any money out of this enterprise, but it does hope that the interests and objects of the Association will be advanced; and that the liberal-minded people, who are near enough to come together in these companies, will not miss the opportunity thus to cultivate acquaintance, and to receive new invigoration at this expected symposium of ideas.

W. J. P.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. JOHN FISKE's paper, read before the Concord School of Philosophy, will soon be published in book form by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A RELIGIOUS journal confesses, in view of the cycle of defalcations and stealings through which the country is passing, that "our morality is breaking down before temptation rather discouragingly." Perhaps it would have been better if morality had been preached more and dogmas less.—*Boston Herald*.

IN a speech delivered in this city last week, which we find printed in the *Commonwealth*,

Emory A. Storrs spoke of the Independents as "an assorted lot of gentlemen, half of whom deny the existence of a God, and the other half of whom believe that mankind, themselves included, were developed from an ape."

MR. T. W. CURTIS, whose letter in regard to the Convention of the New York Free-thinkers' Association, held at Cassadaga September 3-7, may be found on another page, will favor us next week with a report of the proceedings of the National Liberal League, whose Eighth Annual Congress was held at the same place September 8 and 9.

THE "Appleton Street Chapel," after a year's prosperous experience, is now holding Sunday afternoon meetings in the Parker Memorial Fraternity Rooms. Mr. W. G. Babcock, the regular speaker, gives special attention to the culture of the young, a work in which he delights, and for which he is remarkably well qualified. He informs us that two new teachers for the study hours, from 2 to 3 P.M., would be welcomed by him and his society.

WE shall soon print Mr. Moncure D. Conway's "Apologia" (closing discourse in review of his ministry of thirty-three and one-third years), which the author has revised for *The Index*, and which, when published, will serve to correct certain misrepresentations that have appeared in American journals regarding it. A cable despatch stated that Mr. Conway said he had been overthrown by Orthodoxy, when his actual statement was that he had wrestled with his fears of Orthodoxy, and overthrown the phantom. In a business letter, Mr. Conway writes: "I see that some of the American zealots are trying to make me out a reactionist in religion. The reverse is the fact. I become more unorthodox every day of my life."

THE *Meriden Press Recorder* of September 13 contains papers read on Monday evening, September 8, by members of the Meriden Scientific Association, in memory of Miss Emily J. Leonard. From some of those papers, we shall give extracts in another number of *The Index*. The same journal contains the following resolutions, which were adopted by the Association July 21, 1884:—

WHEREAS the botanist of this Association, Miss Emily J. Leonard, has been laid to rest beneath the wild flowers which she loved so well, therefore,—

Resolved, That we recognize in Miss Leonard a woman of rare intellectual endowments, a fine classical scholar, a most devoted and enthusiastic student of nature, and a most faithful and laborious member of this Association.

Resolved, That, in her favorite field of botanical research, in town or State, Miss Leonard had few superiors. Our own herbarium attests the accuracy of her botanical knowledge, no less than her untiring industry; while the recognition of her personal discoveries by eminent botanists of this and other States shows the appreciation of her collections abroad. And, now that her last collection has been made, our fields and mountains will miss her familiar footsteps, our wild flowers will weep, and Flora herself mourn for her loved disciple.

Resolved, That, as members of the Meriden Scientific Association, to which Miss Leonard was so devoted, and to whose exercises her carefully prepared papers contributed so much of knowledge and interest, if we may not hope to equal her in the richness and originality of her contributions, we will endeavor to imitate her in her zeal and devotion to truth, and in the promptitude with which she responded to all the calls of the Association.

Resolved, That, at the next meeting of the Association, Monday evening, September 8, Dr. C. H. S. Davis be requested to present a sketch of the life and scientific labors of Miss Leonard; that other members be invited to speak in memoriam; and that the meeting itself be memorial, with reference to her life and death.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 18, 1884.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

IV.

THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS.

It is our purpose, in this and the succeeding lecture, to give as clear and distinct a presentation as possible of the salient points in the life and teachings of Jesus. As has already been foreshadowed, our chief, I may almost say our sole, reliance will be placed upon the Synoptic Gospels, especially upon that consensus of statement known as the Triple Tradition. Next to that, we shall accept as most reliable the separate statements of Mark and Matthew, and, after them, of Luke. The Fourth Gospel will be deemed of value to us only in so far as it confirms the synoptical tradition in certain particulars, and also in so far as it throws light upon the question of the natural growth of Christian doctrine, and of the mythical and miraculous legends which gathered around the human life of the founder of Christianity, as they have also gathered around and partially obscured the lives of other religious teachers. Omitting this portion of our subject for the present for separate treatment hereafter, all that we really know of the life of Jesus and of his theological beliefs may be briefly sketched.

Unhistorical and Unreliable Character of the Birth Stories.

Of his early history, our information is extremely limited. He was born, doubtless, in Nazareth,* a small hillside town in Galilee, from three to eight years before the first year of our era, as at present improperly reckoned. Herod the Great died about four years before the commencement of the Christian era; and, if the tradition, which assigns the birth of Jesus to his reign, can be deemed reliable, the question of his earlier birth is definitely settled. The exact year, however, or time of the year, is absolutely unknown. The earlier tradi-

* Mark: i., 9, 24; vi., 4; x., 47; xiv., 67; xvi., 6; Matt.: iv., 13; xxi., 11; xxvi., 11; Luke: iv., 16, 23, 24; xviii., 37; xliii., 6, 7; xxiv., 19; John: i., 45, 46; iv., 44; xix., 19, etc.

tion fixed the spring as the season of his birth. The final acceptance of the 25th of December, some centuries later, grew out of the substitution of the Christian festivities for the Roman Saturnalia and Mithraic festivals, which occurred at the period of the winter solstice, and celebrated the triumph of the god of light in the growing day. This day had long been known among the Romans as *dies natalis solis invicti*,—the birthday of the conquering sun.

The stories of the birth in Bethlehem are mutually contradictory and irreconcilable. They are not even mentioned in Mark, the oldest of the Gospels, or in the Fourth Gospel. They are alluded to nowhere in the other Gospels except in the contradictory accounts of the opening chapters. Matthew* states that the family of Joseph first lived in Bethlehem of Judea, fled to Egypt to avoid the massacre of infants ordered by King Herod, and on their return thence chose Nazareth in Galilee as their home, from fear of Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod. Luke,† on the contrary, represents them as dwelling originally in Nazareth, and going to Bethlehem, the home of their ancestors, to be enrolled for taxation. He knows nothing of the journey into Egypt reported by Matthew. There is no historical evidence of any enrolment or assessment of taxes at the time alleged by Luke, or of any custom which required families to be enrolled at the home of their ancestors instead of their own dwelling-place.‡ The only assessment of which we have any information occurring near this period took place ten or more years subsequent to the death of Herod, and not until after the deposition of Archelaus. The massacre of the children is also a wholly unhistorical and improbable legend. Josephus, who willingly records everything which bears against the character of Herod, knows nothing of this occurrence. Similar stories are related of Krishna, one of the avatars or incarnations of the Hindu god Vishnu, of Moses, the Hebrew law-giver, and of Sargon, an Akkadian king,—all probably referable to current solar mythologies for their explanations. The legend of the birth in Bethlehem grew, probably, out of a misrepresentation of a passage in Micah (v., 2), erroneously supposed to be a prophecy of the Messiah.

The Parentage and Ancestry of Jesus.

The parents of Jesus were Joseph and Mary,§ humble Galilean peasants. Except in the contradictory legends of Matthew and Luke, and in the still more extravagant and incredible stories of the Apocryphal Gospels, we have no confirmation of any contemporary belief in the miraculous birth of a virgin. This story conflicts with the genealogies contained in these early chapters of the First and Third Gospels, which trace the lineage of Jesus through Joseph as his natural father. The Nazarenes, or Ebionites,—a very early sect of Jewish Christians, who numbered among themselves the descendants of the family of Jesus,—rejected this legend, which doubtless grew out of the misinterpretation of an Old Testament text.||

Joseph and Mary probably had a considerable family of children, the brothers and sisters of Jesus,¶—a fact frequently recognized by the Evangelists, and also by the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels. James, the brother of Jesus, subsequently became a recognized leader of the Nazarenes, or Jewish sect of Christians. Some

* Chapter ii.

† Chapter ii.

‡ See Josephus and later Jewish historians. Also Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, etc.

§ Matt.: i., 16; xiii., 55; Luke: iii., 23; iv., 22, etc.

|| Isaiah vii., 14. The word mistranslated "virgin" means literally "young woman." The text has really no Messianic significance or reference to any event in the remote future. See Kuenen, *Bible for Learners*, etc.

¶ Mark vi., 3, etc.

early writers suppose Joseph to have been a widower with children before his marriage with Mary; others, that the brothers and sisters of Jesus were all younger than himself. But these suppositions are wholly conjectural: we really know nothing in regard to the matter.

We have no reliable evidence that Jesus bore any relationship to David or the royal line of Israel. His birth and residence in Galilee, out of the region allotted to the tribe to which David and Solomon belonged, would tend to discredit this tradition, which doubtless grew up after the rôle of the Jewish Messiah had been assigned to Jesus. In the Triple Tradition, indeed, he appears expressly to disclaim this ancestry, arguing in favor of his own Messianic pretensions that, since David called the Messiah his Lord, he could not therefore be his son or descendant.*

His Early Life and Occupations.

The father of Jesus was a carpenter; and early traditions, both of the canonical and Apocryphal Gospels, represent Jesus as working with him at his trade.† With the single exception of the story of his contest with the rabbis in the temple, recorded in the Third Gospel,‡ which reminds us of a similar legend in the life of Buddha, we have absolutely no reliable tradition of his early life. The early maturity of Jewish youth makes this legend not wholly improbable, though it would appear more reasonable to assign the locality of the occurrence, if it ever happened, to some Galilean synagogue, rather than to the temple at Jerusalem. At the synagogue and the schools connected therewith, Jesus was doubtless instructed in the Law and the Prophets, according to the uncritical methods of interpretation then in vogue; and here also he may have learned something of the disputations of the rabbis of the different Pharisaical schools. There is no evidence, however, that he received any general or secular education, or that he knew any language save his native Syro-Chaldaic tongue.

The Relations of Jesus with John the Baptist.

The oldest Gospel opens with a brief account of his conversion and baptism by John the Baptist, an episode in his life which is confirmed in the triple tradition, as well as by the character of his subsequent teaching, and may be accepted as historical.§ The stories of the Third Gospel concerning the birth of John the Baptist, and the assumption of his relationship to Jesus,|| must, however, be rejected,—not merely because of their miraculous implications, but because they are irreconcilable with the more reliable account of the later relations of John and Jesus contained in the synoptics. The tradition that John recognized Jesus at the time of his baptism as one greater than himself—as the Messiah of the Jews¶—is wholly discredited by the consenting testimony of the synoptical writers. If these legends had had any foundation in fact, John, when in prison, would never have had occasion to send his disciples to Jesus with the question, "Art thou he who should come, or do we look for another?"**

We must believe that Jesus was profoundly impressed by the teaching of this remarkable man. His impassioned exhortations to repentance, his announcement of the speedy coming of the Messianic kingdom, his stern denunciation of the Pharisees and Sadducees as "a generation of vipers," his condemnation of riches and extortion, his advocacy of a simple communistic life, are all notably characteristic of the subsequent life and

* Mark xii., 35-37; Matt. xxii., 41-46; Luke xx., 41-44.

† Mark vi., 3, etc. ‡ Luke ii., 41-52.

§ Mark i., 1-11; compare Matt. iii., 1-17; Luke iii., 1-22.

|| Luke i.

¶ Matt. iii., 14, 15, etc.

** Matt. xi., 2-6; Luke vi., 18-23.

public teachings of the Prophet of Nazareth.* His initiation to discipleship by the ceremony of immersion, preceded by a confession of sins, to which Jesus himself submitted, though not administered thereafter to others by the founder of Christianity, was adopted by his disciples, and became a solemn rite of the earliest Christian communities.†

The public career of Jesus, according to the synoptical writers, lasted only about one year. The Fourth Gospel would extend this period to more than three years; but, brief as the former time appears, we have no rational option but to accept the necessary inference from the consenting accounts of the synoptics. It is of the theological or religious aspect of his teaching during this short period of his public labors that we propose now to treat, leaving its social and ethical phases for subsequent consideration.

The Story of the Temptation.

We may infer from the legend of the temptation that Jesus withdrew into the wilderness after his baptism, as was the custom of the Essenes, the disciples of John the Baptist, the Buddhist monks, and Hindu ascetics, for a period of fasting and solitary meditation. That he should there be tempted "of Satan," and ministered unto by angels, as briefly reported by Mark,‡ was quite in concurrence with the popular beliefs of his time and people. This general and indefinite statement of the oldest Gospel, confined to two brief verses, is expanded into the long and circumstantial accounts of the contest between Jesus and the devil, in eleven verses of Matthew and thirteen of Luke,§ wherein the enemy and Saviour of mankind are made to quote Scripture at each other with the facility of modern antagonistic sectarians, the only evident point of superiority lying in the fact that Jesus has the last word, and his antagonist retires discomfited. The growth of the longer and less natural version of the story out of a possible and natural fact introductory to his career as a public teacher, and its consequent legendary and unhistorical character, are too reasonable and apparent to require more than the simple statement of the record in confirmation thereof.

It is natural to suppose that the contact of Jesus with the Baptist, and his subsequent solitary meditations, greatly intensified certain convictions and impulses which had long been growing within him. His belief in the speedy coming of the heavenly kingdom—an event everywhere anticipated in the synoptics as about to occur in the then living generation—dominated his thought and controlled his life thereafter. It involved the current conception,—derived, probably, from the Persian popular belief,—that the old order of things was to pass speedily away, the world was to be renovated by fire, and a new and eternal kingdom was to be established, wherein the just would live forever in perfect security and happiness. God himself, the "heavenly Father," would be the ruler of this heavenly kingdom. The Messiah, or Deliverer, would sit at his right hand and render judgment to all mankind according to the deserts of their past lives.

Jewish Conception of the Character of God.

The conception of the Deity popularly held among the Jews at the time of Jesus was still strongly anthropomorphic, though less grossly so than that which we find exemplified in the earlier writings of the Old Testament. The harsher elements in the character of Yahweh had been modified, and the conception of his nature broadened

and spiritualized by the experiences of the Jews during and subsequent to the Babylonian captivity. Doubtless, something of this result is due to the exalted spiritual conception of Ahura-Mazda held by the Persians, and perhaps also in some degree, though less evidently, to the broadening and liberalizing influence of Hellenic culture. The stern, jealous, tribal God of the Old Testament, resembling an Oriental despot in his character and dealings with men, had given place to one who was the God of all the earth, the Father of his chosen people, and, through their exaltation and supremacy among the nations, some time to be recognized as the Father and Ruler of the world. In its loftiest phase, as illustrated in the teachings of the later prophets and the more enlightened of the rabbis, the highest service of this heavenly Father was made to consist, not in sacrifice or ceremonial, but in the doing of righteousness.

Jesus' Doctrine of the Heavenly Father.

More fully than any of his contemporaries did Jesus inherit the spirit and sublime ethical purpose of the prophets. He regarded the Pharisaic formalism of the times as superficial and displeasing to the heavenly Father, and sought to bring his people to the heavenly kingdom by stimulating them to live righteous and true lives. He believed firmly in the special, watchful providence of God. Yahweh, in his thought, had a loving, personal care over all his children. Not even a sparrow could fall to the ground without his notice. He dealt blessings upon all with an even hand. He made his sun to rise upon the evil and upon the good alike: he sent his rain upon the just and upon the unjust. Whatever of estrangement there was between men and the heavenly Father was due, therefore, not to the harshness and severity of his government, but solely to the wickedness or wilful perversity of man.

The Character and Efficacy of Prayer.

The God of Jesus is omniscient, knowing all human needs without man's solicitation. Yet he delights to hear and answer the prayer of faith. Whatever is asked of him in a childlike and submissive spirit, in a spirit of utter self-abnegation and trust, he will grant, though it involve such a physical miracle as the removal of a mountain. Yet, though Jesus held this perfect faith that the Father would answer the sincere prayer of a trustful heart, the long prayers of the Pharisees in the synagogues and public places, their "much speaking" and "vain repetition," were held by him in abhorrence. It was only upon the importunity of his disciples that he consented to give them that simple formula for supplication known to us as "the Lord's Prayer." Even this was not to be used in public or formal repetition. The disciples were commanded to retire into their closets, to pray in secret, that the Father who seeth in secret might reward them openly.*

This habit of complete privacy in prayer, which he commended to his disciples, was evidently in accordance with his own consistent practice. He sent away his disciples, and "departed into a mountain" to pray. He knelt alone in the wilderness and in desert places; and only in a few short ejaculations, drawn from him as in the agony of crucifixion, do we find him giving utterance to supplications to God in the presence of others.† The differentiation of modern Christianity from the religion of Jesus is in no respect more notable than in its universal custom of formal praying at set times and in public places.

The Unitarianism of Jesus.

In his thought of God there is nothing of polytheistic or trinitarian implication. He accepted fully the lofty Unitarianism* of the Hebrew law-giver from whom he quotes, "Hear, O Israel, the Eternal our God, the Eternal is one."‡ To this high and lofty One, merciful as well as just, all-seeing, caring for the humblest of his creatures, was due the love of the whole heart of man, his child. The conception of himself or of another as a Son of God in any exclusive or supernatural sense, of a God coming upon earth in human form, would have been as abhorrent and unnatural to Jesus as it has ever been to his people. The trinitarian dogma is a belief as impossible to the true Israelite as any other form of polytheism or idolatry. In its later Christian development, it is a purely Aryan philosophical conception, and entered Christianity from other than Jewish sources. In this respect, there is no reason to believe that Jesus was anything but a Hebrew of the Hebrews,—"an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile." God alone is good, he said, rejecting the appellation "Good Master." Yet he held up the perfections of the divine character as a model and example for human endeavor in that most exigent and lofty exhortation to noble living,—“Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.”

Jesus' Doctrine of the Future Life.

The thought of Jesus concerning God, however, has another side than this attractive and winning one,—the side of inexorable justice and severity toward the wrong-doer, which is involved in his conception of the future life. The modern doctrine of a spiritual immortality for all men is nowhere explicitly taught by him; nor does he anywhere definitely describe the state of the righteous after death. We are left to infer his belief from the character of his allegorical descriptions, and from information elsewhere derived of the current conception of his time and people. His kingdom of heaven was evidently an earthly kingdom,—no far-away abode of the sublimated spirit apart from material conditions, no misty Nirvāna like that of the Buddhists. Accepting the current Pharisaic notion of a future life upon the earth, involving the conception of a bodily resurrection, he believed not only in the establishment of the heavenly kingdom, with its joys ineffable for the righteous, but also, if we may accept the record, in the eternal punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the fires of Gehenna. Nay, more. He taught that the few only were destined for salvation and happiness. The many would "depart into everlasting punishment, prepared for the devil and his angels." The dread abode of the wicked is sometimes characterized as "eternal fire," sometimes as "outer darkness," in which there would be "weeping and gnashing of teeth."† These expressions, similar to those which we find in the later Egyptian inscriptions, descriptive of the place of future punishment, may possibly be regarded as strong figures to describe a condition of torment which would otherwise be inconceivable, though they appear to have been interpreted very literally by the early disciples and Fathers of the Church. The physical character of his entire conception of the life hereafter, moreover, would appear to discredit this more lenient interpretation. Whatever the exact nature of the future state of the wicked might be, it was evidently one of conscious, unlimited suffering in the thought of Jesus. I would willingly accept, if

* Matt. iii., 7-12; Luke iii., 7-18.

† Mark i., 4; Luke iii., 3, et seq. † Mark i., 12, 13.

§ Matt. iv., 1-11; Luke iv., 1-13.

* Matt. vi., 5-15; compare Luke xi., 1-13, etc. See also Mark xi., 22-26.

† Mark: vi., 46; xiv., 32-40; Matt. xxvi., 36-45; Luke: ix. 18; xxii., 41-45, etc.

* It need scarcely be said that we use this word with no narrow or sectarian meaning.

† Matt. xviii., 8, 9; Mark ix., 45, 46; compare Luke xvi., 19-27; also Matt.: xx., 16; xxii., 13, 14; xxiii., 34; xxv., 30, 41-46, etc.

it were possible, the ingenious explanation of our Universalist friends, who interpret the teaching of Jesus as to the duration of this suffering as meaning "age-long," or for the length of an æon,—a long, indefinite, but limited period,—but this modification of the terrible sentence of the wicked from the mouth of Jesus rests solely upon the doubtful interpretation of a word in a language which he neither wrote nor spoke. In the absence of any explicit doctrine of ultimate restoration, and in view of the general consensus of opinion in the Church in all ages of the world, the Universalist interpretation scarcely appears rational or acceptable.

The salvation of men, however, in the teaching of Jesus, depended upon the acceptance of no dogmatic standard of truth, but solely upon righteous living. "Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye can in no wise enter into the kingdom." "This do," not *this believe*, "and ye shall be saved." Herein, Jesus stood upon both Jewish and rational ground; for it is the teaching of the highest ethical philosophy of the present day, as well as of Israel's prophets, that supreme happiness is possible only to those who "cease to do evil, and learn to do well." The popular Christian doctrine of a vicarious atonement and substituted righteousness has no place either in the teachings of the Nazarene prophet or in the ethics of Kant or Spencer.

Jesus' Belief in Demoniacal Influences.

Together with the doctrine of eternal punishment, Jesus also accepted the current superstitions of the existence of a personal devil, and of the possibility of possession or obsession by evil spirits. The word "devil" is doubtless of Aryan origin. It is not found in the Old Testament. The devil of the later Judaism was identified with the Hebrew *Shethan*, or Satan, a mythical personage who first appears in Job as one among the "sons of God," a trusted messenger and servant of Yahweh. From his early character of adversary or accuser, a sort of prosecuting attorney of Yahweh's court, he had fallen, under the influence of the Persian dualism, to the position of an arch-enemy of God and man. His prototype, Set or Seth, in the Egyptian mythology, experienced a similar deterioration after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

The alleged facts which have been held to justify the belief in demoniacal possession, which the Jews brought with them from Babylon, doubtless find their rational explanation in the phenomena common to certain nervous disorders, such as epilepsy and hysteria, which prevail in a more aggravated form among a rude, ignorant, and superstitious population than under more favorable social conditions. It is this class of disorders which is especially susceptible to the influence of a powerful will, or that little comprehended but very positive agency popularly known as hypnotism, or "animal magnetism." We shall treat this subject hereafter in our discussion of the mythical and miraculous elements in the gospel narratives. It is sufficient at present merely to allude to these facts as the probable natural basis for the belief honestly held by Jesus and many of his contemporaries in demoniacal influences, and in the efficacy of his own power for their cure or amelioration.

The Relation of Jesus to the Current Messianic Expectation.

In the earlier part of the public career of Jesus, he appears to have been moved solely by the profound necessity imposed upon him by the belief in the speedy advent of the heavenly kingdom, and

by his perception that the masses of his people were totally unprepared for this great change. He took up the message of John the Baptist, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," and preached it to the common people, the despised "people of the land," who, neglected by the more rigorous Pharisaic teachers, appealed strongly to the sympathetic nature of the Galilean prophet. Such as these eagerly listened to his teaching, and "heard his message gladly." By parable and apt illustration, he described his vision of the heavenly kingdom, and impressed upon his hearers the duty of instant preparation in view of the immanence of the great change. He appears to have had little thought at first of the Messianic expectation as being fulfilled in his own person. He was the prophet of the heavenly kingdom,—the "Son of God," which meant simply the faithful citizen and messenger of God's kingdom.

The people, however, full of the hope for a coming deliverer, impressed by the earnestness of his appeals, the depth and purity of his moral nature, his strong, magnetic personality, soon hailed him as the Messiah. The thought grew upon him. What if he was indeed the chosen one of Israel, the "anointed of Yahweh," the immediate herald of the coming change? When the populace greeted him as the Son of David, in accordance with the popular expectation that the Messiah would spring from the royal line of Israel, he at first questions his disciples: "But whom say ye that I am?" Upon their recognition of him as the Messiah, he does not indeed directly repel the honor, but cautions them that they tell no man of this thing. A little later, we find that the idea has taken full possession of him; for we discover him arguing in favor of his own Messianic pretensions that the Messiah cannot be the "Son of David," since David calls him his Lord or Master.

At the time of his final journey to Jerusalem, he has become fully convinced of his Messianic mission. He accepts the plaudits of the people during his triumphal entry into the city, and his subsequent bearing before and during his trial and crucifixion likewise attests the sincerity of his belief. It is not impossible that he expected some miraculous interposition to prevent the final catastrophe, as would be indicated, apparently, by the despairing cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Mark, who comes nearer to the primitive tradition than either of the other evangelists, reports this and certain other notable expressions of Jesus in his native Syro-Chaldaic tongue. This agonized expression, so natural and human, but so unlike the supernatural Jesus of the Fourth Gospel and our popular Christian conception, could hardly have crept into the gospel narrative, unless it had some foundation in the actual occurrence. The writer of the First Gospel confirms the tradition of Mark; but Luke, illustrating an advanced development of Christology, omits this human cry of almost despairing agony, and substitutes for it the calm acceptance of the inevitable in the final words, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The still less natural and more dramatic writer of the Logos epic makes Jesus die with the dignity and supernatural endurance of a God, fully self-conscious to the last, and deliberately conforming his actions on the cross to the fulfilment of Scripture:—

"After this, Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar; and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth. When Jesus, therefore, had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished; and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost."

Concluding Thoughts.

In this lecture, we have attempted, fairly, with no bias of preconceived opinions, to set forth the leading features in the teaching of Jesus on its theological side, as reported in the Synoptical Gospels. While recognizing the fine humanity of his doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the profound sincerity of all his beliefs, there is evidently much in this teaching which the liberal and cultured thought of modern times has forever discarded, much that bears the impress of a primitive and ignorant age and of a narrow and restricted intellectual environment. For us there is no encompassing host of demons, no personal prince of evil, no bodily resurrection, no eternal kingdom of immortals to be established upon the earth. If we still hold to the fatherhood and personality of God, it is in quite a different sense from that embodied in the simple, anthropomorphic conception of Jesus. The Messianic doctrine of the Jews is to us a beautiful dream, which the Prophet of Nazareth did not fully realize either according to the popular expectation or his own more spiritual interpretation. Not in any of these theological conceptions do we find the secret of the influence of Jesus upon the life and thought of later generations.

In this brief review, we have discovered no striking deviation in the thought of Jesus from the current beliefs of his time and people. Herein, at least, there are none of the distinctive features of the peculiar philosophy of Buddhism,—no hint of Hindu agnosticism or of the doctrine of the Nirvāna as the *summum bonum* of human aspiration. The entire atmosphere of the primitive tradition of the synoptics, after eliminating such of its supernatural and mythological elements as are not confirmed by the consent of the three writers, is Hebrew, and Hebrew only. The Prophet of Nazareth moves naturally in the Palestine of eighteen centuries ago: he breathes its peculiar religious and social atmosphere, and incarnates its loftiest moral and personal characteristics. Though transcending the ritualistic formalism of his time and the traditional limitations of his national religion, we may, nevertheless, repeat as a truth of history his own judgment of his relation to the law and religion of his people,—He came not to antagonize or to destroy, but to fulfil.

For The Index.

REFLECTIONS BY THE WAY.

BY MONT E. COLLINS.

IV.

The mind is to be measured by the quality of its thought, not by the quantity.

Youth is the dawn, manhood is noon, old age is evening,—all are required to make a perfect day.

He who knows most of man knows most of God, since in man the highest revelation of the Infinite Life is sought and found.

Life is haunted by the reflection of our own moods into everything around us; but he who faces the light will never thus be frightened by his own shadow.

When a wise man hears a person vehemently condemning certain faults in others, he watches him very closely; for there is his weakness. If this very condemner is not already guilty of the same sins himself, he at least is strongly tempted in that direction, since we always possess to a certain degree those qualities we most abhor in others.

If the universe is eternal, and at the same time exists only as a state of consciousness, then the doctrine of immortality is removed from the realm of speculation, and becomes a truism. Either the universe is not a mode of conscious existence, or else conscious existence is necessarily eternal.

No soul can claim to be the only originator of those thoughts of life and duty common to all ages and all people; and to charge a man with plagiarism for

burnishing one of these immortal gems, taken from the casket of his own consciousness, is like charging Nature with folly for bestowing upon each of her children those priceless gifts which, more than all else, prove her to be, in every land, the loving mother of all.

Christianity, in so far as it represents the thoughts and aspirations common to the great universal heart of man, can never pass away, but will flourish green with age and live immortal through all the coming years of time; but, in so far as it represents the belief and teachings of a portion of mankind only, and stands as the embodiment of an intolerant creed, it is destined ere long to vanish like some troubled dream from out the waking mind of man; for those feelings that are called into being under special influences only are mortal, while those that are born of the mysteries, that ebb and flow forever on life's wild changing shore, can never die.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE FREE-THINKERS' CONVENTION AT CASSADAGA, N.Y.

Editors of *The Index* :—

"What is the fare to Cassadaga?" "Where?" "Cassadaga." "Where is that?" "Somewhere in Western New York, I believe." The railroad agent looked at his maps, but in vain. "I am going there to attend the Congress of the National Liberal League." The agent stared. "It is the place where the New York State Free-thinkers' Association holds its Convention this year." His face was as blank as before, but soon became lit up by a smile caused by a happy discovery, "Oh, you mean Chautauqua; there's where these religious conventions are held." I could not help then but smile myself. "No, no! The convention I mean is infidel, infidel as you would call it: we don't care for the Bible any more than any other book." "But, see here, you ought to know where you are going." "You are right; but it is Cassadaga, and not Chautauqua. It is near Dunkirk; have you any excursion tickets to that place?" "No." "To Buffalo?" "Not to-day." So I left New York at eight P.M. on Friday, September 5, and reached Cassadaga Saturday afternoon. The road for a quarter of a mile was lined with new arrivals and their friends coming to meet them. But all were friends. Everybody speaks to everybody. If your face is toward the camping-ground, that is enough. You pass through a large gate, where each pays twenty-five cents toward the fund for general expenses. Cottages, tents, and hotels are scattered about in beautiful disorder in a clearing in the woods, the encampment being encircled by forest trees and the waters of the lake. Cassadaga Lake has two outlets, one to the north and the other to the south, suggestive of the bond between mind and heart, a sign given to the seeker of the truth. These grounds belong to an Association of Spiritualists, the pioneers, in these days, of Arcadian bliss.

This was the last day but one of the Free-thinkers' Convention. A large crowd was gathering. There was dancing until midnight. A new element had entered camp. Able speakers had occupied the platform during the week, it is true; but the thoughts of the people were becalmed, owing to the smallness of numbers and that spell-bound feeling peculiar to Spiritualist gatherings. Rev. A. B. Bradford had delivered a lecture on Mormonism, his views on this question proving him, as I am happy and proud to say, a man after my own heart. Miss Gardner, whom Ingersoll introduced to the public in Chickering Hall, N.Y., had made a fascinating speech. George Chainey had also lectured, one week as an agnostic, the next as a Spiritualist.

At ten A.M., Sunday, September 7, the bell called the people together in the centre of the grounds under a pavilion sheltering, perhaps, not less than one thousand persons. There was music from three vocalists accompanied by the organ. Mrs. Krekel, from Missouri, was the first speaker. Her subject was "Right, Human and Divine." Many Liberals, said the speaker, have much to say about absolute mind and absolute right, and have mouthed and babbled in this way until some tongue struck fire. The special weakness of Liberals was their failure in practical work. The work that many delighted in was of little use, as the setting up at all times and seasons the tombstone of Moses, to be read over and

over again. Moses has been dead a long time: let him alone. The Church with all its sham and hypocrisy is creeping close up to us. The lady instanced two lectures given in Kansas City recently, one by Col. Ingersoll and the other by Henry Ward Beecher. Divine right, said the speaker, was born of ignorance and assumption; human right, of knowledge and intelligence. People had supposed that the getting of truth was like spreading the apron for the ripe fruit to fall into it; but all our gains have been the fruit of toil and struggle, and by this means the unknown has been districted and peopled by man. That past is worthy our regard, when the lamp of reason was first being lit in the world of mind. Every age is to be judged by its opportunities. Institutions must be measured by the right, and the right by institutions. The divinity of all rights was human rights. But the world seemed not yet aware that human rights included woman's rights, as many of our customs plainly show. How is it we hear so much about fallen women, so little about fallen men, when for every one fallen woman there are a thousand fallen men? We hear much about the sacredness of motherhood, why so little about the sacredness of fatherhood? The speaker pointed out an inconsistency in the practices of the Free-thinkers' Association in excluding woman from its offices or committees. It was time, the speaker thought, to put in the plough and the pruning-hook. She told of some systematic efforts being made in Liberal, Mo., to make Liberalism a part of real life. She hoped next year to have some report of her own to make. When the lady had finished, Dr. Brown arose and said he thought woman ought to have equal privileges in the Association, but he thought it would be well if those who talk so much about women's rights would do their own plain duty first in raising a family of children. "There, sit," said Mrs. Krekel, "you have made yourself liable just where I want you. I am the mother of six children, and some of my sons are old enough to vote."

The next speaker was Mr. George Chainey. He said: "I know, if I know anything, that unseen influences had brought me to Cassadaga. I have felt here the joybells of the soul ring out wildest, sweetest melody. There are things too sacred and marvellous to be told: it would be like throwing pearls before swine. I know beyond the power of doubt or argument to disturb that there has come to me proof of immortality. The mind without this hope becomes weary and jaded, and sinks into sensualism. It seemed, if this life were all, that one would be a fool to make a martyr of himself for Liberalism." Mr. Chainey kept up a constant fire at Agnosticism and Liberalism, at both their theories and practices, from which he would disengage himself as from the corpses of that life which was without life or holiness: such seemed to be his meaning, though not his exact words. Liberals would not support their principles. "Why did my subscribers leave me with a three-thousand-dollar debt to hang like a millstone about my neck?" Liberalism was not fructifying. He has in a not very long period passed from Methodism to Unitarianism, from this to Agnosticism, and from this to Spiritualism; and his last leap, like each of the others, has been straight to glory, into the heaven of heavens. He knows now he is right, and is as positive of it as the divorced woman is that she will never marry again.

On Sunday afternoon, Secularism had the platform, Mr. Courtland Palmer and T. B. Wakeman being the speakers. Mr. Palmer's philosophy appeared to be thoroughly humanitarian, making of life one organic whole, linking together the past, present, and future, the material, animal, social, and moral worlds. He believes, with Mill, in "the religion of duty." "The highest right of man," he said, "is to do his duty."

But the speech of the day was delivered by T. B. Wakeman. Only the faintest outline can be given here, of course. "Secularism up to Date" was his subject. Secularism is philosophy put in practice. From its heart comes the strain of "Home, sweet Home." This world is man's home: it covers and satisfies all the wants and demands of his life. The speaker referred to two magazine articles, which had drawn the attention of the world, being a controversy between Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison on the subject of religion. Spencer's affirmation and Harrison's denial of the Unknowable can be reconciled; and this had been shown by an article from the pen of Stephen Pearl Andrews. Mr. Andrews had

shown that these giants of thought of the old world meet as engineers tunnelling the Alps from opposite sides. Scientists are themselves generally one-sided. Only specialists were heard from at the congress just held in Philadelphia. The world is to have its religion, but religion must have a scientific basis.

Our knowledge may be said to have five grand divisions, all falling within the sphere of observation and experience, and represent things and not words. These divisions you may call so many worlds, each of which contains infinite treasures of knowledge. To aid the memory, let them be counted on the fingers of the left hand: first, the cosmos; second, the material world; third, the organic world; fourth, the human world; fifth, the ideal or spiritual world. The last verdict of science is that the Unknowable has no personal quality at all. The universe is a *plenum*, or fulness, a continuation of the changes of the Knowable. This is Spencer's eternal "Yes." We can affirm only its existence: any attempt to read this Infinite brings back the eternal crushing answer, "No." The material world is an energy, correlation of forces or, which is better, of phenomena,—an equivalence of changes. Only in the last fifty years has this world become really knowable to man. The organic world we know through the law of evolution. This is the daylight of knowledge. The human world we know through the laws of co-operation, solidarity, and continuity, which are the basis of all reforms. The ideal world we know is also governed by law; but here the most differences arise, because it has been the least studied.

No moral or spiritual change is known to take place without a corresponding physical change. Life in its beginnings, and in its latest manifestations, is a correlation of changes. Mind is a process, a mode of the sensations of the highly organized nervous forces of a man's bodily system. Does not this put an end to the belief that mind is a separate entity? Thus has human life been merged into one realm of thought and feeling, a personality that lives forever, and makes man one with the gods our ancestors believed in. How long has the world believed that the sun rises and sets? It is the mission of science to reverse the decision of the senses. Every solution of the past has been reversed. And so must this one, that you have a spirit that goes out of your body. There is not a hospital in the land that will admit a physician who believes in a spirit. It is all nonsense that you are going to be dominated by the heart. Truth is your master. The Catholic Church is built on the spook solution of things. It represents the high tide of "spiritualism." Since the advent of science, this tide has begun to recede. George Eliot's "Choir Invisible" touches the greatest height of spirituality. It is one speaking with the glowing ecstasy of a living angel. Those who cannot stand on these heights must be allowed to have their idols on the plains below. They need them, and they are right enough in their place. Yes: Secularism has its religious side, which is the binding of men together under the influence of a common conviction. Thus, in the march of history, each god in his turn falls into insignificance; but the social unity—the collective man—is more and more. Much of our Liberalism is pitched in a very low key; and some of our leaders whom we all applaud fail to rise to the height of the ideal, the unselfish life. The higher register is wanting in them; and it is a positive pain to listen to them, however brilliant they may sometimes be. We must come up higher. The speaker's own personality gave to the address much of its grace.

Sunday evening, Mr. Charles Watts, the English secularist, who has decided to make America his home, was given the floor. He had been invited to review Mr. Chainey's lecture of the morning. Mr. Watts made some pretty sharp criticisms. It was not Mr. Chainey's conversion, but the mode of it, and the course taken, that he wished to criticise. He charged Mr. Chainey with misrepresenting the agnostic as wanting in affection, purity, sobriety, or benevolence of character, or as being without those inspirations that tend to strengthen, refine, and elevate mankind. He advised him to look at home, to the new quarters to which he had betaken himself, before criticising so freely the beliefs and acts of Liberals. He insisted it was the head, and not the heart, that should take the lead. Convert the head, and it stays converted; but the heart you have to convert over and over again. He was surprised to

find that Mr. Chainey represented the ultra-orthodox spiritualist. He had spent five years studying Spiritualism, and found nothing in it.

It should be mentioned that Mr. Watts had been preceded this evening by Mr. Putnam, with a few words on harmony between Materialists and Spiritualists, saying they had a common work to perform and should emphasize the grand unities, and look on these differences that spring up only as lovers' quarrels. We all wanted to be free from spirits, whether they were in the church in this or in the other world who tyrannized over the mind. Let us rally under one flag. But how we are to "rally" Mr. Putnam did not say. And it might be a pertinent question to ask, Where is that "flag"?

My next letter will relate to the National Liberal League.

T. W. CURTIS.

THE following is from an article entitled "Justice to Men," by Col. Higginson, in the *Woman's Journal*: "The whole theory of Woman Suffrage is that woman is a responsible being: 'co-equal with man,' as the old Woman's Rights Conventions were fond of saying. To share responsibility is to share the power of doing wrong. Society, in time past, committed the absurdity of throwing the main responsibility, or at least the main penalty, of all joint sexual offences upon the woman. In their just reaction against this, many reformers go so far as to throw almost the whole responsibility and, as far as they can, the whole penalty upon the man. One act was a cruel injustice to woman: the other is equally cruel to man. Either is fatal to Woman Suffrage. If woman is so hopelessly weak that she is not to be treated, at any age, as a moral agent in her relations with men, she is unfit to vote. Making every allowance for the fact that, by natural constitution and by training, man may fairly be regarded as the more frequent and culpable offender, the fact remains that wrong is wrong, whether for a man or for a woman; and we must never lose sight of the fact that woman must be held as a responsible being, if she is to be treated as 'co-equal with man.' . . . It is idle to appeal for sympathy in behalf of Cleopatra as 'somebody's daughter.' So was Mark Antony somebody's son. It is useless to say that every woman was first misled by some man: it is the testimony of the police that multitudes of poor girls are so reared that they have never even learned what modesty means. Of those fallen women whom Col. C. E. Wright questioned, fifty-nine testified that they engaged in that life from choice (mostly through love of ease and of dress), twenty-six from poverty, nineteen from unhappiness at home; while only forty-six pleaded seduction, although this would be the most tempting and flattering of all excuses. Nobody doubts that the sexual sins of men are far greater than those of women. The theory which I oppose is that which assumes men to be the only sinners and exonerates women, as being, at any age, an absolutely helpless and irresponsible class of beings. If they are nothing more than that, they should be disfranchised forever."

WANTED,—

"Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
For, while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions, and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo, Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps!"

MEN must be true to their principles, and, as long as there is difference in these principles, there should be separate action; but in things that are common, and where all can act together with advantage, our policy should be to unite. Nothing is easier than to cause divisions, but the soul of wisdom lies in union and charity.—*Indian Messenger*.

To LIVE on your own convictions against the world is to overcome the world. To believe that what is truest in you is true for all; to abide by that, and not be over-anxious to be heard or understood or sympathized with, certain that at last all must acknowledge the same, and that, while you stand firm, the world will come round to you,—that is independence. It is not difficult to get away into retirement, and there

live upon your own convictions, nor is it difficult to mix with men, and follow their convictions; but to enter into the world, and there live out firmly and fearlessly according to your own conscience,—that is Christian greatness.—*F. W. Robertson*.

AN honest man is believed without an oath, for his reputation swears for him.—*Anon*.

"THEY are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think.
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

For The Index.

DOUBT.

Though faith may hold the binding rope,
Like tempest-beaten ship
My reason breaks away from hope,
And all my anchors slip.

On chartless seas, with doubting mind,
I float without an oar,
And helpless drift where undefined
There lies an unknown shore.

No star is fixed to guide our ships
On spirit's mystic sea,
Where voyagers pass with silent lips,
Obeying death's decree.

And, like a bird storm-driven out
Far o'er the treach'rous sea,
The foaming crests of wav'ring doubt
Can give no rest to me.

Rebuild your towers, ye men of facts,
And let your beacon shine,
And show how mind through matter acts,
Displaying true design.

A. D. MARCKREES.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE STORY OF DR. CHANNING: Written for Young People. By Frances E. Cooke. London, Eng.: Unitarian Sunday School Association. 1884. pp. 124. Price 1s. 6d.

This book is from the same sympathetic pen which wrote the admirable synoptic biography of Theodore Parker, issued by the London Unitarian Association, and reviewed in these columns some time since. Miss Cooke is doing excellent work in writing these brief biographies of men like Channing, Parker, Savonarola, Latimer, Sir Thomas More, and others, setting before young people in appropriate words brilliant examples of pure lives and unselfish devotion to noble principles and high aims. She has the faculty of noting in few words the salient points in the characters of the moral heroes of whom she writes; and, though she professes to write only for the young, the biographies will be of much use and interest to older persons who have not time to read more prolix books treating of the lives of these men.

THE *Art Amateur* for September is refreshingly lively during the wilting heat of summer's last days. The anecdotes of frauds in art, from M. Paul Edel's recent book, are amusing, if not reassuring. Why do we always relish a joke upon the collector? Is it because he so often places a false value upon mere rarity and neglects real merit, or is it because we all have a little of the spirit of the collector ourselves, and envy the success of others? The suggestion of Greta, that Mr. Parker left \$100,000 to the Art Museum because he thought it tended to increase the business of hotels, has at least the merit of novelty. We are glad to hear, however, that the Art Museum propose to invest it as a permanent fund for the maintenance of the institution. It is always easier to obtain money from the public for special objects than for current expenses, and yet the success of the Museum depends as much upon the proper care of our treasures as upon the acquisition of new ones. The Museum has succeeded in making its works of art readily accessible to students, while its galleries are delightful places of recreation to the amateur. But, to sustain this order and care, large expenditures of money are necessary. The account of "The American Art Club at Munich" is full of interest, and shows what good work the American colony are doing there. The article on "Greuze" seems to us to do as little justice to this charming painter as the wood-engravings do to

his pictures. One of his representations of "The Dead Bird" was long ago engraved for one of the popular souvenirs, and a comparison of the two reproductions will show how entirely the wood-engraver has failed to reproduce the *naïveté* and tenderness of the original. The *Art Amateur* is warmly welcomed itself; and it can well afford to extend a cordial greeting to a new weekly, the *Studio*, edited by one of its favorite contributors, Clarence Cook, for which it predicts well-deserved success. E. D. C.

THE *Andover Review* for September well sustains the reputation it has earned as an exponent of advanced thought from the religious stand-point, and some of its essays would reflect credit upon periodicals of the highest culture by their completeness and clearness of statement on some of the great questions that are agitating religious thinkers at the present time. The contributed articles are: "The Eschatology of the Psalms," by F. B. Bittinger; "The Rationale of Russian Socialism," by Edward Kirk Rawson, is a very fair and impartial account of Russian Nihilism; "Buddhism and Christianity," by William M. Bryant; "Modern Glimpses of Assyrian Art," by Prof. John Phelps Taylor; "The New Psychology," by John Dewey, is a concise account of some of the main features of this (in its present form) new science. It contrasts the new psychological method of studying mental phenomena with the old metaphysical method, much to the disparagement of the latter, and shows up clearly its manifest inadequacy to deal with the great problems of life and mind. Its editorials are: "Social Classes and the Church"; "The Logic of Hermeneutics"; and "A Battle of the Skeptics," giving an account of the controversy between Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison, which was reprinted in the August number of the *Popular Science Monthly*. Several pages are devoted to Biblical and historical criticism, theological and religious intelligence, and book notices.

MR. W. D. HOWELLS will contribute to the *Century*, during the coming year, a series of descriptive papers on the life, society, customs, etc., of the cities of Northern Italy, beginning with several on Florence, to be entitled "A Florentine Mosaic." The *Century's* woodcuts, after the etchings of Whistler, Haden, and others, are already well known; and it is announced that Mr. Howells' series will be illustrated with reproductions of etchings by Joseph Pennell, who accompanied the author through Italy during the preparation of the series.

AMONG fascinating books for young folks, by authors of reputation, D. Lothrop & Co. announce as nearly ready a large list, among which are *Æsop's Fables, Versified*, by Clara Doty Bates; *Plucky Boys*, by the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*; and *Anna Maria's Housekeeping*, by Mrs. S. D. Power.

PHILIP BOURKE MARSTON, the blind English poet, has a rose poem in the October *Wide Awake*, which is accompanied by illustrations by Alfred Brennan. Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, "H. H.," has a serial story running in the autumn numbers of *Wide Awake*.

MARGARET SIDNEY's busy pen has produced a new and delightful book of travel for young folks, entitled *How They Went to Europe*. D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS an exchange: "The Bible Society has determined to stop putting Bibles in railroad cars. One of its officers said, 'Of a thousand distributed, we believe that but ten were read; while three hundred were so mutilated as to be worthless, and four hundred stolen.'"

THE Cleveland *Sunday Sun* contains woodcut portraits of some of the speakers at the Cassadaga meetings, but the artist seems to have "mixed these babies up" considerably; for with the other portraits appears a very good one of our correspondent, Mr. T. W. Curtis, with the name of Charles Watts under it.

ACCORDING to an English paper, the vicar of St. Margaret in Barking, Eng., evidently thinks that the words of Jesus, "For such is the kingdom of heaven," applies to such little children only as have been baptized. "A man and wife who were members of his church in good standing lost a little son lately; and, because it never had been baptized, the vicar refused to officiate at the funeral, and had the church-yard gates shut during the special services which the parents were compelled to get, so that the coffin could not be carried in."

WHATEVER be thought of the theology of the *Catholic Review* in the following statement, it is undoubtedly sound: "No greater tyranny, it seems to us, exists than that which, 'for the good of the party,' obliges honest men to swallow candidates whom they ought to loathe, and whom indeed, before the nomination, they declare they do hate. So long as voters are bound by this superstition to ratify the selection of the machines, so long will the machinists be indifferent to the merits or

demerits of the candidates they present. All they will look to is the bargain about the division of the spoils."

L. A. WATKINS writes to the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*: "There are thousands of people in this city who cannot afford to see the Exposition except on Sundays. Most mechanics and laborers having families to support cannot afford to lose a day's work. They cannot attend at night, being too tired after a day's toil. They look upon Sunday as a day of recreation and rest. Then why should they be denied the privilege of improving their minds and studying the many beautiful and instructive exhibits at the Exposition? Give the workingman a chance by making it half fare on the railroad and to the Exposition. In doing this, you confer as great a blessing on the masses as by preaching."

IN one of our exchanges, we find the following: "The evening before Daniel Webster died, his physician repeated to him the words, 'Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me'; and Webster replied, as if in sympathy, but too weak to complete the sentence, 'Thy rod and thy staff—the fact—the fact—I want.' Here the matter rested as at first reported. A Bostonian now gives what he declares is the true account, as it came to him very directly. Webster asked whether he was likely to live till morning. Dr. Jeffreys, not willing to give a positive answer, repeated from the twenty-third Psalm. Webster saw the evasion, and in a clear and rather severe tone said: 'Thy rod and thy staff—the fact, the fact I want!' He desired an answer to his question."

A WRITER in the *New York Tribune*, to illustrate the absurdity of our libel laws, after remarking that it is "only the reckless, irresponsible, and characterless men who are engaged in printing disreputable newspapers, who persist in libels, and who, being sued civilly, take advantage of the rule of pleadings and insert new calumnies to sustain the old," adds: "They do it because there is no adequate punishment for such original offences, and none at all for those subsequently committed in sustaining the first. Under our laws, you may sue and punish by damages a man for calling you a thief; but he may put in his pleadings that you are also a murderer, and you have no remedy as against that. You may ask the jury to take it into consideration as increasing the damages, but that is all the remedy left you. If you get damages against the average wilful libeller, you can collect nothing, as the professional libeller is usually careful to possess nothing in his own name. If you take his body, he can swear himself out of jail on the ground of his absolute worthlessness. I meet scores of men found guilty civilly and criminally of libel, but I have never seen one in jail or heard of one paying damages."

THE following is taken from an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*: "The Italians show very little love of the [Roman Catholic] faith, and very little knowledge of it. Far different from the humble Irish, who, years ago, laboring on the

great public works, always welcomed a priest and helped to erect churches as they moved along. The Italians neither frequent the churches now accessible to them, nor exert themselves to erect others where they can hear the words of truth in their own tongue. The Italian churches are few compared to the Italian body, and they are not maintained exclusively by them. In many cities there are quarters occupied by Italians who seem to have lost all religion, so that when zealous priests, speaking their language, give missions in order to revive their faith, they find but a score of listeners, the very women having apparently lost all attachment to religion." Since the Italians have for centuries been educated in the faith and trained under the influence of Romanism, their present indifference to it would seem to indicate that it has been tried by them and found wanting. Catholic writers often declare that "Protestantism naturally leads to infidelity." It would seem that the absurd teachings and childish ceremonies of Romanism, continued unchanged in a period of rapidly increasing intelligence, are having the effect to disgust millions even who have been reared in this faith.

SOME weeks ago, Charles Fouilland was returned at the head of the poll at Roanne. He had been sent as delegate to the Roubaix conference by all the workingmen's groups and syndicates of his native town. According to a statement in *To-day* by Eleanor Marx, he was immediately arrested after his return, by mistake, for assaulting a *gendarme*. "It was pointed out," says this writer, "that the real culprit was another person altogether, whose only connection with Charles Fouilland is that he bears the same surname. But no notice was taken of this; and, in order to get rid of Fouilland during the electioneering campaign, the adjournment of the trial that was asked for was refused, and the innocent man condemned to twenty days' imprisonment. This is bad enough, but not all. Fouilland 'appealed.' On the 5th of May, the case was heard at Lyons. The court refused to hear witnesses, refused to adjourn at the request of the barrister, César Bouchage, retained at Paris, and augmented the penalty from twenty days to twelve months' imprisonment. And so this man, guilty of no crime save that of being a well-known Socialist, and whose old father is entirely dependent upon him, will for twelve months have to bear the horrors of the 'Central prison'; for he is not even looked upon as a political prisoner. 'We have no words,' says Jules Guesde in the *Cri du Peuple*, 'to stigmatize this double judicial murder: a moral murder of the most estimable of workmen, condemned to the disgrace of the "Central Prison"; a physical murder of the poor old father whom Charles Fouilland supports. Charles Fouilland has nothing, and can have nothing, to do with the act for which he is to be buried alive: it is only because he is a workingman, a member of the "Parti Ouvrier," that he has been struck down by the magistrates.' Such an act of injustice seems incredible in an enlightened country. Whether any important facts of the case are suppressed in the above account we are unable to say.

IS IT COLLAPSE OR ABSORPTION?

A writer who signs himself "A Yorkshire Lawyer" has an article in the *Christian Life*, London, under the title, "A Story of Collapse." The *Christian Life* is the organ of the most conservative wing of English Unitarians; and the purpose of its contributor in the article referred to, which is given a conspicuous place in the journal, is to make out that the views represented by Theodore Parker are practically obsolete, and that the movement he inaugurated among or in opposition to Unitarians has collapsed without leaving any permanent results. He begins thus: "The policy which was victorious in the Parker controversy of ten years ago has now met its inevitable fate. It proclaimed the only bond of cohesion among Unitarians to be, not a belief, but the criticism of a belief. Under the promise of attracting to our cause crowds of outsiders by thus repudiating all doctrinal limitations, it acquired a momentary popularity; but, now that experience has shown its true result to be, not to attract new friends, but only to dishearten old ones, it is sinking fast into disrepute. Pushed for a brief space into adventitious popularity through the magnificence of its prophecies, it is disappearing into deserved oblivion through the worthlessness of its performances."

The writer brings two witnesses to substantiate his position. The first witness is the *London Inquirer*, a more liberal as well as more able Unitarian journal. The *Inquirer*, some little time ago, had something to say of the difficulties which "ministers of the advanced school" among Unitarians have to contend with in building up or retaining societies. And some of its sentences "A Yorkshire Lawyer" now quotes to show that the "advanced school" of Unitarianism, or the Parker element, is not a constructive, but a disorganizing power, and is continually digging its own grave. The second witness summoned is *The Index*. The writer quotes, apart from its connection and purpose, a statement which we made in an article written three or four years ago, wherein we referred to the fact that the several independent societies which arose in this country on the wave of Theodore Parker's protest against the Unitarianism of his time had all ceased to exist, excepting Mr. Parker's own, the Twenty-eighth Congregational, in Boston, and that even that was then in a critical condition,—from which, however, it has now happily recovered. From this statement "A Yorkshire Lawyer" argues that Theodore Parker's influence can no longer be counted as a factor in the Unitarian movement and churches. And this use of *The Index* to support his proposition is the one point in his article which makes it, for us, worthy of note.

We are disposed, indeed, to agree with the "Yorkshire Lawyer" that "a church of mere free thought" would not have the elements of permanence; and the position which we took in the article from which he quotes was that the societies named had not sufficiently taken up the new constructive work demanded by their new ideas and the new times: hence, their dissolution when the one thing for which they originated had been accomplished. They came as a protest: they made their protest, and passed away. But we never thought nor intimated that Theodore Parker's work was only critical and negative. There was the atmosphere of perfect freedom of thought in the great Music Hall of Boston, when its thousands of hearers thrilled to his words. But he sent his hearers away much more than merely free thinkers: he inspired them with heroic moral purposes, with loftier ideals of character, with enthusiasm for great ideas and noble deeds. Theo-

dore Parker was one of the genuine religious prophets,—a man of the type of Isaiah, of Paul, of Luther. And, even though he had organized no society, and no church were anywhere remaining that nominally continued his work, such a fact might be no proof whatever of the cessation of his power. He was one of those characters whose vitality survives any institutions they may have created or beliefs they may have taught.

And, again, if "A Yorkshire Lawyer" were to visit this country, he would find the essential teachings of Theodore Parker largely permeating the Unitarian denomination. He would find, we think it may be said with entire safety, the great body of Unitarian ministers much nearer to Parker's position than to Channing's. He would find many Unitarian ministers and societies advanced beyond Parker's position. He would find the ministers of the Western Conference, with very few exceptions, advocates of the purely natural view of the character of Jesus and of the genesis of Christianity; and he would find a large number of the Eastern ministers not a whit behind their Western brethren in this respect. He would find a considerable number of these ministers members of and in full sympathy with the Free Religious Association. He would find the Unitarian Sunday-school Societies issuing books for the use of the young, that are in entire accord with the standpoint and general views of Theodore Parker's "Discourse of Religion," and these books in use as text-books in the Sunday-schools of some of the oldest Unitarian societies. He would find the communion service dropping out of use in not a few of the older societies in the Eastern States, and its observance in the Western societies the exception rather than the rule. In a word, our Yorkshire friend would learn that, though here and there the echoes of the old controversy may still linger, yet Theodore Parker's name will be spoken amid general respect and even reverence in Unitarian assemblies to-day, where a generation ago it would have been received only with bitter scorn, and that, though there may be but one society distinctly recognized as Parker's followers, there is little need of any others now, since Parker's spirit and teachings have been so largely imbibed by the Unitarian societies. If Parkerism as a distinct movement has collapsed, it is because Unitarianism has absorbed it into its own living fibre. Nor is it the first time in religious history that an old organization has been revitalized by eating the mental flesh and drinking the spiritual blood of its alleged enemy.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE GHOST OF THEISM.

The battle of those who cling to the ghost of anthropomorphism, or theism, should be fought, it seems to me, in the field of teleology,—the dim region of the unconscious, the marvellous realm in which Darwin and Von Hartmann, working by different methods and with diverging aims, yet often move in parallel lines, Von Hartmann going deeper than the English scientist, and asserting that what to Darwin seems the work of pure chance is really the work of a Universal Unconscious Will.

But even if, in the sphere of organized life (vegetable and animal), an "Inscrutable Power" should be proved to be performing what we may call sub-psychical acts of the most marvellous kind, and all mutations of species should be shown to have teleological origin, yet, after all, by what warrant shall we say that those sub-psychical acts, interpreted as they must be in terms of matter, can bring true tidings, adequate measurement, exhaustive inventory, of the nameless Being? Its Appa-

rition has a million tongues, but dare one of them breathe the everlasting secret?

"Ask on, thou clothed eternity,
Time is the false reply."

The sooner we give up the attempt to project our own nature into the extra-human sphere, the better it will be for our peace of mind. Five thinkers of modern times have contributed to make anthropomorphic theism as obsolete as astrology: they are Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Spencer, and Darwin. It is in vain that we attempt to escape from the charmed circle of our limitations. Of the nature of the universe we can but know that we know nothing. Drop our earth into the solar fires, and the moon, if revolving at its present distance of two hundred and forty thousand miles from the earth, would find its orbit still bathed in the iron vapor of the sun, so vast is that globe of fire. Can the Power that sweeps through the universe, terribly clothed with that solar glory, and filling besides the fathomless interstellar gulfs of icy blackness with its mysterious energy,—can that Power ever be understood by such organic motes as we, swarming, basking here in the storm of heat that beats upon the shore of our little watery sphere, our spinning fire-ball draped in green for a day, curtained in liquid transparencies for an hour, balanced by the juggler's hand in its soundless flight for a brief æon of time? No: let the old Norse heroism, the masculine strength of our fathers, nerve us to cut loose once and for all from the profitless dreams of sophistical philosophies, and set our feet firm upon the twin rocks of Nescient Reverence and Moral Action.

I know that it is only through a process of agony and sorrow that the religious mind finds itself at last compelled to camp on this *ultima thule* of philosophy. But I also know that there alone can deep peace of mind be found, there alone the strength of the stag in its inaccessible fastness,—

"The hills, like giants at a hunting, lay
Chin upon hand, to see the game at bay."

At bay, but undaunted, and strengthening the thews for a nobler course.

Who is it that has not a profound sympathy for the honest thinkers trembling on the shore of the dark river of nescience and doubtful of the plunge? It cuts deep into our pride to confess our insignificance in the scheme of things. We thought ourselves in special favor with the King, and now know not whether he has even noticed us. How mortifying that the universe seems unconscious of our existence! We have never seen our Father. He put us into the box of the great foundling hospital, left us a few toys, and then travelled into a distant country. He gave us little wills and little minds,—wonderful little automata we,—but *did* he in truth make us "in his image"? That is just what we cannot tell, and bootless is it to waste our lives in guessing.

But to leave generalizing and get some practical point out of this train of thought, to which I have been led by a word of conversation with Mr. Edwin D. Mead. Mr. Mead justly says that Emerson believed himself to be in an intellectual relation to the universe; but, when he also says that he was a theist, I hesitate. He is theistic in his prose and in many parts of his poems; but, in most of the more inspired and impassioned portions of the philosophical poems,—in other words, in those portions written when his faculties were aroused to their highest pitch of seer-vision,—he clearly soars clean beyond theism into what we may call pantheistic nescience. In his "Song of Nature," in "Brahma," "The Sphinx," "Initial, Dæmonic, and Celestial Love," and elsewhere, he rises in thought above the gods themselves into the region "where the sunny Æon sleeps." It is above the realm of

daimons, which lies, indeed, close to men like undulating layer of air. It is a point from which one looks down upon men and gods alike, and sees that the real God is the universe in its totality, sometimes called by Emerson Fate, sometimes Brahma, and sometimes Pan, or the Rock of Ages. In the "Song of Nature," it is the universe who is the real creator. I, Nature, formed the world out of the nebulous mist (stanza seven), while the forces men call gods were masking in saurian, star, and flower. I, Fate, will whirl the wheel and mix the bowl, and man shall be born. In "Celestial Love," it is stated that, when mind rises into the realm of absolute vision, it sees that

"The race of gods,
Or those we erring own,
Are shadows flitting up and down
In the still abodes."

What better incarnation of pure pantheism can be found than the third stanza of "Brahma"?

"They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings."

Then ponder again the following from "Woodnotes":—

"Onward and on, the eternal Pan,
Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
Halteth never in one shape,
But forever doth escape
Like wave or flame, into new forms
Of gem and air, of plants and worms."

Here you have the Universal Entity or Power likened to flame or water-waves, taking on always new forms, but remaining the one substance. Is this theism?

A poem of Emerson's called "Spiritual Laws" has these remarkable pantheistic lines:—

"The living heaven thy prayers respect,
House at once and architect,
Quarrying man's rejected hours
Builds therewith eternal towers."

These lines evidently teach the identity of matter and mind, and that the one substance works, somewhat after the manner of Von Hartmann's Unconscious, with ceaseless urge; and yet, doubtless in Emerson's view, not blindly, but with purpose or foresight.

In a fragment recently published by the literary executors of Mr. Emerson, in his collected works, occurs this stanza:—

"Ever the Rock of Ages melts
Into the mineral air,
To be of the quarry whence to build
Thought and its mansions fair."

Both the brain and the mind are here said to be born of material substance, or, as Emerson rightly regarded it, psycho-material substance, "the eternal Pan." The following again is a magnificent pantheistic passage, only recently published in the collected works above alluded to:—

"O what are heroes, prophets, men,
But pipes through which the breath of Pan doth blow
A momentary music....

... Ebbs the tide, they lie
White hollow shells upon the desert shore.
But not the less the eternal wave rolls on
To animate new millions, and exhale
Races and planets, its enchanted foam."

Such are some of the poetical passages clearly pantheistic in their meaning. Still, as I said, it is only in these supreme and impassioned moments that Emerson rises out of the anthropomorphic cloud above the "flickering Dæmon film." And I readily admit that out of both his prose and his poetry can be gleaned a thousand theistic passages. In his "Woodnotes," a few lines below the very passage just quoted, he falls into the anthropomorphic vein from which it is all but impossible for any one to escape, and speaks of the eternal Pan as imparting energy, or the wine of his power, to the various organic forms, making them such and

such by drops of the enchanted wine in differing measure, until into the last drop "himself he flings," and forms man. This is pure theism. In the same poem are the lines,—

"Ever fresh the broad creation,
A divine improvisation,
From the heart of God proceeds."

Finally, in "The World Soul," it is said of Destiny, or the Inscrutable Power, that

"The seeds of land and sea
Are the atoms of his body bright,
And his behest obey."

This, too, is pure theism, or the doctrine of a universal soul distinct from matter, and animating it with its presence.

It seems to me hopeless to attempt to reconcile the various passages I have quoted; nor should I, for one, wish to do so. The pantheistic portions of Emerson's poems will live for ages as a witness to the power of this keenest of intellects to rise above the limitations of the prevalent philosophy of his day.

W. S. KENNEDY.

GERYON.

One of the worst of the fiends whom Dante meets in the pit is Geryon, the spirit of fraud, with his smiling face like that of an honest man, and his snaky body, ending in a scorpion's tail. It is he who carries the poet down to see how horrible are the punishments of thieves, seducers, peculators, coiners, forgers, false prophets, unjust judges, and traitors. More than half of the *Inferno* is devoted to these sinners, who are said to be much worse punished than misers, sensualists, or even murderers. And so they ought to be. Even in Dante's time, society was much more in peril from crimes of fraud than from those of self-indulgence or violence. All our institutions are founded on the mutual confidence of man in man. It is faith that other people mean honestly toward us which feeds all industrial prosperity and social life. The new gospel the world needs to-day is a gospel of justice. The old parable, in which men are rewarded and punished according to their generosity merely, might well be rewritten so as to show that on the right hand of the throne of judgment must stand those blessed ones who have bought and sold honestly, kept their promises, paid every man his due, and set their faces against all corruption; while on the left hand, doomed to burning flames of public indignation and secret shame, are the fraudulent bankrupts, the traders who have deceived their customers, and the office holders who have sacrificed the nation's interest and honor to their own private gain. Not only the life and property of each individual, but our common liberty as a people is guarded by the sword of justice. Faith of man in man is the pillar of the State. That is the faith by which America has been saved. Neither tyranny nor anarchy can get a footing in a nation whose citizens know they can trust each other. All our political safety and prosperity rests on this foundation. The worst of public enemies is the man who deliberately practises secret fraud. The corrupt politician who betrays a public trust in order to make money, and then shields himself by lies against exposure, is the only kind of traitor or rebel who is at present dangerous.

The patriotic citizen is always watchful to keep cheats and liars out of office and put honest men in. And this duty is peculiarly pressing just now, when one of the foremost candidates for the presidency is charged with systematic fraud and falsehood. This is not the place for me to say whether I think these charges true. No man has a right to take another's opinion on such a point as this.

To say, "The editors of my newspaper and the president of my college think these charges true, and so I shall vote against Blaine"; or "Senator this and General that say the charges don't amount to anything, and so I shall stand by the good old party," is as contemptible as to say, "My pastor and his bishop believe in the Athanasian creed, and I am going to believe just as they do." Our country calls for patriotic and intelligent voters, who will look with their own eyes, and act according to their own consciences. And a patriotic conscience must consider the charge of dishonesty, which directly affects fitness for office, and which is made against only one of the possible Presidents, much more important than another charge, which does not absolutely incapacitate a man for public service, and which unfortunately is pressed against both the leading candidates. Even a lower tariff has no such dangers as a lower standard of morals. The good old party I believe in myself is that which is for justice and honor against fraud and falsehood. We have a plain issue before us, not to be explained away or covered up or put out of sight. Those charges against Mr. Blaine rest on evidence of whose strength every reader can judge for himself, and those charges are either true or false. Men whose dispassionate investigation of the facts has led to a conscientious conviction that Mr. Blaine's integrity is spotless cannot easily express their opinion too warmly. But he whose reason and conscience tell him that the charges are just is solemnly bound to ask himself what he can do to save our country from a corrupt ruler; to keep that great line of Presidents, which began with the man who could not tell a lie, from being polluted by a name stained with falsehood and fraud; to prevent Geryon from making the White House black.

F. M. HOLLAND.

VOTING POWER AND ELIGIBILITY TO OFFICE IN LIBERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

In *The Index* of September 4, under the title of "The New Organization," Mr. T. W. Curtis has issued what might be termed an informal call for the formation of a National Liberal Organization.

As there are associations already in the field which the new body would be intended to occupy, it must be presumed that there are weighty reasons why many radicals persistently decline joining their efforts with those of already existing societies. Indeed, it appears evident that, along with the forces which tend to separate the Liberals of our day from their opponents, other forces of almost equal potency tend to disintegrate the liberal columns themselves.

The National Liberal League originated chiefly through the efforts of Mr. F. E. Abbot and his friends. Its purposes were announced in the Liberal platform adopted at Rochester, N.Y., Oct. 26, 1876. Its constitution, adopted July 1, 1876, may be considered a model document. And yet it was but two years later that the founders of the League, believing that the association was about to become unfaithful to its proper ends, withdrew from the organization. But is not a change of policy a necessary consequence of any society's extension of its membership by the accession of so heterogeneous elements as was apparently in this instance the case? In the Constitution of the Liberal League, Article IV., it is provided that "any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League." I notice that the Constitution of the Free Religious Association is equally liberal in its provision

for the admittance of total strangers to membership.

This liberality in not only opening the gates, but, as it were, *taking them off their hinges and reducing them to kindling wood*, appears to me a great mistake in political practice. So long as their opponents are accustomed to accomplish their ends more frequently by unfair than by fair means, the gates of liberal associations should be carefully guarded. As the Constitution of the Free Religious Association now stands, what is to prevent a sufficiently large body of its opponents from rushing in, political heeler fashion, making themselves voters by the payment of that one dollar, and then perverting its name and prestige to some base purpose directly opposed to the spirit in which the organization was conceived? So long as the "crank" (generally, as I understand it, a sincere fanatical "Liberal" of great narrowness of mental horizon) seeks admission to all liberal organizations, the relative rights of members should be surrounded by safeguards and restrictions.

A natural law seems to operate against the steadfastness of purpose of all liberal societies, nay, against their very liberality itself. And this is to be expected just so long as each member has equal voting power, regardless of his or her relative breadth of views and cultivation. It is this equality of voting power which, in my estimation, not only ruins liberal associations, but is also instrumental in blasting the political health of the nation. It is this equality of voting power which deters many able men from joining liberal organizations, as well as from performing the so-called "duties of citizenship." It is this equality of the most ignorant with the wisest which prevents the "consensus of the competent" from directing human affairs. That our entire system of social and political organizations sadly needs recasting will be admitted by all Liberals. And I believe that this can be best accomplished by the preliminary formation of a number of liberal societies to serve as models upon which the nation may be remoulded.

Equal universal suffrage is an evident failure: *unequal universal suffrage* remains to be tried. "Intelligence qualifications" of the right to vote have been before this proposed; but, so far as I am aware, these were all in the direction of the entire exclusion of the illiterate, and never in that of a *gradation* of voting power and eligibility to office on the basis of the systematically ascertained range of information of each citizen and candidate.

In the proposed liberal model organizations, the *inequalization of voting power and eligibility to office* should be conditioned by the constitution and by-laws, and carried into effect by an elective committee charged with the periodical examination of members.

To illustrate what should be done, let us suppose A. B. and C. D. to have been recently admitted to membership. Until examined, they have no vote. After a careful examination by the committee, it is found that, compared with certain ideal standards, A. B.'s information is to C. D.'s information as 12 to 17. Then these two numbers will represent the respective voting power and eligibility of the two members. On all questions and in all elections, A. B. casts 12 votes and C. D. 17. Should A. B. and C. D. be candidates for office, the former's vote must be multiplied by 12 and the latter's by 17. If the former received 40 votes, $12 \times 40 = 480$ is counted for him: if C. D. received 30 votes, $17 \times 30 = 510$ is his number; and, in this case, not A. B., but C. D., is elected. Evidently, under this system, the well-informed would have considerable political advantages over the

less informed; and the danger of the latter's vote throwing the society's government into the hands of the ignorant "crank" or unscrupulous demagogue, even if not entirely eliminated, would certainly be very much lessened. At all events, the attempt deserves to be made.

I do not in any sense mean to assert that the here proposed amendment to the methods of social organization would carry in its train overwhelming revolutionary successes. But I do most sincerely believe that an experiment in association of the kind indicated would slowly but surely lead to the most beneficial results,—the foundation of a social structure destined, in the course of years, to assume noble dimensions,—a temple of Liberalism upon whose model, illuminated from within, the nation could be reformed.

The experiment can be made whenever, in any of our great cities, a nucleus of thoroughly sincere and serious Liberals can be found who are convinced of the value of the plan. With such a body, I for one should gladly unite my efforts.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

NOT "THE BEGINNING OF THE EVIL."

Mr. J. K. Applebee, in a recent discourse, referring to the resolutions relating to laws against indecent literature, adopted at the first congress of the National Liberal League, says: "There was nothing which I, as an individual, could object to in Mr. Underwood's resolution; but, as a member of the League, if I had been such, I should have objected to it entirely." To this statement, no reply need be made. But Mr. Applebee goes farther, and says: "This" (the resolution referred to above) "was the beginning of the evil. From that unhappy moment, the seeds of decay set in, and the League began to die." To this statement, we take exception. The adoption of the resolutions referred to, as Mr. Abbot who at the time approved them said two years subsequently, settled the question which had been brought into the League by Mr. Andrews "*wisely and well*." At the next annual congress there was an increased attendance, the proceedings were harmonious, and the work done, as reported in *The Index*, was very satisfactory. The League showed no signs of decay; and there was no contention or trouble whatever resulting from, and no reference to, the resolution, on the adoption of which, Mr. Applebee says, "the League began to die." The issue of repeal or reform did not arise until the arrest of Messrs. Heywood and Bennett and the circulation of a petition for the "repeal or material modification" of the postal laws of 1873,—circumstances that led to a controversy in liberal papers, which was carried into the next annual congress held at Syracuse in 1878, when the first division of the League occurred. Mr. Applebee says that, at the time Col. Ingersoll left the League, "next to congratulating Col. Ingersoll on leaving it, I felt inclined to congratulate myself at never having belonged to it." But, if those "religious Liberals" like Mr. Applebee, who, when the League had adopted a ruinous policy, congratulated themselves "at never having belonged to it," had taken some interest in the organization before the disaster occurred, it could easily have been averted, and the League could have been kept to its original purpose. "The present disgrace," wrote Mr. Abbot, soon after the Syracuse congress, "could never have been inflicted upon the liberal cause, had it not been for the abstention of the better class of Liberals." What was done at the Liberal League Congress in 1876 was done without the light afforded by the discussion and experience of the past eight years, and doubtless mistakes were made; but Mr. Applebee, whose opinion as

to the merits of the discussion between the two factions of the Liberal League we now learn for the first time, and who might, had he been with us at Philadelphia in 1876, have given needed assistance, has not succeeded, we think, in pointing out any of those mistakes. As to the point mentioned, the judgment of Mr. Abbot may be accepted as correct, when in 1878 he said, "At the time of its birth, the League assumed a firm and wise position on this 'obscene literature question'; and it needs now to maintain this position with increased clearness, vigor, and emphasis." There are several statements in Mr. Applebee's discourse to which exception may fairly be taken, and the severity with which he condemns all who have joined in the demand, the most unwise demand, we believe, for repeal of the so-called Comstock laws, is so undiscriminating that it is likely to do more harm than good to the side in defence of which it is used.

The Liberal League movement had its beginning in *The Index* in an appeal published in 1873, accompanied by "The Demands of Liberalism," one of which is "that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty." "The idea which created the Natural Liberal League," as Mr. Abbot said at its first congress, "is that of a free State absolutely independent of the Church and founded on the equal natural rights of all individuals." But the equal natural rights of all individuals do not imply the right or the obligation of the government of the United States, whose only powers are those delegated to it by the several States, to be a carrier of indecent publications which are prohibited by all the States and condemned by all decent men and women, irrespective of their views on religion or other disputed questions. The Liberal League, therefore, in demanding the repeal of postal laws against the transmission of such literature through the mails made a grave mistake, a virtual admission of which is involved in recent declarations of its leaders. The sentiment worked up among the subscribers of a few papers in favor of "repeal" by two or three persons,—with the co-operation of their friends and sympathizers,—who were identified with the liberal movement, and who, whatever may be said of them personally as to their lack of propriety and taste, were undoubtedly victims of religious bigotry and unfair legal interpretation, is subsiding; and those who were the most instrumental in producing this sentiment are willing and anxious to discontinue the agitation. They see that, with a better understanding of the objects of the postal laws of 1873, people are more discriminating and just, and that now judges and juries have learned to discriminate between really obscene publications, which we are glad to say are pretty effectually suppressed, and works like Heywood's pamphlet, for circulating which Heywood and Bennett were a few years ago unjustly imprisoned, and of which Mr. Abbot well said, "To confound this book with that vile class of literature which alone ought to be suppressed is a monstrous injustice, and we protest against it with irrepressible indignation." It is seen, too, by those who have opposed "repeal" that they should condemn, to quote the words of Mr. Abbot, "Anthony Comstock's absurd fanaticism, which not only makes him procure the imprisonment of mere social theorists as criminals, but also moves him to declare war against the historical paintings of artists of high reputation like Hans Makart on the ground that they are indecent." "When men are punished for promulgating their mere opinions as a crime, and when this oppression is a direct interference of the Church with the State, who shall say that it is an issue foreign to the objects of the Liberal League?"

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

DESPOTISM IN RUSSIA.

It is not strange that there are Nihilists in Russia secretly at work to destroy the government. The wonder is that the number is not larger, and that acts of violence by them are so few. Of the despotism that prevails, of the corruption pervading every department of the government, of the cruelty of sub-rulers, of the policy of suppressing all independence of thought and freedom of expression by the knout, by imprisonment, by exile, by murder under the forms of law, many writers have given us full statements and convincing proof. One of the indications of the purpose and spirit of the tyrannical government of Russia is the system of censorship over literature which it has established. An imperial decree prohibits translations from Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Lubbock, Bagehot, Agassiz, and Lyell. Booksellers are forbidden to sell the second volume of Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe*. If a publisher of any works is suspected of holding unsound political or religious views, his business is stopped by official authority. Ignorant men are often appointed as censors, with authority to proscribe any magazine or paper in which they imagine there is anything offensive. A Frenchman, who had lived in Russia nearly his whole life, and who was extensively engaged in the book trade, was arrested on suspicion and kept in prison nearly a month without examination. He declared that he had carefully avoided dealing in any forbidden literature, and there was no evidence to the contrary; but after a hearing, which was a mere form and farce, he was sent to St. Petersburg, and there kept in jail seven months. Through the influence of the French consul into whose hands he had managed to get a note, he was given a hearing before the chief of police, who, in reply to his declaration that he had sold no contraband literature, said: "That I know quite well. You have done nothing openly illegal, I admit; but that only shows how very prudent you are, and, therefore, all the more dangerous. It is true, also, that we have found no forbidden literature in your possession. All the same, we know quite well that it is possible so to arrange an assortment even of authorized books as to spread subversive ideas quite as effectually as if they were revolutionary pamphlets printed at Geneva." The consul demanded that the prisoner be at once put on trial or released. He was promised release on condition that he would leave the country. Being given only twenty-four hours in which to dispose of his property at Karkoff, whither he was taken under strong guard, he was obliged to leave his stock in the hands of an agent, who disposed of it at a quarter of its cost. Is it surprising that, under a system of repression such as these facts indicate, there are men and women in Russia who hate the Czar, and would gladly put an end to his despotic reign? Is it strange that, when he visited Warsaw lately, the railway was guarded by thousands of soldiers who had orders to shoot any persons who approached within three thousand feet of the track, or that there were, as a despatch stated, "a thousand arrests in connection with the Czar's visit"? In no part of his empire is his life safe. It looks now as though revolution, which is often necessary to the process of evolution, would alone save Russia from the continued existence of a most grinding despotism.

B. F. U.

In regard to the doctrine of immortality, Mr. John Fiske wrote in 1877: "Scientifically speaking there is no presumption either way, and there is no burden of proof on either side. The question

is simply one which science cannot touch. In the future as in the past, I have no doubt it will be provisionally answered in different ways by different minds, on an estimate of what is called 'moral probability,' just as we see it diversely answered in the 'Modern Symposium.' For my own part, I should be much better satisfied with an affirmative answer as affording perhaps some unforeseen solution to the general mystery of life. But there is one thing which every true philosopher ought to dread even more than the prospect of annihilation, and that is the unpardonable sin of letting preference tamper with his judgment. I have no sympathy with those who stigmatize the hope of immortal life as selfish or degrading, and with Mr. Harrison's proffered substitute I confess I have no patience whatever. This travesty of Christianity by Protestantism seems to me, as it does to Prof. Huxley, a very sorry business. On the other hand, I cannot agree with those who consider a dogmatic belief in another life essential to the proper discharge of our duty in this. Though we may not know what is to come hereafter, we have, at any rate, all the means of knowledge requisite for making our present lives pure and beautiful. It was Jehovah's cherished servant who declared in Holy Writ that his faith was stronger than death. There is something overwhelming in the thought that all our rich stores of spiritual acquisition may perish with us. But the wise man will cheerfully order his life, undaunted by metaphysical snares that beset him; learning and learning afresh, as if all eternity lay before him; battling steadfastly for the right, as if this day were his last. 'Disce ut semper victurus, vive ut cras moriturus.'"

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE in the *Christian Register* says: "May there not be some specimens of human nature, who, having been from the beginning under good influence and guidance, have never deliberately gone astray? For my part, I not only believe in the sinlessness of Jesus, but in that of numbers of others. And I believe in the progress of the race, that the time will come when the majority will lead sinless lives." Commenting on this article, the editor of the *Register* remarks: "The goodness of Jesus is thus assumed to be natural, not miraculous, an experience in the line of our human development, and not outside of it. To some, this admission seems to rob Jesus of that uniqueness of character which both the Arian and the orthodox view of his nature ascribed to him; but this uniqueness meant also the isolation of Jesus from human history, and nullified to a great extent the force of his example. The assumption of the miraculous birth of Jesus, like the Roman Catholic assumption of the miraculous birth of Mary, was an endeavor to cut them off hypothetically from the line of human sinfulness; while it equally excluded them from receiving any of the hereditary benefits of human virtue. If we may now believe that men and women born under natural human conditions have been sinless, it no longer becomes necessary to suppose that Jesus needed the advantage of miraculous conditions of birth, in order to attain what others have attained without it. Instead of being a violation of physiological law, the birth and life of Jesus are seen to be a beautiful sanctification of it."

In the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, Mrs. Hester M. Poole thus refers to one of our valued contributors: "One of the most venerable and respected of all is Elizabeth Oakes Smith, now active and brilliant, at the age of seventy-eight. A graceful yet stately form, with that dignity and sweet-

ness which come from genuine culture of all the powers of mind and heart, Mrs. Oakes Smith is a golden link uniting this to a preceding generation. The wife of Seba Smith, the journalist and humorist, who is remembered as the author of *Jack Downing's Letters*, she has bravely borne her part in the battle of life. Thirty years ago, she was the centre of a distinguished literary coterie in New York City, and even then occupied the platform which women, at that period, seldom mounted. Mrs. Oakes Smith, from an early age, has written much and well. Some of her poems are genuine inspirations, informed with that subtle spiritual quality which can never be simulated. Tender, winning, and varied are the images which she embodies in felicitous forms; and it is a pity that the public have not the opportunity to read her productions more frequently. So true a reformer should not be allowed to sit in silence and isolation. Mrs. Oakes Smith is spending the summer with Sallie Holley, that good Samaritan of Lottsburg, Va., where all the region round about receives daily blessings from the hand of the friend of the freedmen."

SUPERSTITION consists essentially in putting in things, or back of them, wills like ours. Animals are not superstitious, because they do not try to comprehend. Man, on the contrary, tries to account for the phenomena he perceives, and, in order to do this, projects himself in a fashion into them. This first attempt to systematize the universe had a kind of grandeur, even in a scientific view, and had also its poetry. But its myths of the ancient ages can no longer be seriously regarded in the age of science. Is this to be regretted for the sake of art? Yes, they say; for it was more poetical to put wills like ours behind exterior objects than to submit them to the hard laws of science: a law is not as good as a god. But we answer to this, that a law in itself has something of the divine. As one of the characteristics of divinity is infinity, a law connecting phenomena one with another, and inviting us unhaltingly to ascend the chain of causes, opens immense perspectives to the mind, and gives to whoever investigates it a view of infinity in the smallest objects, or, we might say, makes the infinite present in every phenomenon. . . . From this arises a new kind of poetry, more austere, perhaps, but more profound and more lasting.—*Revue des Deux Mondes*.

AN exchange says: "The American people, with an honorable, manly, and generous sense of what is due to family life, have during the last hundred years, in spite of the savage bitterness of political contests for a prize so great as the Presidency, abstained from dragging women into the arena; and they have recognized the fact that, though all 'charges' of a disgraceful nature wound a man's family and friends, there is only one charge which necessarily imputes guilt to others than himself, and that no woman can either publicly defend herself against such a charge, or sit silent under it, without suffering in social estimation in a way which to most women is almost worse than death. Political managers have not the reputation of being very scrupulous, and probably are no worse in this respect now than they were eighty years ago; but they have always recoiled until now from carrying their warfare into people's homes, and making female shame or misfortune a stock topic on the stump or in the campaign documents."

MUCH reliance has been placed upon the oath as a practical security by politicians and moralists, ancient and modern; but, on the other hand, there is a growing feeling that only the ignorant and

superstitious are bound by it; that it is an evil, as increasing temptation to perjury, and still more as encouraging the inference that a man need not speak the truth, unless he is upon oath. The more the subject is considered, says the *Christian World*, the more surprise must be felt that a practice so manifestly arising out of the barbarism of long past ages should survive amidst the light, the knowledge, and the moral development of the present day. "Whatever may be the issue of the present miserable struggle, which is more a conflict of personal animosities and prejudices than of principles, the day cannot be far distant when these misleading and empty ceremonies will give place to simpler, manlier, and more Christian practices in harmony with the teaching of our Lord."—*London Inquirer*.

A FRIEND in a distant city in a letter relating mainly to business, thus refers to his experience: "That men of sincerity, depth of thought, and refinement of purposes, should be intensely repelled by the coarse and vulgar flippancy of a certain wing of radicalism, I can readily understand. I, at one time, was a member of the Liberal Club in this city, but left it, because in all its discussions it seemed to be governed by the 'consensus of the incompetent.' The recognition of this fact induced in me a serious spell of transient but almost suicidal melancholy. For what I asked was 'liberty of speech,' and echo seemed to answer 'liberty to screech.' I have since that time held myself aloof from radical societies. Lately, however, I have seen cause to modify somewhat my views on 'crankism.' It is an open question whether these persons have not, after all, a mission to fulfil, though of course not the one they themselves imagine."

THE *Independent*, in a notice of Capt. Adams' *Travels in Faith from Tradition to Reason*, says: "Mr. Adams is the son of the late Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D., of Boston, minister of the Essex Street Church, pastor of Rufus Choate, whose eulogy was pronounced by that eloquent preacher. His high Calvinism and *South Side View* made him famous in his day. His second son, we believe, Robert C. Adams, took to the sea, and for many years was known as a Christian master and a model sailor. Later, he settled in Montreal, began reading Theodore Parker, and drifted into these *Travels in Faith*, which do not seem to have ended until they had carried him clear over and beyond the limits of the subject. The present volume contains the story of his believing days, the history of his lapse, and the exposition of his present opinions."

HERBERT BANCROFT, in referring in his great historical work (vol. xxii.) to early missionary labors on the Pacific coast, says:—

Speaking generally, all missionary effort is a failure. Such, history pronounces to be its fate. Missionary effort seeks to lift the savage mind from the darkness of its own religion, which God and nature have given it as the best for it, and to fix it on the abstract principles of civilized belief which it cannot comprehend. It seeks to improve the moral and material conditions of the savage, when its very touch is death. The greatest boon Christianity can confer upon the heathen is to let him alone. They are not ready yet to cultivate the soil or learn to read, or to change their nature or their religion. These ends the Almighty accomplishes in his own good time and way, unfolding their minds as from a germ of his own implanting into the clearer light as they are able to receive it.

MISS EASTMAN's topic at the Social Supper next Wednesday evening will be "Our Duty to Speak our Uttermost Thought."

OUR SOCIAL SUPPER.

All who wish for the frequent social intercourse of believers in Liberty of Thought, as well as for the active co-operation of women with men in solving the great moral problems now urgent, are cordially invited to the Social Supper in Parker Fraternity Hall on Wednesday evening, October 1. Full notice has already been given in *The Index*, at whose office tickets, at 50 cts., may be procured. Our friends are earnestly requested to apply early.

The first of the hymns which will then be sung, and which are printed below, was written for the Festival of 1877, and the second for this occasion.

E Pluribus Unum.

BY MRS. E. D. CHENEY.

(Air, *Marlow*.)

Many in one, our fathers said;
Many in one, say we:
Of different creeds, of differing forms,
Love brings us unity.

Let Science scan the open page
Of sky and sea and land,
And tell the secrets written there
By Time's mysterious hand.

Let Art reveal the inner thought
In Nature's forms of Grace,
And feel God's presence everywhere,
See everywhere his face.

Let Faith attune the hidden strings
That Science cannot sound;
And Future, Past, and Present bind
In one harmonious round.

From each, from all, may life outflow,
To each and all flow in:
It needs us all to swell the chords
Of life's triumphant hymn.

Our October Supper.

BY F. M. HOLLAND.

(8s and 7s.)

Creeds and ceremonies perish,
Fallen leaves that must decay:
Ours the living Truth to cherish;
She can never pass away.

Freedom holds her firm dominion
In this land of equal rights:
Science spreads her mighty pinion
Every day for higher flights.

Faith in Man grows stronger, clearer,
As we see our neighbors' worth:
Duty's ancient laws are dearer;
New ones have their holy birth.

Ours to keep this sacred treasure
Open for the use of all.
In the hour of social pleasure
Hear the Future's bugle-call!

THE moment we feel angry in controversy, we have already ceased striving for truth, and begun striving for ourselves.—*T. Carlyle*.

HE who is dear to the heart is near, though far as far can be: he whom the heart rejects is remote, though near as our very self.—*Hindu*.

IN all the superior people I have met, I notice directness, truth spoken more truly, as if everything of obstruction, of malformation, had been trained away.—*Emerson*.

WHEREVER in the story of mankind a grand epoch or movement is seen, there we have passionate devotion working with an overpowering belief at the bottom of it.—*F. Harrison*.

STATE a new thought in five words, and you will be entitled to rank among the great benefactors of the race. That is where the proverbialist has the advantage over the philosopher. A great thought stated diffusely may be understood by one person in a hundred: make it an epigram, and you reach the other ninety and nine. A system is mastered in a year, a proverb in a lightning flash. There is a hint in this truth for preachers and teachers. The world has no lack of elaborate systems: what it more wants is the result of systems condensed into sentences of less than thirty words each. So, when you have said a thing in ten sentences, say it over again in ten words; and many will understand the ten words who failed

to understand the ten sentences. Limpid brevity is the mother of understanding as well as the soul of wit.—*Sunday School Times*.

For *The Index*.

JULIAN AT EPHEBUS.*

Through strong compulsion have I hitherto
With tongue and knee adored or seemed to adore
The poor, dead God of Galilee, and thus
Been made against my will a hypocrite.
Not long will I be such, but soon my voice
Shall truly announce the feelings of my heart,
Which hitherto repressed have burned within
Indignantly. Soon armed with might imperial
Will I confront the throngs of filthy monks
And warring factions, who in name of Christ
Each other would exterminate from earth,
And world-wide tolerance proclaim of all
Religions, whatsoever their name or origin,—
Such tolerance, as erewhile was enjoyed,
Before the faith of Christ became supreme.
Still over all the Grecian world intact
And glorious the temples of the gods
Stand in their many-columned majesty,
The matchless fanes of that primeval cult
Which sowed the earth with shapes of carven beauty,
All Hellas filling with a populace
Of heroes, laurelled athletes, bards in bronze;
Each vale and every mountain glen adorning
With beauteous shrines and forms of loveliness.
These glorious relics of the Sacred Past
Have long been menaced by fanatics vile,
Haters of Art and Poesy, to whom
Beauty and harmony and wisdom high
Are an offence, abomination.
My power shall make innocuous their threats.
Hail, temple-city fair of Ephesus!
Midnight now reigns above your shrine colossal.
While arrow-loving Artemis, aloft
Over her altars here, seems lovingly
And luringly from cloudless skies to shine.
Virgin August, rejoicing in thy shafts,
Co-regent with thy brother Sun of heaven,
The forest solitudes filling with sudden
Irruption of hounds and shouting Oreads,—
Must thy divinity wane, as wanes thine orb
At intervals, but with full sheen to shine
Again as bright as ever? Thus kneel I
In thy midnight beam and swear, when sceptred
Power shall make me strong, my strength shall
In thy service wielded be against all who
Would thy glorious empery overthrow.
Mother of months, star-sandalled, chaste, and fleet,
Henceforth thy votary I am by rites
Of mystical consecration, henceforth
Thy fulgent face shall be my sign in heaven,
Whether a plenilune or crescent bright
It shines o'erhead,—my sign, by which I'll conquer
More surely than imperial Constantine,
My uncle, did, when saw he in the sky
The crucified Judæan's Cross or feigned
He saw at noonday on the battle's edge.
No base, fanatic cult from Palestine
Shall from my heart dislodge the festal gods
Of bright Olympus,—Zeus, lyred Apollo,
Violet-crowned Athênê, patroness
Of that fair city, eye of sacred Greece,
And Greece of Greece in genius, sanctity,
The immemorial seat of art and song
And high philosophy, where learned I lore
Of sages of the past, lore to my soul
More dear than crown and sceptre, baubles bright
Of that imperial sovereignty which soon
I shall inherit and wield in cause
Of reason, wisdom, tolerance, and truth.

B. W. BALL.

* In the middle of the fourth century of the Vulgar Era reigned Julian, surnamed the Apostate, because he endeavored to inaugurate a general reaction against Christianity in the interest of the old Olympian Polytheism. Julian was educated at Athens, and there imbibed a profound enthusiasm in behalf of the fair humanities of the old religion of Greece. In the twentieth year of his age, he was, according to Gibbon, delivered into the hands of Maximus, a pagan philosopher and mystagogue, who made him secretly the subject of an initiation into the chief pagan mysteries. In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis, Gibbon says, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm. From that moment, he consecrated his life to the rehabilitation and restoration of the sway of the gods of the Olympian dynasty, of the deities of Homer and the Scipios, as against the new faith which his uncle Constantine had established in the Roman Empire. But, though he wielded the whole power of that empire in behalf of his reactionary movement, it was too late. Mount Olympus had to succumb to Mount Zion. Julian was a scholar and a voluminous "literary fellow," his writings still surviving. But his attempt at a polytheistic reaction failed, as the attempt at an ecclesiastical reaction of the Puseys and Mannings and Newman of the current century will fail. The *Zeitgeist* invariably plants its foot upon all such attempts at reaction, which are simply endeavors to put back the hands upon the dial-plate of Time.

B. W. B.

Sept. 7, 1884.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

Necessity of Reform in Public and Private Schools.

BY ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

A sentiment of Carlyle's sums up what educational reform should be: "Education is beyond so much as being despised. We must praise it when it is not Deducation, or an utter annihilating of what it professes to foster. The best educated man you will often find to be the artisan, or at all rates the man of business. They have put forth their hands and operated on Nature: they have obtained some true insight. . . . A Burns is infinitely better educated than a Byron."

It is within the memory of the present generation that educational theories commence to attract universal attention; and such books as Abbott's *Gentle Training for the Young*, etc., aroused a suspicion in the minds of thoughtful parents and teachers that, after all that could be said in their favor, the common school and Sabbath-school combined did not always bring about the most perfectly satisfactory result. This suspicion once aroused, it fast became a certainty. It is imperative, in order to understand the present aspect of the educational question, to throw a hasty glance back over the systems of education of the four nations of antiquity that have influenced modern thought,—Egypt, Judea, Greece, and Rome. The schools of Judea and Egypt were ecclesiastical, were taught by the priests, and were established for the purpose of training boys in the ceremonial of worship. The system of the Roman Catholic Church is modelled on that of those countries. Those of Greece and Rome were secular, for the priests did not form a separate caste in those countries. Of the education which a Greek boy received in Homer's time, Mr. Gladstone says that "it was an education fit for a civilized man, even though he never saw a book in his life; the bringing out and developing of all the faculties of his body, mind, and heart until he became

at once a reverent yet a self-assured, a graceful and yet a valiant, an able and yet an eloquent personage." The Roman lad was instructed in military discipline, jurisprudence, and in everything calculated to make him a good soldier and citizen. The artistic side of his nature was ignored, for the result sought for was a self-denying and self-controlled being.

The Greek ideal, self-culture, and the Roman, self-sacrifice, are still ours: we but endeavor to combine them. It is a strange and startling fact that education as a science made no progress for over one thousand years after the introduction of the Christian religion. The struggles for conquest, liberty, or existence, which characterized the Middle Ages, pushed all other considerations aside; and the Church took possession of the child. Harsh measures of government were employed both in the home and the school, the acquisition of knowledge was rendered as painful and difficult as possible, inquiry was stifled and originality condemned,—a system which brutalized not only children, but parents, and the legitimate results of which were the Inquisition, slavery, and fanaticism. The Reformation, the French Revolution, and all the modern philosophers have not been able to abolish many of the abuses of the Middle-Age system of instruction. We suffer to-day in our methods of teaching and training the young from the cruelty of that era.

There were, however, a few men even in that era who recognized the falsehood of the saying that "there is no royal road to learning"; and the five great leaders of the Modern Reform of Education are John Comenius, J. J. Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbert Spencer.

John Comenius was born in 1592, and was the last bishop of the Bohemian Brothers. When exiled from his native land, he travelled through Europe, endeavoring to interest people in his school reform. Among other lands, he visited England, but failed to accomplish anything while there. Had he succeeded, how potent for good would it have been for this country, the direct heir of Anglo-Saxon traditions! Comenius divided his method of instruction into four periods, the Maternal, the Vernacular, the Latin, and the University. Above all, he insisted on a practical scientific and moral training. J. J. Rousseau was the forerunner of Herbert Spencer: their methods and theory are nearly identical. Rousseau says, "Let us learn of Nature: let us follow her dictates, and develop the individual soul." Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbert Spencer have gathered up the tangled threads of educational science, and between them have elaborated a system so clear, so natural, and so scientific that it excites the greatest admiration.

The United States have been made pre-eminent during the last few years by the ability of the leaders in the teaching profession; and such men as Charles Leland, of Philadelphia, and Francis Parker, of Chicago, and others, of whom lack of space prevents a personal mention, have made the great advance of putting their theories into practical work, and have avowed the Socratic theory as theirs: "to encourage a craving for knowledge of the unknowable; to be dissatisfied with all received opinions until their truth could be demonstrated; and to arouse in the pupil a curiosity which only the solution of each new mystery could satisfy." A republic form of government makes more exact demands on its members than does any other, as such a form presupposes that each person composing the same is able to come to a correct decision as regards important issues, and to cast a decisive vote. Caroline Fox represents Sterling as saying that "in the parts of the United States settled by the Anglo-Saxons, and where

the Common School system has long prevailed, no police force is needed."

The readers of the daily papers can easily judge for themselves whether the present descendants of the Anglo-Saxons have been taught to use their judgment or to put what education they have received to its highest use. The aim also of a republican form of government is to enable each individual composing it to reach an untrammelled development, and so to foster the moral character that each individual has an "eye to reason and not custom, to right rather than fact." Does the education given to boys and girls produce this result? A healthy and moral public opinion is the only bulwark of this government, so the questions are immediately presented as to how general is education in this country, and what kind and of what quality it must be to make useful and efficient citizens out of the children of the republic.

In answer to the former demand, it is safe to say that education is not nearly so general as it is supposed to be. The reports of the school boards of the large cities make a lamentable showing in this respect. Twenty per cent. of the population of the States are illiterate. The President, in one of his recent messages to Congress, calls the attention of the nation to the startling statistics in illiteracy,—notably where the settlements are at great distances apart and where immigrants form the bulk of the settlers. This is not surprising, as the largest immigration to this country is from England, Ireland, Germany, France, and Belgium; and one third of the inhabitants of each of those countries can neither read nor write. The large number of children who do not avail themselves of the advantages of the public or other schools is easily ascertained by reference to the reports of the school boards of the cities.

As concerning the amount of intellectual training and the quality of it, it is safe to assert that the public schools are overcrowded, and by their routine hamper the individuality of both teacher and pupil, while their conservatism destroys all originality in both. Even the advanced classes are rarely instructed in the important problems of social science, and are ignorant of the methods and functions of government, the duties of citizenship, the laws of supply and demand, the relations of employer to employé, and these of producer to consumer. As to the instruction given in parochial schools, it is always two or three hundred years behind the age in its spirit, neither do the private schools lead the vanguard in improved methods of teaching.

For the preservation of such a government as this is, it is imperative to have a compulsory educational law, and to fine every person who breaks it. To render the public school system efficient, it will be necessary to incorporate into it the kindergarten and moral and industrial, not technical, instruction. The kindergarten is the logical method of training the young child. It obviates the great evil of allowing a child to reach its sixth year, the age at which children are admitted to the public school, without some systematic training; for by that time habits of indolence, disobedience, and restlessness have been so firmly established that it requires several years of patient care to correct them. When leaving the kindergarten and entering the primary department, the child, having already acquired habits of observation, order, and obedience, is prepared to profit immediately by the instruction it receives.

Industrial training should form a part of the education given to all children. The class who obtain a livelihood without labor, who exist without visible means of support, present a sad problem for society to solve. It is not surprising

that, while practical education is ignored, in times of scarcity a great number of unemployed, helpless, and reckless men and women should threaten to overrun the centres of culture and progress. In Europe, where this complex modern civilization presses so closely on all classes, practical education has been incorporated into most of the national school systems. The benefit of such wise precaution is apparent in the great demand for skilled foreign labor among American manufacturers. It is in connection with the criminal classes that industrial training is seen in its brightest light. In the last report of the Prison Congress, it was stated "that, where industrial training and moral instruction go hand in hand in the reform schools, eighty-three per cent. of the pupils, when discharged, become decent and self-supporting members of society." Not alone should the mind of the child be cared for, but the body should receive its full share of attention. Good ventilation, frequent change of position, and short hours should be insisted on. There is an ever-increasing demand for perfect physical development; and school-life, both in public and private schools, is too sedentary, the hours are too long, and the system is so monotonous that it is surprising that more teachers and pupils do not break down under it.

It is imperative that some system of ethics should be taught in both public and private schools: it is possible to do this without introducing sectarianism. The history of morals proves nothing more conclusively than the possibility of inculcating moral instruction apart from so-called doctrinal truths. The moral should always with children precede the spiritual teaching. This order is often reversed, and the child is required to lead the higher spiritual life before acquiring the first rudiments of morality. The history of the world has shown that a "high degree of spiritual attainment is consistent with a total lack of moral basis." It is very dangerous to the moral well-being of a child to encourage the emotions and make them the springs of action in place of correct principles, to teach him to depend on words instead of the high order of character, "which makes for righteousness." The child relies on his fine sentiments, sensitive emotions, and beautiful words instead of on just deeds and perfect truth. It is of the greatest importance to use economy of sentiment with children. This precaution is doubly necessary with girls, whose future is shaped by their surroundings and who are by the nature of things unable to control circumstances. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to them to prefer the reality to the seeming.

It is wise and just to give to girls the same facilities for attaining the higher education which boys have, but it is an open question whether in co-education the girls do not profit at the expense of the boys. The feminine element predominates in modern republics, so it does not seem advisable that boys should be left after passing their twelfth year to the exclusive care of women. Under that age, women are their best teachers and wisest guides; but, after that, a man is usually better fitted to take charge of them. Women are rarely satisfied with a free development of the individual child. They are more inclined than men are to formulate theories about boys, and then endeavor to fit the boys into their theory. It is also charged that women overcrowd their pupils and push them faster than men do.

The instruction given in the private schools is open to the criticism of being too diffuse, which partly arises from the fact that there exists no standard of education in this country. The private schools should be under the supervision of the local school boards, and no one should be

allowed to teach without a certificate from the board of examiners. This system has been carried out with the greatest success in France, and it adds great dignity to the profession. Children often change from one school to another, so no plan of education can be carried out to its logical sequence. They often study Greek and Latin before they can write and spell in their own language, and know the history of foreign lands before studying that of their own country. The mania for learning foreign languages might with advantage be controlled in both public and private schools. Especially is this the case with girls. It is truly the work of a lifetime to learn to speak and write a foreign language correctly, and it seems advisable to devote some of this precious time and energy to acquiring some more valuable knowledge. A few simple rules might be laid down for the guidance of teachers and parents. One of them will be "not to teach so much of everything and more of what is taught," not to burden the memory with trivial details, and not so much learning by heart.

To teach by lectures, the pupil taking notes when sufficiently advanced to do so, is a great saving in time, as so much information can thus be gained outside of books. Teachers are also, by this method, made more or less of specialists: it is therefore far less monotonous. Nothing so fatigues a child as to be always taught by the same person, neither can one teacher impart all knowledge equally well. Herbert Spencer has divided all education into five parts: first, that which relates to self-preservation; second, that relating to self-support; third, that relating to paternity; fourth, relating to citizenship; fifth, to accomplishments,—which he calls everything tending to render the leisure part of life agreeable. Spencer further explains that love of life is an instinct, the knowledge pertaining to self-support, to citizenship, and to paternity is usually relegated to chance, while the period set aside for the acquisition of knowledge has been devoted to those accomplishments which are to fill up the leisure part of life. In his broad and general way, Spencer gives the following principles to be carried out in all instruction:—

"Teach to think, and not to repeat.

"Principles, and not rules.

"Systems, and not detail."

He should have added, "Remember that all knowledge must be transformed into skill."

Too strong a plea cannot be made for a public school education, and it is greatly to be regretted that the common schools are not in all ways so superior that there would be no demand for private schools. The highest type of American manhood has been developed under that system,—the men who, from mingling among their fellows, have acquired that insight into the needs of the country which has enabled them to carry it on to the great degree of prosperity to which it has attained. Such men are free from the "caste feeling" which is so fast gaining ground in this country, and which threatens to endanger that simplicity of life and manners which constitutes the true dignity of a republican form of government.

A complete philosophy of the education adapted for this country has yet to be written and promulgated. Spencer and others have given the result of their observation and study; but it remains for this profession to combine and secure a system of education more universal and better adapted to this progressive society,—one that will replace the vanishing religious sentiment among the people by a moral principle of action. European methods of training the young are not suited to this want. Out of the necessities of the country must be

evolved one suited to the realization of so grand an ideal as the harmonious development of the moral individual.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

Editors of The Index:—

The National Liberal League held its eighth annual Congress on Sept. 8 and 9, at Cassadaga, N.Y. The "Call" contained these words:—

"All citizens of the United States, whether they have heretofore acted with this League or not, who believe in a secular government and a secular republic, separation of Church and State, the equality of all citizens before the law without distinctions of creed or race or sex, justice for all and privileges and monopolies for none, the need of universal secular education, free speech, and a free press as the basis of universal suffrage, are invited to appear etc. . . . At this Congress, it is designed to revise the basis of the League so as to make it so broad and liberal that all who sympathize with its general purpose may co-operate with it to the end that a general union of all citizens of liberal sentiments may result, and that new officers of the League may be selected without regard to past differences."

On Monday there were about three hundred persons present. The meeting was called to order by Mr. T. B. Wakeman, President of the League, who at the same time stated the purposes of this year's Congress. The censorship of the press had been fought by the League until there could not now be found a single judge to entertain a suit of the kind which had so roused the Liberals of the country. There is now no imminent danger from that source. A change of officers is proposed this year. We go out of office for the very purpose of furthering the objects of the League. The present aim is to consolidate the whole liberal sentiment of the country, to extend the Leagues for social and educational work, and plant ourselves on the "Nine Demands of Liberalism." After the appointment of committees, the Congress adjourned till 1 P.M.

The election of officers was the first order of the afternoon. The name of Robert G. Ingersoll was presented for the office of President: it was received with enthusiasm, and he was elected by a unanimous vote. The name of Charles Watts was presented for the first Vice-President, and elected. It was understood that Mr. Watts intended to make America his home. In case Col. Ingersoll could not accept the position of President, it would of course fall to Mr. Watts; and, as Ingersoll had not been communicated with, Mr. Watts was virtually the President of the League. It will be a surprise to many, to all Liberals in fact who were not on the spot, to hear of Mr. Watts being placed at the head of the National Liberal League. Upon the election of officers was supposed to hinge the future welfare of the League. Placing a stranger who has had scarcely a day's residence among us at the very helm of affairs must be construed more as a confession of weakness than as an act of hospitality; and this, together with the unexpectedness of the move, will most likely give umbrage to a large class of Liberals who cannot be accused of narrow provincialism, and who, conceding merit to Mr. Watts as an individual, cannot regard him as the selectest person for the position, owing to the fact of the dissimilarity of methods, and to a certain extent of aims also, between English and American Liberalism. What Liberal Leaguer would feel himself competent to take the Presidency of the British Secular Union? Mr. S. P. Putnam was elected Secretary of the League.

The ceremony of electing a long list of vice-presidents was then gone through with. Some of the names offered seemed to threaten a rupture of the kind spirit that up to this moment had borne sway. "I object," said one member, when Mr. Underwood's name was proposed, "to any act here to raise the devil among us." "But who is the devil?" asked the President, with imperturbable dignity. Elizur Wright disapproved of the objections raised against the name. We want to unite our forces new. The President, Mr. Wakeman, rose and said, "I appeal to these three gentlemen to let this vote of the majority pass: it is not a question of principle that you raise." The

objectors were silent, and the vote was carried. When the names of Abbot and Bundy were proposed, then some one proposed the name of Chainey, following which a member got up and proposed Jesus Christ and the Almighty, to which last suggestion Mr. Wakeman replied by saying, "The chair is not assured of their personality." The first mentioned names were not pressed any further, the general impression being that their presentation was not with the full purpose of having them elected. At any rate there was a pause, a silence in heaven for the space of a few seconds, as if waiting for the spirit to dictate. This was the only time the name of the founder of the League was mentioned. No reflections were indulged in; but one or two members could not refrain from paying their compliments to Underwood and Bundy for alleged abuse of the League, and their opposing instead of co-operating with it, but they stopped with the mere assertion. Nothing was said about "repeal" in this connection: the obstructive element professed to be inspired by the considerations, already mentioned.

A resolution was passed expressing the deep indebtedness of the League to the President and Secretary, now retiring from office, for their great services and matchless devotion to the cause. Mr. Charles Watts pronounced an encomium on their labors, and paid a fine personal tribute to Mr. Wakeman.

At the evening session, the Committee on Platform and Work reported, through its Chairman, Mr. Bradford, of Pennsylvania, who read a series of resolutions which led to a lengthy discussion. The "Nine Demands of Liberalism" were reaffirmed, as "defining our mission as free-thinkers and reformers." The "Rochester Platform" was readopted, which declared for "national protection for national citizens in their equal, civil, political, and religious rights," and "universal education as the basis of universal suffrage," etc. Some one asked if this was a part of the Constitution of the League. The answer was that it had been so considered. Another member said he did not know that the League had declared for equal rights "irrespective of race or sex," as the resolution was made to read. He was informed that it had, but not when or where. This "race or sex" clause was inserted at Cincinnati, at the instance of Col. Ingersoll, who said: "All people will agree that women are citizens. Citizens are voters. Some people might think that it was not expressed in the second plank of the platform of previous years, and so I added these words." At the same time, on the motion of Mr. Sotheran, of New York, the word "industrial" was added to "civil and religious liberty." But nothing is heard now of the industrial liberty. But this matter was not discussed, though I heard prominent members of the League say between meetings that they were opposed to parts of the Rochester Platform, and did not consider it as a part of the basis of the League. It is certainly not expressed in the "Nine Demands of Liberalism." So it would appear that the League has two platforms. Another resolution declared in favor of Sunday-schools, kindergartens, and lyceums for scientific and secular culture, etc. This was evidently a tub thrown to the whale. Some good sister on the committee had managed to squeeze it in, but it is no part of the "Nine Demands." It elicited not a word from any one, pro or con, while every other resolution brought the whole house to its feet, even the one asking that the bodies of Liberals when dead be saved in some way from falling into the hands of the clergy. Mr. Baldwin, of Linesville, was in favor of fewer resolutions, his idea being that the average reader would find it hard to tell just what the aims of the League were and where it stood.

There was no hint in the resolutions of any attempt to "revise the basis of the League," as the "Call" had announced as part of the programme, excepting it were in a proposed change of name from the Liberal League to the Secular Union. The reason given for this change was that it would help to bring about co-operation between Liberals of the United States and their brethren in Canada who were organized under that name. It was at once objected that this could not be acted upon now as being an amendment to the Constitution: it should have been published beforehand. It was urged by Mr. Wright that a change of name was not a very important matter anyway. Mr. Wakeman seemed to be of opinion that it would "change the entire object and general intention of the League." The League, he said, was

American; and its work was confined to the United States, to the secularizing of our republic. It was claimed that the "Call" was wide enough to authorize a step of this kind. "I understand," said a member, "that the power is given us by the 'Call' to reorganize the League." "Yes," said another member, "to remodel the whole League, if we desired to do so." "But," said another, "the very issuing of this 'Call,' so extraordinary in itself, on your independent authority was unconstitutional. And we know there are persons on this floor now not members of the League." The decision reached finally was to refer the question to the next Congress, with a recommendation in favor of the change.

The League was then taken somewhat by surprise by a motion to strike off all the vice-presidents excepting the first three. The reason which appeared to be given in favor of the motion was that "a fire-brand has been thrown in here, which will burn more and more when it goes out from here." One suggested it would be a dangerous precedent to cut off these names. "What right have we to turn these men out of office?" Mrs. Krekle, of Missouri, thought the striking off of these names a great mistake. "What," she asked, "if some do take offence at things as they now stand? It may be that just as large a proportion of the Western element will be won back by letting them remain so." She was positive that matters thus far would prove satisfactory to those who still kept aloof. It was a welcome discovery when some one stated that the economy of the Constitution limited the number of vice-presidents to six. This took the responsibility from the shoulders of every one. A vote was taken: nineteen favored reconsideration, and fifteen opposed.

From Mr. Bradford, it will be remembered, emanated the first suggestion of a move toward reconciliation, which made it seem as if he were now the executioner of his own darling scheme, Abraham offering up his son Isaac, or rather (as his own name was on the rejected list) the Hindu widow throwing herself on the funeral pile of her husband. But I am convinced that, while he felt the pressure of the faction which had doubtless put that fiery trope into his mouth,—"firebrand,"—he took a broader survey, and felt that the error was in placing names on the Vice-President list that were offensive not to a faction merely, but to each other, and, like oil and water, would not mix; and so, to save the League from the disgrace of their public declination of these honors, thought the wisest course was to rescind the ill-advised action of the League.

"I shall regard the whole work of this League as nugatory, if there be no regular contributions required of its members," said Mr. Bradford. A resolution had been passed at Milwaukee, last fall, to tax the local Leagues, but the plan had not been carried out. The question of a salary for officers now came up. The proposition was made to raise a five thousand dollar annual subscription for general expenses and three thousand for salaries, fifteen hundred for the Vice-President and the same amount for the Secretary. The proposition was finally agreed upon in this form, after being put in various other shapes. These two officers were to devote the whole of their time to the interests and work of the League, and they were to be entitled to as much more than fifteen hundred as they could earn by lecturing. Each League was to be assessed a certain amount. A thousand dollars was pledged by those present. The concluding speech was by Mr. Watts; and, as a matter of course, it was brief.

My aim in this report has been justice, which is the true basis of harmony. I felt that everything done at that Congress had its significance and should be made public. As a spectator of the doings of the Congress, it seemed to me that its secret prayer was for harmony. I believe the majority would have been glad to see repealers and modifiers clasp hands over the "bloody chasm." The League, it may be, was not willing by any formal action to reverse its position on certain matters that had bred dissension; but it seemed ready to cancel past differences by silently ignoring them. And, though it was disposed to affiliate with those with whom it had been at war, it did not care to put them immediately into places of prominence, nor did it ask that its own favorites be exalted. The League did, however, take credit to itself, whatever share it had in causing the split, for keeping the organization on its feet, and for now trying to rally all its forces for a new start. To be sure, cer-

tain things attempted and done show small appreciation on the part of some of the grandeur of the occasion; and the duties of the hour, and the activities of some, after being stripped of their selfish or partisan bias, would show but a small nucleus of noble intent. Certain measures succeeded, because none others were proposed. In a certain sense, one party ruled because it was not met with any challenge. A beginning has been made, pacific councils prevailed, fresh efforts were made. One more Congress, friends, to mould the new purpose and fashion the new agencies. "May they meet with us often yet in this work of crowning our nation with the glory of another great act of emancipation." T. W. CURTIS.

[According to the report we find printed in the *Truth-Seeker*, there were present at the Congress forty-eight authorized delegates, several of whom were proxies. There was no reorganization, no return to the basis of 1876, no rescission of repeal resolutions affirmed and reaffirmed at previous conventions, and nothing done, that we can see, to make it possible for those whose co-operation was, we believe, sincerely desired by some to join the League. What Mr. Curtis calls the "obstructive element" is evidently the dominant power in the organization, and the influence of those who have the intelligence to see the folly of persistence in the repeal agitation is powerless now to control the element which was attracted to the League solely by the position it took respecting the "Comstock laws." It is the story of Frankenstein repeated. We learn from private sources that leading members expressed themselves greatly disappointed with the results, and indignant at the bigotry and illiberality exhibited by the "obstructive element." There were, of course, honest, honorable men and women present; but the League never can accomplish much valuable work while it is so largely controlled by such characters as compose the "obstructive element." To mention only one, and by no means the most objectionable of those who were indignantly opposed to any action that would "raise the devil" in the League, the Milwaukee delegate is a man who keeps standing in several papers the following advertisement: "If you are in trouble; if you are diseased; if you wish to marry; if you are living in unhappy married relations; if you wish to consult your spirit-friends upon any subject pertaining to practical life, send lock of hair or handwriting and one dollar. Address——, Milwaukee, Wis." An organization in which such a man can pose as a reformer, and in which the name of a man like Mr. Abbot is extremely offensive to the majority, needs considerable reconstruction. Letters we have received speak in praise of the efforts of Messrs. Wakeman, Palmer, Wright, and others, to secure such action as would encourage those who cannot support the repeal policy; but it seems that but little was accomplished in that direction. If our judgment shall in the light of fuller information prove to be wrong, we shall be glad to make any correction the truth requires. It is hardly necessary to say that, until it is considerably reorganized, we could not accept an office in the League. At the same time,

"Since so quickly I was done for,
What on earth was I begun for?"

B. F. U.]

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Editors of *The Index*:—

In the event that no other correspondent gives a clearer and abler expression to the views I aim to present, this may be printed in *The Index*, if the editors think proper to admit it.

I cannot agree with *The Index* on the Presidential question, but am not so illiberal as to refuse to read it and to recommend it because of this difference of opinion. And, while I am a constant reader and generally an admirer of the *New York Tribune*, I do not agree with it when it charges that "*The Index* is justly the object of the distrust of all moral and conservative citizens"; and that "it speaks with wanton profaneness and disrespect of the people's most holy religion and of the clergy." The *Tribune* in its partisan zeal has done *The Index* injustice, according to my view after reading *The Index* for more than a year. So much for this.

I do not wish to support an immoral or corrupt man for the Presidency, but am not yet convinced that Mr. Blaine is unworthy. As to the charge of

corrupt practice against Mr. Blaine in the matter of the Little Rock Railroad, I have considered his vindication by William Walter Phelps as complete, who quotes the late Judge Black—who, of all men, would strike hard at a political opponent and leading Republican—as giving the opinion that no case could be made out against Blaine. The charge, I think, rests upon a forced and unjust inference from some phrases in Mr. Blaine's letters. As to the charge of immorality in early life against Blaine, it has, to me, the look of improbability, is flatly contradicted, and made the ground of a libel suit against an Indiana paper.

Doubtless, it is true, as Mr. Potter says, that "between the statement of principles of the two leading parties, one of whom most probably will win, there is not sufficient difference to prevent a very considerable number of voters from passing easily from one side to the other."

But is there not some difference of opinion, even among Democrats, as to the true meaning of the Democratic platform upon the subject of the tariff? Is there not some evidence to believe that the true meaning on the tariff was intended to be concealed, when such extremes as Randall and Watterson pretend to be satisfied? Again, is there no difference between the tendencies, aims, and inspirations of the two great parties? Are their past record and achievements to go for nothing, as of no account and not to be considered?

If Mr. Potter had been born a slaveholder, as I was; had always resided in a slave State till emancipation, as I have; if he had worked himself out of pro-slavery ideas against the most merciless opposition, resting upon and backed up by "Bible defence of slavery," as I have,—he could never go for the Democratic party, at least while such men as Tom Hendricks, of Indiana, are honored leaders of the party. No. Give us a good, honest Southern rebel, and we may know what to expect, rather than a Northern dough-face and dirt-eater, who will ever be an obstruction to the progress of true liberal republican principles.

I am sixty-four years old; have always opposed the Democratic party. I know it to the core, and believe it to be utterly incapable of reform, at least for a generation to come; and it should be forever distrusted until its reformation is beyond dispute.

I live in Kentucky, which is solid for the Democratic party, as are all the Southern States; and I know the influences that keep them solid, and they are the same influences that will stand solid against every reform and progressive step *The Index* favors.

SAMUEL W. LANGLEY.

HENDERSON, KY.

THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

Editors of *The Index*:—

While I sympathize fully with the tone of Mr. Potter's article of September 4, so far as it goes, it seems to me that he overlooks some considerations which are in my mind decisive as to my own action in the present election.

In the first place, the way in which the nominations were made. Mr. Cleveland was nominated on his record as a reform governor, as an able and upright administrator. In carrying his nomination, the better elements of the Democratic party fought earnestly against the two worst elements of the party, Tammany and Butler, and beat them. Whatever there was discreditable in Mr. Cleveland's life was not known: it had not stood in the way of his being elected Governor of New York, and administering that office well. On the other hand, Mr. Blaine's nomination was forced by the worst elements of the party, and was a triumph over the whole reform sentiment of that party. There was a certain reckless defiance in the way in which he was nominated in the face of his record; and public opinion was further affronted by the nomination, along with him, of the one candidate who, next to him, was most obnoxious to the reformers.

Secondly, in the attitude of the men themselves. Throughout the whole history of the case, Mr. Blaine's demeanor has been that of a guilty man who has aimed rather to avoid investigation than to establish innocence. Mr. Cleveland, on the other hand, has behaved like a man. When asked by his friends what they should say in regard to the charges against him, he answered, "Tell the truth." When did Mr. Blaine ever ask his friends to tell the truth about him?

In my opinion, the one thing for the American peo-

ple to do in this Presidential year is to administer a crushing defeat to a candidate who chooses to occupy the position that Mr. Blaine occupies, and a nomination made as his was made. Whether this can be best done by voting for Cleveland or for St. John, or by staying at home, is a thing for each voter to determine for himself. For my own part, I believe the thing to be done is to vote for Cleveland; and I say this as a Republican,—one of the few Independents who sympathize with the Republican party on what appears likely to be the leading issue between the parties, the tariff question.

WILLIAM F. ALLEN.

MADISON, WIS., Sept. 16, 1884.

[The two letters printed immediately above might well be left to balance each other. We wish simply to say to our Kentucky friend that we formed our own opinion of Mr. Blaine's conduct in the railroad transactions, not from any of the labored defences of him or their answers, though we have read them, but from Mr. Blaine's letters themselves, and after his own defence in Congress, which we heard. We would advise Mr. Langley to read these letters again, in the order written, and all of them, including those printed recently since his communication was written,—read them without anybody's comments upon them,—and then ask himself whether, with their repeated injunctions of secrecy, they can refer merely to honorable and innocent business transactions. Still, in rejecting Mr. Blaine as a candidate, we do not fly to our friend Mr. Allen's horn of the dilemma, and adopt Mr. Cleveland. We have considered the points he names; but it seems to us, looking not only at immediate but future effects, that it is of vastly less consequence which of the two leading candidates shall be elected than that both political parties shall be unmistakably warned to nominate hereafter Presidential candidates of clean characters.—W. J. P.]

BOOK NOTICES.

CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY; or, Men of Business who did Something besides making Money. A Book for Young Americans. By James Parton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884. Price \$1.25.

"In this volume," says Mr. Parton, in his preface, "are presented examples of men who shed lustre upon ordinary pursuits, either by the superior manner in which they exercised them or by the noble use they made of the leisure which success in them usually gives." The book contains over forty brief biographies, written in the author's well-known succinct and interesting style, of such men as Elihu Burritt, Peter Faneuil, Israel Putnam, Gerrit Smith, Robert Owen, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Horace Greeley, Peter Cooper, and Sir Moses Montefiore. Full-page portraits are given of Ichabod Washburn, Chauncey Jerome, Gerrit Smith, Myron Holley, John Bright, John Duncan, Peter Cooper, and Sir Rowland Hill. These sketches, written originally for the columns of the *New York Ledger* and the *Youth's Companion*, "represent," says their compiler, "more labor and research than would be naturally supposed from their brevity." Such a work as this cannot fail of proving an inspiring incentive to hundreds of ambitious young business men, wherever it is read.

THE LIFE OF JESUS. For Young People. By Howard N. Brown. With eight illustrations. Boston: Unitarian Sunday School Society.

This book is designed for Sunday-school study, and a series of questions on the subject of each chapter forms the appendix to the work. The aim of the author, as stated in the preface, "is to furnish an outline of the life of Jesus in such manner that the picture may be presented to the mind of a child with some degree of entirety. From reading the Gospels themselves, children are apt to derive only a mass of incidents which bear little relation to each other, and fail to make a clear or continuous story." While keeping to the text of the gospel story of Christ, the writer has given in many instances rational explanations of the so-called miracles of the New Testament. He writes in a familiar, clear style.

THE high character of the *Popular Science Monthly* is well sustained by the October number. The first paper, by Dr. F. J. Shepherd, on "The Significance of Human Anomalies," is an illustrated timely exposition of those aberrations of structure which for centuries were the puzzle of anatomists. Francis Galton's paper on the "Measurement of Character" is a skill-

ful attempt to bring the higher human characteristics within the pale of quantitative science. Lord Rayleigh's survey of "The Recent Progress of Physical Science," which was his presidential address before the Montreal meeting of the British Association, is given in full. A biographical sketch and a fine portrait of Lord Rayleigh are also given. "Diet for the Gouty," in Prof. Williams' series on "The Chemistry of Cookery"; "Wages, Capital, and Rich Men"; "The Physiological Aspect of Mesmerism"; "The Morality of Happiness" (conclusion); "Protection against Lightning"; "The Cholera-Germ"; and "The Origin of Cultivated Plants,"—are all able papers. Prof. J. P. Cooke contributes "Further Remarks on the Greek Question," and the editor keeps up his lively fight with the classicists for more room and higher consideration for science in education.

THE leading article in the *North American Review*, "Moral Character in Politics," by President J. H. Seelye, is an exposition of the ethical principles involved in the popular election of candidates to high station in the government. "Benefits of the Tariff System," a sequel to the article in the September number on the "Evils of the Tariff System," is a symposium consisting of three articles, written respectively by John Roach, Prof. R. E. Thompson, and Nelson Dingley, Jr., who advocate the policy of protection of American industries with ingenuity of reasoning and abundant citations of statistical facts. In addition to these timely discussions of high political issues, the *Review* has an article by the Rev. Dr. Augustus Jessop, entitled "Why I wish to visit America"; "The Philosophy of Conversion," by O. B. Frothingham; "The Origin of Yellow Fever," by Dr. C. Creighton; "Shall the Jury System be abolished?" by Judge Robert Y. Hayne; "The Genesis of Tennyson's 'Maud,'" by Richard Herne Shepherd; and "The Development of Machine Guns," by Lieut. C. Sleeman.

AMONG the many excellent contributions to the *Century* for September, we have space only to call attention to the following: Charles G. Leland's "Legends of the Passamaquoddy," with unique illustrations drawn on birch bark by a Passamaquoddy Indian; "On the Track of Ulysses," by W. J. Stillman; the beginning of a series of articles, with illustrations, on "The New Astronomy," by S. P. Langley; a sketch of the life and work of Emile Littré, by "Y. D.," accompanied by a full-page portrait of the French scientist. "The Foreign Elements in our Population" are considered and explained by Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. Newman Smyth contributes an article on "The Late Dr. Dörner and the New Theology." "The Rescue of Chinese Gordon" and "The Appeal of the Harvard Annex" are among the topics treated of in the "Open Letters."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

An incident in the celebration of the anniversary of Auguste Comte by his disciples in Paris was a visit to the cemetery Père-la-Chaise, to place a wreath of flowers upon the philosopher's tomb.

At the meeting of the American Historical Association, recently held at Saratoga, Prof. Moses Coit Tyler read a somewhat laudatory paper on "The Influence of Thomas Paine on the Popular Resolutions for American Independence."

If the British House of Lords reject the franchise bill this month, the opposition is likely to be overcome by the creation of liberal peers. The lords must yield or lose their power, if not their existence as a body. The recent great liberal demonstrations in England have been marked by a strong feeling against hereditary legislation.

It is now stated that in the latest *Index Expurgatorius* of the Russian Government Agassiz, Bagshot, Huxley, Emile Zola, Lubbock, Lecky, Louis Blanc, G. H. Lewes, Lyell, Marx, Mill, Reclus, Adam Smith, and Herbert Spencer are among the foreign authors, whose works are forbidden to the public libraries either in the languages in which these works were written or in translation. In fiction and belles-lettres, there is a long list of forbidden books.

At the assizes court held at Pictou, Ont., last Friday, a Church of England clergyman was fined \$25 and costs for assaulting one of his parishioners, a mason by trade, who was severely punished by his spiritual adviser. The account says the clergyman is "reported to be a pugilist of some note," and it concludes thus: "He is the hero of the town among the sports, having knocked his antagonist, who is considered a hard hitter, out in two rounds."

The board of directors of Columbia Theological Seminary have rendered their decision as to the address of Prof. Woodrow, president of the insti-

tution, in support of evolution. They have decided by a vote of eight to three that the theory as qualified by Prof. Woodrow is not one to be condemned as heretical, although they say they cannot agree with the views advanced. The minority report pronounces the theory decidedly bad and dangerous to the Christian faith.

At Brussels, on September 23, the anniversary of the great Revolution of 1830, a procession of the veterans was formed, which marched through the streets and deposited wreaths on the monument of the Revolution. The streets were lined with people, and the veterans were cheered with enthusiasm. The event was made an occasion for a demonstration against the new government. At the monument, a veteran made a speech, in which he said: "Our ancestors fought to make Belgium free. She is no longer so. Belgians will never be Romanists." A dense crowd followed the procession as it returned from the monument, singing the "Marseillaise" and other hymns.

At a public meeting in this city last week, Mrs. S. M. Warner, in behalf of the women of the State, as she said, presented Gen. Butler with a floral horseshoe, in receiving which the ex-Governor of Massachusetts and Presidential candidate of the People's Party responded in the following felicitous words: "Madam, I thank you for this most beautiful gift of kind remembrance from the women of Massachusetts; and I take leave to assure you, what you well know now, that on the question of the equal rights of suffrage to all the citizens of the United States, without any distinction, I have been for years pledged. When the sister and the wife and the mother go to the polls, then indeed shall the whole country rejoice in the new force that shall be given to people's rights and the new power that shall crush out all the people's wrongs."

THE Pope's encyclical letter "To all Our Venerable Brethren and Patriarchs, Privates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic World in the Grace and Communion of the Apostolic See," is a remarkably foolish document. A single paragraph is enough to indicate the character of the letter: "With respect to Italy, it is now most necessary to implore the intercession of the most powerful Virgin through the medium of the Rosary, since a misfortune, and not an imaginary one, is threatening—nay, rather is among—us. The Asiatic cholera having, under God's will, crossed the boundary within which nature seemed to have confined it, has spread through the crowded shores of a French port and to the neighboring districts on Italian soil. To MARY, therefore, we must fly,—to her whom rightly and justly the Church entitles the dispenser of saving, aiding, and protecting gifts,—that she, graciously hearkening to our prayers, may grant us the help they besought, and drive far from us the unclean plague." Wherever it is lawful, the Pope wants "the local confraternity of the Rosary" to make a procession through the streets. A portion of the letter consists of promises of indulgence,—an Indulgence of seven years and seven times forty days, a "Plenary Indulgence"

for recital of the Rosary, expiation of sins by confession, etc. He also grants full forgiveness of sins and plenary remission of punishment to all who "shall have washed the stains from their souls, and have holily partaken of the divine banquet, and shall have also prayed in any church to God and his holy Mother for our good intentions."

MR. J. K. APPLEBEE, in a recent discourse delivered at the Parker Memorial and printed in the *Commonwealth*, one or two errors in which we pointed out last week, advanced views touching the distinction between vice and crime which will not bear careful examination. He said that he would not ask the law to prevent the publication, sale, and transmission through the mails of Mr. Heywood's paper. "But," he added, "if he [Heywood] ventured to send his paper into a household, the recognized legal authority of which had not previously ordered it to be sent, I would be down heavily on Mr. Heywood. His vice would then ripen into a crime. He has no right so to invade the sanctity of a man's home. I think that six months at the penitentiary for a first offence, six years for a second offence, and the choice of being hung outright or imprisoned for life for a third, would about to meet justice and mercy of such a case." This is a strange view to take of the subject, for which Mr. Applebee may perhaps claim originality, but nothing more. The circulation of a paper not prohibited by law is no crime, nor is it a crime to send such a paper unrequested into a household, whatever be the vice or folly of such an act. It is no more criminal to send such a publication as the one referred to, when the law permits its circulation, than it is to send the Bible, a religious tract, one of Mr. Applebee's lectures, or a copy of Longfellow's poems into a household, without asking the head of the family. To the moral quality of the act, of course, we do not here refer. A vice, to become a crime in the sense in which dictionaries define and Mr. Applebee means to use the word, must involve a violation of a legislative enactment. But how can sending to him or his wife by mail, or handing to his servant at the door of his house, a paper, the circulation of which the law does not forbid, and he would not have the law forbid, be construed into a crime? On second thought, he must himself see the absurdity and incongruity of imprisoning and hanging a man for sending into a household, unforbidden by "its recognized legal authority," a paper which the publisher and editor have an undisputed legal right to publish and sell, and to circulate through the mails and otherwise. The fact which Mr. Applebee failed to see is that a paper, the introduction of which into a family is an offence so great that it should be punished by imprisonment and death, is a paper so bad that its publication should be prohibited by law and thereby made a crime. We say this without pronouncing any opinion as to the character of the particular paper Mr. Applebee mentions, which, if it be as objectionable morally as the reasoning to which we have referred is illogical and unsound, must be a decidedly bad publication.

THE LIMITATIONS OF SCIENCE.

In the fall of the old theologies, the unsettled disputes between different systems of philosophy, and the decline of the religious doctrine of a special authoritative revelation of truth, many people are turning to science as the evangel of the modern age,—by which is usually meant natural or physical science. Science, they say, deals with certainties. It brings facts, and not mere guesses. Science alone can tell what is truth. They turn, therefore, with ardor to the scientific publications,—to the books that pour from the press, the journals and magazines that record the researches and conclusions of scientific men. And they say, Here is something to rely upon; here are the facts of the universe; here are explained the laws and forces amid which we live every day and which we know are something substantial; and here are practical rules for taking care of our bodies and our houses, our cities and our farms,—rules of immense use in the progress of civilization and in securing the education, prosperity, and happiness of the human race.

And all this is rightly said. Science *does* deal with facts. Science concludes nothing without facts for an impregnable basis; and the importance of its work for human benefit and progress can hardly be overestimated. Our inquirer, however, soon discovers that science goes but a little way, after all; that, on many of the problems which beset his mind, the learned scientific writers are in vigorous dispute with each other, and have yet given no conclusive answer; and that not infrequently they deal in conjectures and speculations which seem nearly as wild as those of the metaphysicians. He finds, too, that there are large sections of human life, embracing matters with which man has daily to deal and amid which he must shape his conduct, which natural or physical science as yet barely touches. There is the domain of the emotions, the affections, the aspirations,—the entire moral, affectional, and so-called spiritual nature of man, the seat of impulses, temptations, hopes, deeds, and historical movements innumerable,—which science as yet has not considered at all or only in the most indirect way. Yet here is the very centre of the questions that most seriously perplex and tantalize mankind. Here are the questions that concern man's gravest interests,—the questions that reach into his deepest life as a social, ethical, loving, aspiring, desire-impelled, and rationally acting creature. These, therefore, are the questions where there is the greatest danger from a wrong answer or from that mood of sceptical indifference to all answers which is worse than a wrong answer.

Let science treat the story of the creation of the world as it may and must, no matter what may happen to the Biblical story of Genesis; let it put the Bible among human books; let it disprove all miracle in the birth of any religion or of any being who ever existed in the form of humanity on earth; let it trace man's genesis to a common ancestry with that of the brute creation; let it even show that mind has only been manifested with the physical evolution of brain-cells, and that the faculty of conscience was not an outright gift to man when he first appeared on earth, but a sense and power that gradually came with increase of intelligence and under the discipline of experience,—let all these great questions be settled by science, and its solutions be put away, never more to be disputed. Still, momentous as these problems are, they are not of such vast moment as are certain other questions which persist in demanding an answer. Now that this creature called man is

here, with his manifold capacities for sensation, feeling, thinking, desiring, loving, hating, willing, doing, no matter by what long and tortuous avenue of evolution he came, nor in what successive forges of experience his faculties have been hammered and shaped to their present uses,—now that he is once here, a creature all alive with energies, pressed to action by these multitudinous impulses, how shall he so think, feel, and act as most worthily to perform his part, present and future, in working out the plan of the universe, which has given him birth and sustenance? That is, the most important questions in life concern character and conduct,—not man's genesis, but man's present activities; and science—physical science—goes but a little way in the solution of these questions. It must be a larger science that reaches them, a science that embraces practical ethics. In the wide range of action which man may traverse between the extremes of blackest vice and whitest virtue, he may make his world a hell or heaven; and the only science which can turn the scales to the heavenward side in the manifold forms of this problem is that which not only increases knowledge and clarifies mental perception, but heightens and purifies moral sensibility and purpose, and strengthens moral will.

It is evident, then, that those inquirers who are turning to science for something of that satisfying and saving certainty of truth which was once believed to be the attribute of an authoritative religious revelation will be disappointed, unless they give to the word "science" a large meaning, covering all mental and moral functions of man's nature. The saving assurance of truth is not to be found in any particular scheme of truth, drawn out into the articles of a creed, whether theological or scientific, but rather in a recognition of moral obligation as paramount over every other, and as determining man's place in the universe. The saving truth is to see, not how man's moral nature has been produced, but that, being produced, it is the culmination of the creative process in that part of the universe which comes within human cognizance, and should therefore dominate man's entire being. The saving truth is to see and practically acknowledge that, though man is animal and physical, he is also rational, ethical, spiritual, and that the rational, ethical, spiritual element in him, call it by what name we will and hold whatsoever philosophical theory we may concerning it, legitimately carries with it the rights of sovereignty in the shaping of conduct. It is not this or that theory of morality that humanity most needs, but morality itself. It is not any theory of the outward universe, however scientifically established, that is going to solve life's deepest questions. Those questions can only be reached and answered through the perception, made practical, that man attains his truest value and dignity in seeking and observing the rightness of his own relations to the universe. Science, as ordinarily defined, deals with the finite and phenomenal. But there is a science of character and conduct which has infinite relations and deals with absolute realities.

WM. J. POTTER.

OUR PERSONALITY.

I.

I am I; just this one particular and peculiar being; self-centred, self-determining; singular in body, singular in mind.

Behold this my individuated form, strikingly disparate from the rest of things; wholly detached, sharply defined, moving in clear-cut independence wherever I choose. My body it is, be-

longing to me only, its free sovereign ruler, who can dispose of it as I please.

And the rest of things, these manifold and shifting appearances within my consciousness, which I call the outer world,—but which subsist as those same conscious phenomena assuredly nowhere but in my own exclusive mind,—if they at all signify any foreign existents, these also are subject to my will. I use them, shape them, transform them to suit my purpose.

Indeed, bearing along with me in the luminous seclusion of my individual soul the wondrous medium in which alone the world stands revealed, I am in verity the sole immediately and unquestionably realizing agent in a universe of merely surmised subsistence. Within the ever-welling spring of my own inner life, in unblurred splendor, my searching spirit meets truest reality; outside, only a doubtful conjecture of shadowy semblances; nothing in truth but unnamable, unknowable quiddities of school philosophy; so-called things-in-themselves, the bare negation left when sensorial matter is stripped of all its qualities.

Let me then for good exclude the noise and bustle of distracting influences, the glare and clamor from beyond. Entering fervently the mystic porch of Inwardness, I am admitted to share deep and deeper the all-comprising wealth and glory of the realm of eternal ideas.

There, ecstatically fused in the blended unity of vision, knowledge, and love, I feel merged in the great ocean of being, in which all reality is one. Under the identifying sway of spiritual insight, "mine eye and the eye of God are one eye, one vision, one knowledge, one love" (Meister Eckhardt).

Whenever, steeped in the ineffable profundity of universal being, I grow capable of sustaining this Oneness of intuitive apperception, then my autonomous personality will have reached its final goal, its fated destination, its yearning aspiration. Then, at last, my being will rest in blissful consummation, in quietistic fixedness with everlasting truth, reidentified with the One-and-All.

All manner of striving will be appeased then, all estrangement solved. From the perfect completion of All-Being no desire strays, no throb of recognition stirs the balanced repose of its all-comprehensive fulfillment, no sense of otherness feeds within it the devouring flame of love.

There abides only saturated subsistence in eternity of the Ever-unconscious; only the original One of Plotinus, which is neither intelligence nor idea, nor the world, only quiescent nonentity, *das stille Nichts* of Jacob Boehme; *Natura naturans*, containing neither thought nor will nor desire nor love, according to Spinoza; the eternally unconscious of Schelling and Hartmann; the permanent Life-negation of Schopenhauer.

So also the Hindu sages, so Christian mystics and Mohammedan sufis. Of whatever time or race, all intent seekers of innermost individual thought revelation unavoidably land where, at last, everything is nothing, where being is identical with non-being, lost in the nameless plenary void beyond the veil of Maja.

This, in truth, is the inevitable doom of those creeds which attribute spiritual personality to us lofty earthlings, lordlings of this planetary creation.

Let us now contemplate somewhat more soberly the veritable nature of our mystic being.

I have a feeling of myself. I am inwardly, mentally aware of my bodily existence and form; and the latter from top to toe accurately fits my mental representation. My eyes are shut, nothing touches my hand, yet within the ideal play of my individual consciousness I know exactly where

and in what posture it is held. I have a distinct and immediate sensation of its surface and its position in space.

In this knowledge I am not mistaken; for my hand has not been amputated, when indeed I might have the very same sensations and no real hand there to verify them. A part of my being must evidently subsist here as something not identical with the sensations I am thus experiencing; for, exploring with my other hand, I discover once more the felt form just as I inwardly realized it. I open my eyes, or first one eye and then the other, and, behold! here again it is,—the same hand occupying the same space.

All this seeming confirmation of a reality different from my sundry transient feelings coming to me, however, within my own individual consciousness, there remains a remote chance that, contrary to instinctive conviction, the whole conscious procedure may have been, after all, nothing but a subjective phantasmagoria. But then, you and you, and indeed all who can manage to see me, do you not likewise perceive this my hand in the same spatial position as felt by me within my own inner sense? Surely, not those hidden individual feelings of mine are the cause of your perceiving my hand. Something entirely different, but emanating from the same existent, must have the power of arousing within your mind the same definite and congruous set of percepts as in mine.

Of course, becoming myself aware of your whole being and its perceptions solely through the medium of my own consciousness, there is still left a bare, logical possibility that this additional foreign corroboration of the extra-mental subsistence of that which in so many various ways is appearing to us as a peculiar member of mine may, in spite of it all, be likewise only the product of a subjective phantasmagoria, taking place exclusively within my own mind. Under this violent and most unnatural supposition, which would annihilate the value of all verification, it must be held a mere fancy on my part that you are really there perceiving my hand. For, if my hand, which I see and touch, is nothing but an idea of mine, then you yourself, whom I realize in exactly the same manner, are also only an idea of mine. To be sure, you are pretty certain to return the compliment. But what do I care? I know positively that I am existing independently of any idea of yours.

Well, then, here it is that for philosophizing mortals the roads separate for good. Once for all, we have to choose,—Idealism or Realism? Either there is nothing at all subsisting outside our mind and compelling its definite perceptions, or these perceptions are actually aroused by extra-mental powers, whose existence and disposition they are thus signaling.

We have already traced the outcome of the former idealistic way of thinking. We will now endeavor to see where the latter realistic road leads to.

EDWARD MONTGOMERY.

THE TWO CANDIDATES.

An Open Letter to William J. Potter.

My dear Sir,—In an article printed in *The Index* for September 4 you express the opinion that Blaine and Cleveland are equally unfitted by their vices for the office of president. Now, I have much respect for your opinion. Always I find in it that first condition to all deep and true seeing, entire veracity of mind, while I seldom fail to find also a good breadth of view and genuine penetration, joined with a fine temperateness equally of thought and expression, which is to me peculiarly attractive. In the present case, however, you fail I think to seize the right point of view. What is

our object in selecting a chief magistrate? It is not to confer upon him an honor, but to obtain from him a service. We are not to set him up as a model of behavior and a symbol of all the virtues, nor in voting for any man do we express an opinion that he is at all fitted to serve as such a model. We choose him as we would choose the cashier of a bank or select an engineer to build a railroad bridge. A certain important work is to be done on behalf of the nation. We seek a man who may be trusted to perform it faithfully, efficiently, and in all respects well. Whatever virtues and whatever abilities this may imply he must possess; but having found in him these virtues and abilities, we have no occasion to look farther. Virtues, great virtues, are required, and first of all, an incorruptible and indomitable integrity, proof at once against inside seduction and outside pressure, as little to be bribed with votes as with money, and still unshaken though menaced by majorities and the "people's will." But I need not enlarge on this topic. You will easily distinguish those moral qualities which are pertinent to the duties of a chief magistrate. Now, your argument would run thus: Grover Cleveland is not fitted for the work of such a magistracy, since he once had an amour with a loose widow. Is not that a singular *non sequitur*? If we were selecting a Sunday-school teacher, the case would be different. Even then a sexual irregularity so long past might perhaps be overlooked, but it would be clearly pertinent to the question of one's fitness for that particular work. Suppose, however, that a great general was about to be placed in command of the national army in time of war, and that such a dereliction were urged as a reason for his exclusion from that place of trust: would not the most exacting moralist pronounce the objection pointless? Surely the moralist being a man of sense, would say, That offence lies against his estimation as a man, but not against his qualifications as general; he may still be such a military commander as his country may trust and its enemies fear. But a chief magistrate is as truly as a general selected for a particular service, duty, *officium*. Everything in his character which bears upon the question of his qualification for that work is in point, and nothing else is in point.

You are too clear-sighted not to observe that I here make no sweeping distinction, or at least no separation, between public and private morality. No such separation exists in the nature of things, and none such can exist. A rogue in private will be the same man and still a rogue in public station; the slave of cupidity, the trickster, the liar, the cunningly masked self-seeker will, on being transferred from private to public life, find only more of invitation and opportunity for their vices. In short, all the virtues, all the morals which will be actively engaged in the performance of a definite public service, must be found as inseparable elements of his personal character. So far as concerns these, the most rigorous inquest into the private life of a candidate is wholly in place and cannot be too searching. But not all possible virtues are engaged in, or related to, every public office or any public office. Charles I. of England was a chaste husband, and none the less an unconscionable king; Henry IV. of France was a very unchaste husband, and perhaps the best king, or at least among the very best, that France ever had. The same rule that would exclude Mr. Cleveland from public service would, and with much greater force, have excluded Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and—if the uncontradicted statements of the scalawag Callender, who certainly did not speak in ignorance, may be believed—Thomas Jefferson, not to speak of ex-

amples more recent. Imperfection clings to mortals. I have been young and now am old, but I have never found a man without his infirmity, though some with very innocent infirmities. If an angel came from heaven, said Emerson, he would steal gingerbread or do some naughty thing or other.

In view of this universal imperfection, I rejoice with all my heart when I can vote for a man in the assured confidence, not that he is and has ever been a perfect model of behavior, but that his infirmities lie outside that field of service for which he is proposed, and that within this field he is complete. To make sure of this, I resolutely shut my eyes to all else. Even with this restriction of inquiry, I am too often deceived. I voted, not very willingly, for John D. Long, and he made me ashamed of having done so. I voted, not only willingly, but most gladly, for George D. Robinson, and already before the year is out he also has made me ashamed of having done so, especially by that speech of his in Fanueil Hall where he appeared as the companion and competitor of Gen. Butler, to compromise the dignity of the Commonwealth, and to pour out flattery upon a class of voters in need more than most of faithful admonition. I am often deceived. But I will not become a candidate for deception by allowing my attention to be distracted from the real question. And the real question is this: has the man proposed for a certain public service a sufficiency of those qualities which will necessarily be engaged in that service, and will assure a faithful performance of it? Whoever can answer that question in the affirmative with regard to Gov. Cleveland may vote for him with a clear conscience, however disapproving of some things in his past. Not that I would vote for an habitual profligate, whatever his recommendations, for the reason that such profligacy must in the end infect and corrupt the whole character. I find upon my tree a pear which is fair to the eye, but there is a worm at the core, and on being opened the fruit is found to be extensively decayed within, a mere shell. I find another which has been assailed by an insect, but by a vigorous growth, it has pushed the intruder out and healed over the hurt. It is a little disfigured, but is sweet, sound, wholesome fruit nevertheless. Habitual profligacy is a worm at the centre, and it promises a core-rotted man; but a particular dereliction may be overgrown and leave the man sound, though scarred. And if this dereliction be of such a nature as to indicate no infirmity of any quality or power which will be engaged in a given public service, it may, in selecting a man for that service, be very properly dismissed as irrelevant to the question of his fitness.

Let us turn now to the case of Mr. Blaine. He has brilliant powers and fine qualities undoubtedly. His literary ability is very considerable and unusual in an American politician; he is a powerful orator, a skilful parliamentarian, a bold and persuasive party leader, captivating in conversation, amiable in all private relations, spotless in his domestic manners, and, like Thomas Jefferson, he has that subtle, indescribable something, not the same with either intellectual capacity or moral stamina, which constitutes an impressive, magnetic and dominating personality. But he is charged with having as holder of a high public trust made an unpermitted and illicit use of his position to obtain riches. Numbers of intelligent and unprejudiced persons, having listened to his defence, read his letters and considered carefully all the attainable evidence, find themselves unable to acquit him of this charge. Therefore they cannot vote for him. At this juncture, when jobberies multiply, when notorious plunderers of the national

treasury cannot be brought to justice and when thousands, professing a belief that all our public men are tarred with the same stick, scarcely think the worse of them for being so, it would be fatal, they say, to clothe with the highest powers of the nation a man who has shown himself infirm at the very point where, if anywhere, a chief magistrate should be unconquerably strong. Now, these men may be wrong as to the facts and have formed an erroneous judgment. It is human to err, and the best of men can only try not to err. But their objection is very clearly relevant, and, if sustained, should be conclusive. It does not import that he is in all respects or in most respects a bad man; it imports only that, as a man who can be tempted by great opportunity and the love of gain to forget his official obligations, he lacks the first, the most essential and altogether indispensable qualification for the service he would undertake. In short, that which is objected to Mr. Blaine is incontestably relevant to the question of his fitness for the work of an American chief magistrate, while that which is objected to Mr. Cleveland is as clearly not relevant. And that is the difference.

Yours very truly,

D. A. WASSON.

COMMENT ON MR. WASSON'S LETTER.

We assure Mr. Wasson that he cannot read anything that we write with more appreciation than we have for whatever is published—now only too rarely—from his pen. The argument advanced in his letter we had already considered, but we have now reviewed it with the respect due to his statement of it. We cannot, however, give our assent to it. The central point, or major premise, on which it all depends, does not appear to us to be well taken. It is true that a President is elected to perform certain governmental duties, and not to have an honor conferred upon him nor to be a moral example. But it is equally true that an election to the Presidency is regarded as a very high honor, and is the highest which the people of the United States can confer upon any one of their number; and it is also true that any one elected to it does become, by his position, an example in morals. Though these are incidental results of an election, they are results so important that they cannot be left out of the problem. It would not be a wholesome public lesson that the honor and dignity of the Presidential office should be cheapened by placing in it a man of gross immorality, even though his immorality might not be of a nature likely to interfere with his public duties. Nor ought it to be forgotten that, in proportion to the greatness, conspicuousness, and responsibility of the public office held by any citizen, will his personal character and conduct have weight as a moral factor in influencing others. Moreover, the President, *ex officio*, is brought into intimate social relations with a great multitude of people; the White House is the central home of the nation, and its hospitalities are extended to all citizens. There is, therefore, a special reason why a President should be clean in respect to that vice of which it is admitted Mr. Cleveland has been guilty. The people are not called to elect a railroad engineer, but to elect the highest officer of a great nation.

In our view, therefore, the charge against Mr. Cleveland, as well as that against Mr. Blaine, is entirely relevant to the question the people have to consider. And this relevancy cannot be destroyed by opening the graves of the dead and exposing the immorality of eminent public officials of a century or more ago, or even of later date. The moral standard in this respect should have

advanced, and doubtless has advanced. But it would be perilously debased again in this country, if either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Blaine were to be elected to the Presidency without a loud protest. We wish that protest might even now be definitely organized on a new candidate. A correspondent from New York writes that he knows a large number of young men who earnestly desire that this should be done.

W. J. P.

NORMAL SCHOOLS IN ITALY.

We have received from Rome some very interesting publications of the "Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione," giving the programmes and regulations of the schools, especially the normal schools. These show a most enlightened and liberal spirit in the Italian government, and the general course and management of the schools are not so dissimilar to ours as to require special comment.

One feature is peculiar, however. The government has a certain degree of control over the private schools, requiring that they shall be registered, and that their sanitary and moral regulations be approved. The same rule applies to the "Convitti," which, I presume, answer to our boarding-schools. There is also an intermediate class of schools between those wholly free and the private schools in which the pupils pay a small tax. In the free schools, a very small subsidy is paid to assist needy and deserving pupils.

The examinations in the lessons of religion are made by the pastor of the parish. Pupils belonging to other than the Catholic churches are exempted from religious examinations.

Kindergarten methods are used in the children's schools; and some industrial work is introduced, especially drawing for all and sewing and knitting for the girls.

All controversial theological teaching seems to be carefully avoided; and the religious studies are confined to Bible history and catechism, which are generally accepted.

The following extract will show how skilfully difficulties are avoided in what might seem passages of history hard to treat of to such a mixed assembly of pupils:—

Normal Course. First Class.—The teacher will take occasion, from the interweaving of events which Italian history presents with that of other nations in modern epochs, to throw light by opportune digressions upon the principal parts of European history. And, to give an example which may serve as a guide in respect to the method to be followed in these historic excursions, an opportune occasion will be given to the teacher to treat a picture of the religious reformation from his discourse on the Italian Renaissance, which, worked out by us principally in the field of art, in Germany took instead a speculative, theological direction, and in this direction was found the intrinsic genesis of the reform, as in this speculation was its animus. And the teacher, in running over the leading facts of the great event, will omit the exposition of any judgment upon its dogmatic or theologic part, both in order not to trouble the religious conscience of his pupils and still more to hold all their attention fixed upon the great end of the reform, which is, as is well known, the consecration of the principles of freedom of conscience and free examination.

E. D. C.

THE POSITION OF MR. JOHN FISKE.

A friend asks us to "explain how Mr. John Fiske can call himself a theist, when, as in the passages you recently quoted from his writings, he rejects the belief in a Being back of phenomena who possesses intelligence and will." From another letter, this passage is taken: "I am surprised at the reported sayings of Mr. John Fiske. I remember that, two or three years ago,

he lectured in Princeton at the gatherings of the Unitarians. It was then reported that he 'handled the materialists without gloves,' or words to that effect; and, at the Concord School last summer, he was reported as 'giving it' to the agnostics. I do not rely on mere newspaper reports; but, making all allowance, I must say I do not understand Mr. Fiske's position. I have thought him, at least, agnostic; but I may be mistaken."

Mr. Fiske claims, in his *Cosmic Philosophy*, that the purification and refinement of theism consists in a continuous process of "deanthropomorphization," in which are discarded one after another the human qualities with which man has invested Deity. But theism, if we mistake not, commenced by ascribing natural phenomena to personality and intelligence, and has always recognized them as the essential attributes of Deity. When these attributes are discarded, the very basis of theism is abandoned. When Mr. Fiske purifies and refines theism by totally abolishing every anthropomorphic element and limits himself to the postulation of an Ultimate Reality, self-existent and eternal, of which all phenomena as presented in consciousness are manifestations, but which we can only know through the manifestations, he excludes that which is fundamental in the conception and theory of a Deity, and affirms that only which may be and is affirmed equally by the theist, pantheist, and the atheist.

Mr. Fiske says that "to represent the Deity as intelligent is to surround Deity with an environment, and thus to destroy its infinity and its self-existence." (*Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 395.) "It is not the intelligence which has made the environment, but it is the environment which has molded the intelligence" (p. 402).

"If there exist a personal Creator of the universe who is infinitely intelligent and powerful, he cannot be infinitely good; and if, on the other hand, he be infinite in goodness, then he must be lamentably finite in power or in intelligence" (*Ibid.*, p. 495).

"With Mr. Mill, therefore, 'I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures.' And, going a step further, I will add that it is impossible to call that being good, who, existing prior to the phenomenal universe and creating it out of the plenitude of infinite power and foreknowledge, endowed it with such properties that its material and moral development must inevitably be attended by the misery of untold millions of sentient creatures for whose existence their Creator is ultimately responsible. In short, there can be no hypothesis of a moral government of the world which does not implicitly assert an immoral government. As soon as we seek to go beyond the process of evolution disclosed by science, and posit an external agency which is in the slightest degree anthropomorphic, we are obliged either to supplement and limit this agency by a second one that is diabolic or else to include elements of diabolism in the character of the first agency itself" (*Ibid.*, p. 408).

"*Personality and infinity* are terms expressive of ideas which are mutually incompatible. The pseud-idea 'infinite person' is neither more nor less unthinkable than the pseud-idea 'circular triangle.' As Spinoza somewhere says, '*Determinatio negatio est*,'—to define God is to deny him; and, such being the case, what can be more irrational than to insist upon thought and volition, phenomena only known to exist within quite narrow limitations, as the very nature and essence of the Infinite Deity" (*Ibid.*, pp. 408, 409).

How evident that Mr. Fiske's "Divine Power," as he sometimes characterizes the "Unknowable," without goodness, without personality, without in

telligence, does not correspond with what the people or thinkers generally mean by the word "God"!

Anticipating criticism, Mr. Fiske says it will "be asserted, with vehemence, that, in place of a father whom men can love and venerate, we are giving them a mere philosophical formula, calling for no warmer feeling than calm, intellectual assent. Granting that our doctrine is philosophically the reverse of atheism, it will be urged that here extremes meet, and that an infinite and therefore unknowable God is practically equivalent to no God at all" (pp. 468, 469).

In reply to this criticism, Mr. Fiske reminds his readers that "the early Christians were called Atheists by their pagan adversaries"; that "as we proceed to take away, one by one, the attributes which limit Deity and enable it to be classified, we seem, no doubt, to be destroying it altogether"; yet "the symbolization of Deity indicated by the profoundest scientific analysis of to-day is as practically real as the symbolization which has resulted from the attempts of antiquity to perform such an analysis, and is in every way more satisfactory alike to head and heart" (p. 469).

This reply cannot be satisfactory either to the careful thinker or the religious devotee. There was no logical or verbal propriety in calling the early Christians atheists, because they recognized in God that which is the very essence of theism, *personality and intelligence*, and the contemplation of which as the cause of phenomena was the beginning of theism; but the stripping of Deity of these qualities as is required, in the terminal phase of Mr. Fiske's process of "deanthropomorphization," does not simply purify and refine the conception of Deity: it divests it of its essential nature. It is not true, therefore, that Mr. Fiske's theism "is philosophically the reverse of atheism." It is, on the contrary, in every important respect identical with what is regarded as Atheism, the belief in the eternal self-existence of an ultimate reality,—whether it be the universe or that from which the universe has proceeded,—accompanied with disbelief that this Ultimate Reality is a Being possessing intelligence, will, and purpose.

Prof. Huxley, who says: "Some twenty years ago or more, I invented the word 'agnostic,' to denote people who, like myself, confess themselves to be hopelessly ignorant concerning a variety of matters about which metaphysicians and theologians, both orthodox and heterodox, dogmatize with the utmost confidence," adds, "Agnosticism simply says that we know nothing of what may be beyond phenomena." According to this definition, Mr. Fiske's position, as defined and explained in all his philosophical writings, is that of an agnostic, in common, in this respect, with the position of Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, and other acknowledged agnostic writers.

Mr. Fiske is not a materialist, and his criticism of materialism as a philosophic system is entirely consistent. But it should be said that he restricts the word "materialism" to "certain abstract theories of metaphysics" that are really obsolete among great thinkers. The materialism he "handles without gloves," a crude theory, which ignores the principle of the relativity of knowledge, is indeed held by no one, so far as we know, who is acquainted with modern philosophic thought. It is not, therefore, to be confounded with the so-called "Scientific Materialism" of Tyndall. Mr. Fiske holds that both mind and matter are phenomenal, and two different aspects of an Ultimate Reality, the absolute nature of which is inscrutable.

The majority who hear a man criticise materialism, knowing nothing about fine philosophical distinctions, infer that he must be defending their belief in God and immortality, when, in fact,

between his own system and the one he vigorously assails, much to the satisfaction of the adherents of theology, there may be no difference whatever in which those adherents can feel any interest.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MISS LILIAN WHITING, in a notice in the *Boston Evening Traveller* of the late Miss M. A. Hardaker, with whom she was well acquainted, but from whom she differed on many subjects, says: "While Miss Hardaker was intellectually aggressive, sometimes to almost an extreme point, she was always honest and sincere. Her limitations were less of intention than the result of temperament; and her inflexible honesty and uprightness of purpose and kindness of heart are qualities that will remain in pleasant remembrance."

THE papers state that a religious sect has lately been discovered in the Crimea, which sincerely and earnestly declares its intention "to be to kill all who do not accept its doctrines." The sect in the Crimea is not the first one that has had this "intention." A number of sects have worked the idea with considerable success for a while; and some of them that can no longer kill heretics and heathens, still persist in declaring that all who do not accept their doctrines God will not merely kill, but torment forever in hell.

ACCORDING to the *Catholic Review*, the number of Protestants in France is 580,000. Of these, 350,000 belong to the Reformed Church and 50,000 follow the Confession of Augsburg, while 150,000 "form part of the free churches, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, Evangelicals, *et hoc genus omne*." The same authority says, "According to the last official census of creeds, the number of Catholics in France is 35,387,703; that is to say, for every Protestant there are 61 Catholics." Our esteemed contemporary does not state what proportion of those put down as Catholics when the last official census was taken are in fact free thinkers.

A FRIEND of the *New York Tribune* writes: "Your correspondent, Mr. Samuel W. Langley, in his note upon 'The Presidential Election,' published last week, says, 'While I am a constant reader and generally an admirer of the *New York Tribune*, I do not agree with it when it charges that "The Index is justly the object of the distrust of all moral and conservative citizens," and that "it speaks with wanton profaneness and disrespect of the people's most holy religion and of the clergy." The *Tribune* in its partisan zeal has done *The Index* injustice.' Mr. Langley will find that the *Tribune* never made this charge. It put it into the mouth of others in one of its mock-heroic articles, but Mr. Langley may be quite sure that it does not share the opinion."

IN mentioning the presence of King Humbert at Naples during the virulence of the cholera in that city, as a cause of unpleasant comparisons by the Italians between his course and that of the Pope, who remains in his luxurious palace isolated from pestilence and scenes of suffering, the *Nation* observes: "The difficulty the Pope has to contend with in going about is that it exposes him to insults from persons who do not believe in him; and this to good Catholics is something too shocking to be thought of. If he were to start out as a philanthropist, however, Naples would be a good place to begin; for in no other part of Italy are the people so faithful to the Church. One of the

great difficulties of the existing situation there is the difficulty of getting the people to resort to any better mode of defence against the plague than religious processions in the streets and offerings at the shrine of saints."

SAYS the *Radical Review*: "A few weeks ago, we reported on the case of Emile Francois, who had been imprisoned four years in the Texas penitentiary on the charge of miscegenation, and who now, on obtaining his liberty, was about to bring suit against the State of Texas for illegal imprisonment. At the close of the paragraph, we expressed our surprise and indignation that anybody should suffer imprisonment on so flimsy a charge. With that bait thrown out, we caught a fish whose species we have considered long extinct; for one of our subscribers wrote thus to us: 'Your last issue says, "Is it not almost incredible that a white man should suffer imprisonment in any of the States for marrying a negress?" No man ever did. Only some long-haired radical who would not hesitate to cross with the monkey to carry out his drivelling theories. Stop the *Radical Review*.' A curious specimen this, that in some miraculous way has come up to our time from the very beginning of the Devonian age,—long, long ago."

IN the same discourse referred to in another paragraph, Mr. Applebee says: "It is a crime against the government of America to smuggle an English edition of the Bible into this country without paying duty on it; but, I think, the strictest protectionist would hesitate to characterize such an act a sin. I am rather inclined to think the sin would rather consist in *not* smuggling the Bible or any other useful book in, if one could get the chance of doing it." On the contrary, a man, whether he be a protectionist or a free trader, with correct ideas of a citizen's duties and obligations to the government under which he lives and to which is due his allegiance, would not, it seems to us, hesitate a moment to characterize as a sin the act of a man who should "smuggle an English edition of the Bible into this country without paying duty on it." In importing books, the obligation of the citizen to the government is the same, whether they be the works of Darwin, Dean Stanley, Spurgeon, or the Scriptures. An attempt to gain an advantage over other importers and dealers and buyers of books, and to defraud the revenue department of the government by smuggling foreign publications into the country in violation of law, is plainly both a crime and a sin. If we think the law is not a wise one, we should, as citizens of a republic, use our influence in favor of its repeal or reform, and not secretly violate it when a chance is offered by smuggling into the country a book, even though it be a book the assumed sacredness of which might in the eyes of the superstitious divest the act of criminality. Bibles can be bought cheaply in this country; and, if an English edition is desired, the payment of a few cents' duty cannot involve in the purchaser any sacrifice of moral principle. The claim that there is no sin in smuggling books into the country, but that "the sin would consist in not smuggling the Bible or any other useful book in, if one could get the chance of doing it," implies the right and the duty of secretly violating any law with which we may not be satisfied; and the notion carried out in practice would make laws useless and government impossible. This is a truth which remains unaffected by the fact that men have at times, under exceptional circumstances, acted wisely as well as bravely in resisting some outrageous law which reduced them to the alternative of either consciously dishonoring themselves by violating their highest convictions, or boldly defying the law and taking the consequences.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

Moncure Conway's Farewell Discourse.

APOLOGIA.

t the Close of a Ministry of Thirty-three and One-third Years.

(Revised for The Index by the author.)

Just one-third of a century has passed since I started out to save souls. I had been studying law; but what had I to do with Blackstone and Coke, when all around me were souls blindly plunging into hell? I laid down my law-books, became a Methodist itinerant at nineteen, mounted a horse, and went forth into the highways and by-ways of Maryland, warning people of the wrath to come, and preaching the gospel of salvation by the blood of Christ. Methodism has been rightly called "Christianity in earnest." But a thing needs to be very true, if one takes it terribly to heart. The theological doctrines of Methodism are substantially those of the Church of England. The tendency in the Church was to shelve them for Sunday use, to glose them over, to adapt them to worldliness, to explain them away. But Methodism took them seriously, accepted those dogmas in all their awful import as the revelation of God. If they were true, they were tremendous truths; they palled the universe with Jehovah's wrath; they revealed millions perishing in eternal torments. For more than a year, I did my part toward terrifying people; and I can now see that dead self of mine, dressed in mourning, going about certain villages and homes in Maryland, bearing a blight for all things glad and beautiful. The smiles of children disappeared as I passed; the dances of young hearts stopped at my approach. Flowers must have bloomed there, birds must have sung there; but I never saw them, never heard of them,—not for a long time. But my way of pressing every doctrine and everything in the Bible to a realistic extreme distressed my hearers. I preached to ten different congregations,—preached every day, and twice or thrice on Sundays,—and some complained to the presiding

elder that I mystified and alarmed them by bringing out everything in the Bible too plainly. I was advised to be more discreet. It dawned upon me that it was necessary to take God's word under wise supervision, to correct its tendency toward plain-spokenness. The first chill fell on my ardor. I was yet in my teens, and very crude, but old enough to feel the inconsistency of becoming a critic of God's revelation.

However, soon I had a revelation of my own. There was a settlement of Hicksites—a variety of Quakers not known in this country—through which I often had to pass. It was a beautiful settlement, mile after mile of pretty homes, each in its smiling field, nowhere a weed or bramble, and everywhere well-dressed negroes working along with the farmers. It was in strong contrast with any place I had seen at the South, almost to be described as an oasis in that poorly cultivated region. When I admired, my Methodist people shook their heads, and said: "They are all infidels over there. One of their preachers said the blood of Christ could no more save men than the blood of a bullock." I also found that those Hicksites had a bad name among politicians for something worse: they were opposed to slavery. Those negroes I saw working in their fields were free, they were paid for their labor. Because the negro could smile there, the fields also smiled. From that oasis of freedom I passed again and again into the land of bondage, and repassed, and my eyes were opened to the great wrong of my native country. As I rode my lonely circuit, I saw, for the first time, with human recognition, slaves at their drudgery,—men, women, and children, toiling in ignorance and hopelessness, never knowing in any hour but that husband, wife, or child might be sold at auction, to be no more seen.

I had started out from home to save souls from damnation: now here were the damned under my eyes. They were fettered by some who helped to support me; by those who labored for the salvation of souls from God's wrath; by people holding in horror the unbelief of Hicksites, who paid workmen their wages, had good schools and happy homes, but did not believe in the Trinity. My Orthodoxy caught fire: it was consumed by a great cause. The hope of seeing slavery lifted from the land, and the beauty of that oasis of free culture spread through my beloved South, rose within me, filled my horizon, until the old heaven of faith was forgotten, Jerusalem receded into antiquity, the dogmas became dry bones. I had not consciously rejected the old theology, but it got outside me.

However, I was not to be rid of the past so easily. My new cause cast a black shadow. On my long rounds, a huge phantom was sure to meet me with warning that, if I parted with my Orthodoxy, it would cost me every friend, every relative; and, if I added to it disloyalty to slavery, the South would banish me, if not worse. This phantom filled me with fear for some months; and I went about preaching, with an effort to satisfy my conscience by infusing a little rationalism or philanthropy into my sermons.

Once, after I had met my formidable phantom, an angel came. It was Emerson,—a little book of his which had found its way into my hands. It came to me when I was low enough,—sick at heart, fearful, without health or courage. As the hart pants after the water-brooks, so had I longed for this living water, this fountain from the pure soul of a saviour sent to my own need. That book I read on horseback. I read it along lanes, amid forests once darkened with divine wrath, and now for the first time saw the flowers blooming, heard the birds sing: the black veil was removed

from the fair face of nature. I was strong again. When the phantom came once more, I wrestled with him. I wrestled and prevailed; withdrew from the Methodist Church, declared my heresy, affirmed my opposition to slavery, and then found that the phantom could not crush me. He could only lame me. That he did. I have never quite recovered from the wrestle with Orthodoxy. The loss of early loves and friendships, exile to a life of poverty among strangers, the critical years of youth—each hour a lost opportunity—wasted on dogmas, are serious injuries, however they may be mitigated or whatever the compensations. My knowledge has always lacked those years given to struggle instead of study, and in various ways the excessive pietism of my early life has been avenged too sharply; for I was brought up half in college and half in prayer-meeting. My usual Sunday through boyhood was Sunday-school, two or three sermons, and a prayer-meeting to close with; and this while during the week I was studying Greek and Latin beyond measure. Six days did I labor, but on the seventh toiled on a treadmill of services; and to this day it gives me a keen delight to see anybody breaking the Sabbath, especially if it is with games and amusements. My secret hope concerning these early losses of mine is that they may have saved some young people from the like,—young people whose parents may have listened to me. I have a brother who fought bravely through a four years' war, and now he will not let his children kill a mosquito. I suppose I am like him in my horror of all that I know can kill the happiness of youth or that can chill the affections of life. Others may dislike dogmas because they are erroneous: I dislike only the dogmas that freeze hearts against each other. My rejection of Christianity is not the result of criticism, but because I know that, as it has steeped the earth in blood, so this day it can make loving hearts turn to stone against those to whom they owe love, if these do not share their dogma. The soul of theology is hatred, and there is no demon that can produce so much anguish as hatred. This is my experience. I have lost many sweet intimacies, have suffered years of solitude, all because I could not agree with the metaphysics of preachers who happened to have in their keeping the consciences of my early companions. Happily, there are ties too strong and sacred for even Jahvé to break. In my Virginian home, love remained, though for a time draped as for one dead; and one heart even believed in me, I suspect at the cost of her strict Orthodoxy. But such inviolable ties are few. As a rule, it is nearly impossible for a pious soul to love anybody its God is believed to hate. They can love the supposed prodigal so long as they hope for his conversion, and love him through immoralities; but, when they find that he will never believe their doctrines, they deliver him over to God's wrath with cynical hardness. Of course, from their point of view, all that is logical and natural. This life seems to them such a mere point compared with the ages of eternity that its happiness is nothing, its human affections little, compared with the vast future. But already this earthly happiness seemed to me vast, the joys of youth wondrous, the blooms of affection divine. The little I had of healthy human pleasures and social gayeties in early youth has made me rate them so highly that the pursuit and culture of the joy and sweetness and humanities of life have become to me as a religion. It may be that in my ministry I have not made enough of the stern duties and sacrifices of life: if so, it is because love has seemed to me the fulfilling of the law. Love carries all duties and sacrifices, making its labors so light that they cease to be sacrifices.

For a time, I left behind me all the region of dogmatic discord. I joined the Unitarian body, and went to prepare myself for the new ministry in their Divinity School connected with Harvard University. There all was congenial study and liberality. There were struggles going on in some cities between the old Unitarianism and the new, but these were at a distance. Here, in the centre of Unitarian culture, such disputes were known only as agreeable interchanges of opinion. In addition to that of our worthy and liberal professors, I enjoyed the friendship of Emerson, of Parker, of Longfellow, of Garrison and Phillips, and other great men. Having declined proffered paternal assistance in a course disapproved at home, I was very poor; yet my life at Harvard University was happy. When I left it to take charge of the Unitarian church at Washington, I found that, despite the general liberalism of the congregation, slavery was still too potent at the capital to tolerate my anti-slavery discourses; and, after a few agitated years there, I was compelled to leave. Then I was chosen minister of the Unitarian church at Cincinnati, and there had some happy years. But, at length, my disbelief of miracles brought on a struggle. The Unitarians who believed in miracles seemed to hate me more than the orthodox did when I left them. They also expected me to be more puritanical in my ways than was possible just after I had risen from the grave of Methodism into a glad world never seen before. Although the Cincinnati congregation stood by me against the opposition, I foresaw that I would soon have to settle up my accounts with Unitarianism.

Then the war broke out, and we threw ourselves into the anti-slavery cause; for I now had a helper at my side. There was a powerful interest which aimed to secure slavery from the conflagration it had kindled. Every anti-slavery man and woman had to enlist for that moral struggle. I was then, as now, radically opposed to war, but not to wresting a great compensation from it. The anti-slavery men did not care in the least about my theological opinions. While I was editing a paper in Boston, and writing books, and lecturing, all against slavery, it seemed to some friends that I might influence opinion in England which was going wrong on the subject, Palmerston and Gladstone being against us. It was thought the English might listen to an anti-slavery Southerner. I came over, and spoke and wrote a good deal. While so engaged, I was glad to preach again, especially as I was invited to a chapel here far advanced beyond care for Unitarian or other dogmas.

That chapel is the one in which we meet to-day. I began preaching here in September, 1863, so that it is now just twenty-one years since I became your minister. The Unitarians of London never liked us. During those years, I have been treated in a friendly way by some Unitarian societies in the provinces,—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Preston, Bradford, Godalming, Liverpool, Nottingham, Huddersfield, Croydon,—but have received the cold shoulder from the Unitarian Association. London being its denominational centre, our penalties had to be suffered here. I do not complain of the inhospitable treatment received from that quarter, for I long ago recognized the compulsory cause of it. I know that chill theological *aura* of old: the breath of pious hatred is just the same, whether it comes from orthodox or unorthodox people. Unitarianism, despite the generous hearts it includes, taught me, as it had taught my teachers in America, Emerson and Parker, that, wherever even the ghost of a shibboleth is retained, the old intoler-

ance and unkindness will be preserved in it. If the Christian name be the only shred of a creed left, then men will say all manner of things against you for Christ's sake, if you do not agree to that shred.

Freedom of thought had gradually taken the place in my religion which freedom of the slave occupied before it was secured. Freedom of thought does not mean that man can think and speak his honest thought without physical harm. It means that his thought and speech can be free without bringing upon him ill-will, unkindness, alienation of what is necessary to his or her happiness. It means that every honest thinker shall be the reverse of discouraged,—shall be encouraged. The leading Unitarians showed me that, whatever might be the case with individuals, no organization bearing the Christian name could treat generously a man who did not accept that name. They might do it, if he were very far off, or after he was dead, but not while he was living and preaching among them. A few years ago, the Unitarian body authorized the circulation of Theodore Parker's works. But, when I settled here, my views were not more heretical than Theodore Parker's. If I have gone farther, it may be partly due to the instructive illiberality with which they treated me for holding views they now circulate.

Well, these are old scores, and I gladly leave them. I was still hoping for a faith which would work by love, and next looked to Theism for it. Francis William Newman, one of the best men living, had shown that Theism naturally associated itself with high ideas of justice and equality; Miss Cobbe, that it harmonized with profound religious sensibility. I saw Theism grow into a promising movement; but I have seen its decline, and we now hear little of it. This, as I think, is not because Atheism has superseded it, but because Theism aspired to make itself a finality,—because it could not take by the hand with cordiality any one who had doubts concerning divine personality, however religious those doubts, however earnest his spirit. But no deity can stand being made a fetter on minds that have thrown off every other fetter. A deity for whom belief is exacted as the test of friendship is by that spirit proved a fiction. A Theist who dislikes an Atheist because he is an Atheist shows that his Theism doesn't bear as fine fruit as Atheism,—that is, if the Atheism be humane and magnanimous. Doctrines can easily be put into plausible words, but by their fruits they are really known. Theism bore few fruits of any kind after it became a quasi-organized movement, and those fruits were every year more sour.

It became plainer to me by that movement that the virus of theology lurked even in Theism. It seemed to think that what people believe or say about God is of immense importance to God. The important point was whether such belief could enlarge the heart, ennoble the spirit, increase the happiness of man. That it did not prove or attempt to prove. Consequently, it appeared that Theism was but a modified belief in the same old deity that had been the source of superstition and intolerance: the advance of knowledge had taken away his thunderbolts, and then taken away the keys of heaven which followed them; but his egotism survived, and his theologic spirit; and if, for not believing and worshipping him, he no longer burnt men or locked them out of heaven, he was still prepared to lock them out of theistic hearts, and sit silent while they were deprived of their freedom and their rights.

Fourteen years ago I had hope in Theism. I then wrote in my book, *The Earthward Pilgrimage*: "Simple Theism has but few churches now: it

is a newly discovered and as yet unexplored continent, but so was America a little while ago. They who, like Plymouth Pilgrims, have settled in the winter time on its rocky verge, know little as yet of its prairies, savannahs, and eldorados; but they already see that it is to be the next great home of human hearts and thoughts." But, even then, I remembered that other hopes as large had been disappointed, and on the next page I wrote: "That which passes, passes because it is no longer necessary. The traditional creed passes with the need which formed it. Every fossil in the earth tells its story. It is not necessary. Men are virtuous without it. It no longer implies self-denial or any divine passion to believe it. The cross has become golden, and may be coined into money. The virtues it once implied gather with the free thinkers and reformers who will not bow to it. The impulse which separates them from Christendom is the centre of a new creation. What that new creation will be we can, indeed, only imagine; but we know that the spirit which built Christianity when Judaism fell, which built Protestantism when Romanism crumbled, cannot be crushed under the ruins of any temple."

Here rise together from an old phase of faith the hope that Theism is to be the next great home of the human spirit, and a contemplation of the possibility that it may not prove so, but that a farther shore may appear. To-day, I am bound to say that it is not the hope, but the misgiving that has proved true. For what has happened since? Theism means belief in God; and, since then, the name of God has been legally and politically defined. The nation has been authoritatively given to know what God means. It means a proud monarch, for not believing in whom a parent must be deprived of a child, men must be dragged from their families and shut up in gaol, members of Parliament must be deprived of their seats and constituencies dishonored, and ladies refused admission into seats of learning. No: Theism cannot stand that. No religion can inherit the future which does not bear in it the highest and holiest spirit of our time,—its freedom, its justice, its science, its humanity. The name of God has been of late so degraded, it has been so adduced to label public meanness and wrong, that it can never be utilized for any organization that shall represent the supreme ideal and aim of a free and civilized people.

This, you will observe, does not determine anything with regard to the divine existence. It only determines that the conception of a deity represented in our laws, creeds, customs, is certainly false. The popular notion of a deity is derived from the laws and theology of our time. Were it higher, the people would not tolerate the sanctioning of injustice with the name of God. Out of such prevailing notions, Theism cannot develop a noble idea of God, any more than one can carve a fair statue out of mud. They who individually have a pure and high conception of divine existence can best promote it for the present by clearing out off laws and institutions the current false and mean ideas of a deity, as one jealous of what people believe about him, angry at being ridiculed. A god who can be insulted is no god at all. A god who can be blasphemed is no god at all. People who believe their God can be blasphemed, people who suppose God cares whether men believe in him or not, people who themselves think a Theist morally better than an Atheist, are one and all believing in an idol that has no more existence than Pluto. So long as this is the kind of god established in the forms of Church and State, an exact thinker, who wishes to be understood, will not proclaim himself a Theist. No doubt it was for

this reason that the greatest thinkers of the country, even some who, in a sense of their own, do believe in a God, would not adopt Theism; and no new church could be worth anything that did not draw to itself the unchurched thought and science of the country, as the Salvation Army draws its ignorant enthusiasm.

The majority of people say there can be no religion without definite belief in a personal God. The majority, as usual, is wrong. The Confucian religion has no God, Buddhism—the greatest religion in the world—has no God. The notion that a personal God is necessary to religion grows from the same root as that other superstition, that God needs something at men's hands,—an ignorant notion, as Paul said, at which a God of the universe could only wink. Why does any one demand a personal God? To influence him by prayer? He would be no God, if he did not always do the very best without prompting. To praise him? He would be no God, if he desired praise. Or is a personal God needed that we may believe in a purpose running through evil and sorrow and working to good ends? He would be no God who cannot secure good ends without bad means. A man may have to afflict in order to benefit, because he is finite; but not an infinite and good power. Religion cannot be detached from moral perfection, and therefore it must be detached from the idea of an omnipotent personality. Nature does not declare a morally perfect creator. The very object of religion is to subdue the hardness and redress the evils of nature, which it cannot do while praising the creator of those evils. The believer in a God of revelation does not improve the case, but makes it worse. For the revealed God has all the faults of nature: he is wrathful, vindictive, proud; and it is absurd for religion to try to subdue pride and revenge in a man while worshipping the same in Jahvé. Our excellent friends, the Positivists, have not got out of this vicious circle by deifying (as some of them do) humanity: their brave testimonies against war and every wrong are inconsistent with the worship of humanity, whose ignorance and brutality cause the wars and the wrongs.

Nevertheless, Positivism at least looks in the right direction. Not the mass of humanity, but the excellence of humanity; not the vast predatory multitude, but the best that is in each, the supreme virtue and wisdom and beauty potential in all, flowering in the sages and saviours of the race,—raise in man the sentiment of religion and direct its aim. For this reason, the religions devoted to invisible gods—theistic religions—have always passed away, or else merged themselves in devotion to human personalities, such as Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, Wesley. Theism is a phase of transition. It is a withdrawal of confidence from the established divinity, the purification of the human mind, as Emerson called it; but religion will develop a new practical and actual incarnation of its spirit in movements corresponding to those which in the far past bear imposing individual names. Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, were men, but much more were they the figure-heads of great movements, movements of human religion detaching itself from obsolete and obstructive forms. The influence of Goethe, of Comte, of Carlyle, and of Emerson in their several countries shows that in our own democratic age great men may be identified with vast movements of thought, especially in cultured communities. In New England, when Christianity surrendered to slavery, Christ hastened to deliver up his place to Emerson, who took the lowly negro under the wing of his genius, and, for a generation, no religious and emancipated youth in America loved Christ as he loved

Emerson. Amid all this love and enthusiasm, Emerson felt that he was not worthy to tie the shoes of the feet for whose appearance on the mountains he was looking. At length, to his lovers also, he is becoming a forerunner, a voice that cried in a wilderness since grown populous. There is fair reason to believe that the next world-prophet will be born in America, and the home of all races be the cradle of a universal religion.

I once had the hope that the free and humanitarian Church might be organized in London,—great London, metropolis of culture, science, and civilized power. You will remember that Congress of Liberal Thinkers which sat in this building some years ago, animated by that hope. My experience then led to the conviction that England is destined to achieve a different task and fulfil another ideal altogether. The past is so strong in the Old World, its institutions are so established, that free thought is largely absorbed in mere rebellion, denial, criticism, and free religion naturally runs to individualism. We of this South Place Society have tried to be hospitable to all liberal movements: leaders of Secularism, Positivism, Theism, Christian Unitarianism, Brahmoism, Hinduism, have preached and spoken here with perfect freedom. We have seen that they cannot combine. They have as little dealings with each other as the Jews and Samaritans. Their respective organizations are circles of individualism. They are held together in their places as if caught in eddies, where they must go round and round, and never mingle in one great flood. And why? The bed of the flood is already occupied. It is filled by a national Church, whose learning, resources, and social strength are such that it would overpower and carry away any large rival organization. The Church is more liberal than Unitarianism (so I have found it), more independent than the Independents, more active than Wesleyanism. It takes the wind out of their sails. They are steadily reduced in social influence and intellectual power. The Church has already a secularist bishop and a rationalist bishop, and some Unitarian clergymen; and the liberal religious teachers who hold out against its absorbing power will always be the thinkers of strong individuality, and the workers they can draw to their side.

These groups, representing religious Individualism, appear to me of paramount importance. Each has grown where humanity needs an organ. I would say this even of living sects farthest removed from my own beliefs. There are enough of them. England, as a geologist might figure, is a vast formation of fossil sects and superstitions; but their successors survive. Amid the cemetery of their dead ancestral sects move this day nearly one hundred and fifty different denominations. Each is declaring some necessary fact or truth, whether it be with articulate voice or as stones cry out where priests hold their peace. These sects and societies are in one sense scattered fragments; in another, they form a vast aggregate of human sentiment and force. They form together a huge, incongruous Argus, whose hundred and fifty sharp eyes watch the Church sleeplessly, and compel its steady adaptation to the by-ways as well as the highways of humanity.

As one of these societies of individual thinkers, bound together by a common love of certain principles, but by no admitted identity of opinion, we may naturally ask ourselves sometimes what has been our degree of success. In the twenty-one years in which we have worked together, we have grown at a fair rate as to numbers, but not so rapidly, because we have aimed at another kind of growth. If we could only have stayed where we

began,—kept to our prayers and to some kind of theology,—we might have carried with us some worthy people whom we have contributed to other societies. We have not, in this sense, spent up to our income, and so we have grown steadily. But I have had to make severe demands upon this society in the interests of truth, as I conceived it; and it has always responded bravely at whatever cost to popularity or to size. These demands have always been painful to me. Some of the ache of the old wound of parting with Methodism returned so often as I have had to affirm here some fresh conviction that might bring into doubt a hope or a sentiment of my trustful friends, or even drive some from us in our weaker days. But, now that we look back upon it all, it appears to me that we may claim the success of having shown the entire truthfulness of the principle on which this society was founded. We have proved that religious life and growth and fruit are not dependent on any creed or any theology. We have proved that a religious society—an influential church—can exist, can co-operate, can flourish in absolute freedom, without insisting on doctrines deemed fundamental even by many Liberals, and without the prestige of the Christian name.

That is our success, and it is an essentially religious success. People may attribute it to one thing or another. One eminent preacher said that you filled this place because I talked chiefly of politics. I suspect the very little I have ever said about politics was just what you would rather have spared. Another person once reported that you came here to listen to popular songs. The explanations of our admitted vitality and prosperity have been various; but I have ministered to many congregations in my life, and do really know something about this matter. We have kept together and grown in harmony and strength by the development of the religious life,—by which I mean the cultivation of a love and reverence for what is morally good, for rectitude and justice, for the high ideal of life and character, for unselfishness, for the service of mankind. These things are simple. They require neither genius nor learning for their discovery; but, by study, by sympathy, by meditation on them day and night, these simple principles may become our delight. They may open depths of feeling and joy in ourselves. They may raise in us that most pure passion which idealizes life. Behold these sisters of mine around me,—these good women who have gathered here from year to year, in numbers equal to the men. Be sure they would never come here for politics or for sensational speaking. Women are religious by instinct, and they have to train the earliest and tenderest growths of morality and duty in children. When men desert the old temples, women will still repair to them, unless they can find better. And they are right, for spiritual natures can bloom even amid ruins where the memories of beautiful souls still linger. We owe the presence of these women, the earnestness with which they have furthered this society, the grace with which they have invested it, to the religious heart that has been beating here from the time of your fathers; for I did but step in to carry on as well as I could the work begun here sixty years ago by the orator whom I followed to the grave, William Johnson Fox. I never heard him preach, but knew him, and believe his power lay even more in his humanity than in his eloquence. Little as I could hope to fill his place where others had failed or to revive the chapel which seemed about to close, I felt that it was my natural home. I had travelled the same path as that man; had begun as an orthodox preacher setting out to save men

from hell, and had found the hell to be slavery, as he had found it to be cruel corn laws. To the last, his aim was human salvation; and a chapel animated by that spirit was friendly shelter for a Methodist itinerant who had parted with his creed to keep his faith. In 1729, an Oxford student humorously called the Brothers Wesley "Methodists," because they made all their engagements square with their religious duties. That is now the name of the largest Church in America. Method means order adapted to an end. The bones of a body set in a row would be in order. Combined in a skeleton, they would show method. Methodism was a system perfectly adapted to save men from hell, only the particular hell it dreaded was fictitious. None the less does the longing to save constitute the vital breath of religion; and a man is still a Methodist, if he abandon methods that cannot reach the evils of his time for others that can reach them.

There is a legend that, on the flight into Egypt, Mary bore her holy babe on her arm so long that at last her arm failed and fell at her side: whereupon, another arm, a third, started out from her shoulder to sustain the child. In my own youth, parental piety placed in my arms, also, a holy child. That charge was called the human soul; and I was taught that the highest object of life was to save it from the world, the flesh, the devil,—all seeking to destroy it. I bore it on my Methodist arm until that gave way. It gave way because I learned that the human soul was not in any such danger. The child intrusted to me was humanity; and its destroyer in my region was not Satan, but slavery. Methodism was helpless against slavery: therefore, that arm failed, and another grew out. When the weary anti-slavery struggle ended, I saw that my holy burden was still pursued and endangered by superstition, by ignorance and fear. I have still that babe in my arms, and shall try to bear it and defend it wherever I go.

And you also, as a society, have the same high cause, the same holy humanity to bear; and, though to-day one of your arms is giving way, another and a stronger will grow in its place. So long as the spirit that seeks to save men from every evil remains here, you need not fear who goes. Love and truth will put forth new arms to meet new needs. Your heart and your courage will not fail. You can hardly expect a great popular success. That kind of success would most likely mean failure in your higher aim. In the political world, in our own time, we have seen radicalism win a suicidal triumph. The men that used to maintain every high human cause, and hold an unsheathed sword of justice over every government, have now become the government; but what have become of the standards they once bore so bravely? The cause of woman is trampled, and they are silent; unrighteous wars are waged against the weak, and they are silent; slavery is sanctioned by English authority in Soudan, on this jubilee year of emancipation, and they are silent; honest men are denied their rights, are thrown into prison for their opinions, and they are silent. That is a fatal kind of success, and I trust that religious radicalism will never achieve it. It had been a happier triumph for the political reformers to preserve their independence and direct the government from without. I cannot but regard a free religious society as the salt of popular religion. It can only preserve its savor by independence. So long as you can show that love of humanity, of human virtues, and religious earnestness, and remain independent of dogmas; so long as you can show moral enthusiasm and religious culture increased by separation from creeds,—you will exert a powerful

influence on the sectarian and ecclesiastical world. More and more will their creeds melt away; more and more will they buy oil for their lamps where you got yours. They will have to retain their hold on young hearts and aspiring minds by larger measures of liberty and charity, until at last the old system will break down.

I do not suppose that the Church of England will be disestablished, because I believe it will be converted. There are angels hovering around it, Science, Art, the angel of the world: they are struggling with its dismal creeds, shaming its superstitions, and they will humanize it. The religious freedom of this South Place Society is one of the good angels of the Church: even some clergymen have recognized that we are laboring for their redemption from degrading bonds. And so, in the ancient language, to this angel of the Church of England, keeping watch and ward at South Place, I would write: Leave not your first love. As you were born of spiritual freedom, uphold that cause above every spiritual oppression. Let your light be kept trimmed and burning, that wanderers in the dark may find here shelter and sympathy. Be of one mind. Let Christians pause amid their disputes, and say, See how these untheological people love one another. Let them see also how you love them. If they do not love you, it is because they are afraid: they have never been where you are, and tremble at going into what to them is the dark. But we have been where they are: we have been orthodox, or our relatives and teachers have been, and we know how much sweetness and charity may abide with Orthodoxy. So speak your truth with the love that never faileth. And let the angel that has to watch and teach the Church until it be saved from error be assured that he can never influence where he does not understand and where he does not sympathize. It is easy to show the literal absurdity of dogmas and superstitions; not so easy, but much more important, to study their history, to understand them, to comprehend their relation to human development and sentiment. Every superstition is also a poem. Every dogma is a seed cast from some past flower of faith. The only useful denial of a traditional error is to explain it, to discover the truth it distorts, and restore that truth in more than pristine beauty. Men may meet denial with denial; but they will not readily smite the face of Truth, if her beauty appear and her voice be low. In the course of my ministry here, which began when I was still young, I have not always observed these principles: they have grown out of my experience, they have been taught me by my faults and failures and by my little successes; and I give them to you with all good hope, with my grateful love, and with my farewell.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHY NOT SUPPORT GEN. BUTLER?

Editors of The Index:—

When, after Cleveland's nomination, *The Index* noticed him by saying he was a fit representative of the better elements in his party (or words to that effect), it was only the consciousness of my inability to express properly my thoughts that kept me from writing. Now, when my favorite paper comes out, and in truthful and fitting words tells us how utterly unworthy two of the candidates are, I am compelled to write, whether you print what I write or not. I like *The Index*, its aims and objects, the fairness with which it usually treats questions, and the ability of its writers.

As far as doing a work toward enlightening the mind and uplifting religious thought, I heartily agree with your method. But your treatment of political questions seems to me decidedly unpractical. You

admit the lack of principle in both platforms, but you ignore the fact that there is quite a large third party that claims the attention of the public.

I have often wondered why the fair *Index* was so unfair as it seemed to me against Benjamin F. Butler, while he was Governor of your State. I used to think that you knew more about him than I did. Since he is placed as the most prominent exponent of principles which are dear to me, principles which must be adopted if the nation shall not become one of beggars and millionaires, I have tried to find out all I could in regard to his past life and character. I have read his speeches, and lately saw him and heard him speak. I don't believe Butler is a demi-god. I think there are men with broader and nobler views of life. He shows the lawyer too much. This miserable idea of lawyers, that it is their duty to win any case, leaves its evil effects upon them all, especially if they are able and successful. Butler goes too far for the sake of making a point.

But, to me, the question is, "Shall I sit idle, complaining because no party, no candidate, suits my ideas exactly, or take off my coat and do what I can to lift some party a little higher?" When it comes down to the practical work of voting and influencing voters, work with that party which comes nearest to what I deem right. From what I can learn of Butler and the other candidates, he seems to me by far the best man as regards principles. I think he represents a party of principles and convictions; and I cannot understand why Eastern reformers, after admitting that the other platforms and candidates are unworthy of support, don't support Gen. Butler.

M. SENN.

LEONARDVILLE, KAN.

[In the paragraph to which our correspondent refers, reference was made to the services of Mr. Cleveland as Governor of the State of New York, which services certainly did secure him through the influence of the best elements of his own party, and an influential reform element outside of his party, the nomination for the presidency. Nothing, so far as we know, had been published respecting his private life. We agree with Mr. Senn that Gen. Butler is not a demi-god; but in the East there are many who know him well, and regard him as a demagogue. A millionaire whose vast wealth is largely the accumulation of profits on the labor of men and women in his mills and quarries, he poses before the workingmen of the country as their especial champion in resisting the encroachments of capitalists whom he denounces. Without piety, he pandered, while Governor of this State, to the orthodox element as no other Governor of Massachusetts ever had. A defender of slavery when, in the North, a man's position on this subject was a test of his discernment and moral principle and sensibility, he now talks about his sympathy with the poor and the oppressed, and his always contending for liberty, equality, and justice. Smart he undoubtedly is; but he lacks steadfast devotion to principle and moral stability, as well as mental balance, dignity of character, and other qualities very important in a public man.—B. F. U.]

AGNOSTIC CREEDS.

Editors of The Index:—

I write a few words to correct a grave misapprehension, which is quite current, even in high places. It is often asserted that persons who do not know can have no creed, positive or otherwise. Now, this is an error which should not pass unchallenged. In a very able and interesting essay which appeared in *The Index* last year, entitled "The Creeds of Agnosticism," the different beliefs formulated by agnostics were there handled in a most trenchant and destructive manner. But it was objected that the writer of that article has made a mistake in speaking of "creeds" of persons who neither assert nor deny.

These remarks have come to mind on account of the recent controversy between Mr. Harrison and Herbert Spencer, in which this very point not only was not questioned, but assumed on all sides. It was taken for granted by both that persons who do not know, so to speak, do hold some well-defined and distinct creeds. Mr. Harrison asked, "Has then the agnostic a positive creed?" and answered in the affirmative. He spoke in other places of the creeds of agnosticism being formulated by Mr. Spencer anew. It may be that the "don't know" of the modern agnostic hall can be set against the ancient in-

scription over the Greek temple,—“Know Thyself.” Indeed, it is difficult to see how any one can maintain that agnosticism has not its creeds like other “isms,” although its followers may neither assert nor deny.

A. H. B.

BOOK NOTICES.

REFORMS: Their Difficulties and Possibilities. By the author of *Conflict in Nature and Life*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price \$1.00.

This book is supplementary to the larger work mentioned above, published last year, which was an elucidation of the principle that all phenomena are the result of antagonistic forces, and in which he shows that the underlying principle which causes all evolution is not the “persistence of force,” but the “opposition of forces,” which, by their reciprocal interaction and perpetual balances, develop all formations and evolve all life. The following extract from the Introduction to the present work will give the reader an idea of the stand-point from which the author discusses a great variety of questions relating to life and society: “The system of nature is a balance of antagonistic forces. This relation of the forces is a restful equilibrium, but a fluctuating and compensating one, like that of the wave-rocked sea. It is an equilibrium of action and reaction which, in their complicated forms, become great cycles of movement, co-extensive with the entire field of nature and history.” Tracing this principle, which plays so conspicuous a part in all physical and chemical phenomena, and also in physiology, biology, and the evolution of species, the same forms of antagonism are found to pass over into the sphere of mind. “At the bottom of the mental scale there is reflex action, and at the top mental action is conception of properties by contrast,—one feeling antagonizes another. The mind is itself a system of balances, often fluctuating from one extreme to another; and the will is forever the theatre of emotional conflict. And all this antagonism is not incidental and transitory, as usually supposed, but fundamental and ineradicable. . . . Now, if this antagonism prevails in nature and is woven into the constitution of man, we should infer that the society which man forms would embody antagonistic elements in manifold forms of combination and interrelation. We should further infer that every attempt to act on human nature and society should take an account of this ineradicable antagonism in the constitution of things; and the prevailing form in which this antagonism appears in life is in the essential coupling of an evil with a good, of a general evil with every general good. Now, in consequence of this co-operative action of antagonistic forces, there is no such thing as perfection; and any attempt to bring about perfect results will fail. All that can be done is to effect the greatest possible good with the least possible evil. But reformers usually go to work in defiance of this principle. They have panaceas for every moral disease in the world, and are bound that every wrong shall be righted and every evil exterminated, not seeing that, while they gain on one side, they are almost sure to lose on the other.”

This offers one of the most original and profound solutions of the great problems of life, mind, and society that has been attempted; and, in its discussion, the author, in his two books, has embodied a vast amount of thought and erudition as the result of wide and close study. In part first of the supplement, the author makes an application of his principle to the labor question, discussing the relation between labor and capital through various ramifications, and considers the question of monopoly and the various schemes for industrial reform. Part second deals with financial questions, including currency, protection, and monopoly, taxation, business and political centralization, and financial remedies, and the consideration of a people's platform. Part third is devoted to miscellaneous reforms, treating of questions of practical every-day economies; some phases of education, including the education of women; the woman and divorce questions; the temperance question, and various theological, criminal, and political reforms; and finally considers the various issues of the near future. If this principle of the reciprocal action of counter-tending forces, which the author applies to so wide a range of matters of the highest interest, is the true one, its importance in their discussion cannot be overestimated; but there is always room for diverse interpretations when a

principle so broad and universal in its sweep is applied to particular cases of its infinitely complex ramifications.

THE October *Century* closes the twenty-eighth volume of this magazine. Henry Bacon, of the art colony in Paris, writes interestingly of Rosa Bonheur, whose portrait is engraved, together with several views of her studio and dwelling and one of her well-known paintings. Brander Matthews writes a literary criticism of Austin Dobson, whose portrait, after a monochrome by Frederick Watts, is the frontispiece of the number. The other illustrated papers are Dr. Eggleston's article on “Social Conditions in the Colonies”; Prof. Langley's second paper in his series on “The New Astronomy” describes in a popular way “The Surroundings of the Sun,” the text being supplemented with nineteen drawings and diagrams; W. J. Stillman concludes the account of his journey “On the Track of Ulysses.” The fiction of the number embraces a story, “Braxton's New Art,” by William Henry Bishop; and “The Price I paid for a Set of Ruskin,” by Grace Denio Litchfield. In addition are the closing parts of Cable's “Dr. Sevier,” and of Boysen's novelette, “A Problematic Character.” “The Cœur d'Alène Stampede” is a graphic account by Eugene V. Smalley of the growth and decline of the recent mining craze. Washington Gladden contributes a paper to show that the increase of wealth in the world is due to the progress of Christianity, and suggesting means for its employment. The department of “Open Letters” contains, among others, brief papers on “Is Arctic Exploration Worth its Cost?” by Prof. J. E. Nourse; and “The Bombardment of Alexandria,” by Stone Pasha and the Commander of the United States steamship “Galena.” In “Topics of the Time” are editorials on “Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,” “Tips and their Takers,” and “The Danger of Delaying Reforms”; and in “Bric-a-Brac” are aphorisms by Uncle Essek, humorous and society verse, etc.

In the October *Atlantic*, Dr. Weir Mitchell continues his excellent story, “In War Time”; Francis Parkman writes of the “Battle of Lake George”; Elizabeth Robins Pennell discusses the “Relation of Fairies to Religion”; Louise Imogen Guiney praises Leigh Hunt, whom she styles “An English Literary Cousin”; Bradford Torrey describes various “Minor Songsters”; George Houghton has an article entitled “Washington and his Companions viewed Face to Face”; J. Howard Corby furnishes the short story of the number, “Buckshot: A Record.” The classical article of the number is by William Shields Liscomb, on “The Migrations of the Gods”; Margaret Bertha Wright gives an account of a French “Bourgeois Family”; Charles Forster Smith writes of “Southern Colleges and Schools”; Edith M. Thomas contributes a charming short article on “The Solitary Bee”; an anonymous writer, one who wields a practised pen, writes a second article on “The Lakes of Upper Italy.” There are poems by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Celia Thaxter, and Augustus M. Lord.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for August opens with a minute account of the laws just passed in Belgium, providing that religion be henceforth taught in the public schools wherever directed by the majority of the district or commune; that instruction in drawing, singing, and the elements of science cease to form a part of the course; that, in place of the public schools as thus modified, any district may carry on private ones, of course under direction of the priests; and that institutions of this latter sort may be maintained at public cost, against the vote of the majority of the district, if they are asked for by twenty fathers of families. This magazine also contains such a description of the diplomatic relations of Belgium with the Vatican, during this century, as shows the Church of Rome to have had much less tact than is usually supposed.

JEAN ROBIE is unquestionably one of the foremost living flower painters. His pictures excel in their fidelity to nature, the warmth and richness of their coloring, and his subtle rendering of the spirit of the flower. His roses are unrivalled. Like every artist of genius, Robie has been very unwilling to permit the publication of copies of his most cherished works. It is a matter for just congratulation to Americans that he has at last accorded this privilege to one of the most famous art publishers. Mr. Louis Prang

has undertaken to reproduce one of the artist's masterpieces as a satin print. The picture selected is of medium size, and includes roses of various kinds, intermixed with spiræa, and arranged in a deep blue vase, which contrasts charmingly with a crystal bowl in the foreground which reflects, as it seems, every ray of light. The copy is absolutely faithful to the original, and is the most ambitious publication of the kind ever attempted.

THE POET.

For The Index.

Child of Passion and of Pain,
Sounding all the scale of being;
Golden link in Nature's chain,
'Twixt the finite and All-seeing.

Hermes-footed, Argus-eyed,
Warden of Elysian portals;
He to whom the gods confide
Their most precious gifts to mortals.

Sibyl of the mystic book
Syllabled with leaf and flower,
Sounding sea and purling brook,
Star and system, wind and shower.

Dreamer of the dreams that make
Unborn men's philosophies,
Oracle whose word can shake
Kingdoms to far centuries.

Lord of laughter and of tears,
Owner of all lands in fee
By a title that inheres
In his greater gift to see.

Weird enchanter, at whose spell
E'en the dullest ear o'erhears
Strains that ever earthward swell
From the music of the spheres.

Alchemist, within whose brain,
Earth and sea and sky anew
Are transformed and take again
All their pristine virgin hue.

Almoner to what he will—
Flower or field or bird or tree,
Mountain stream or meadow rill—
Of his immortality.

Hebe's gift is his to dower
With perennial grace and youth,
And he shares alone the power,
To stay the hand of change, with Truth.

Hum of bee or song of bird,
Winter's blast or breath of May,
He can capture at a word,
And imprison in his lay.

Where he goes the heavens bend,
Letting all their secrets through;
And the Graces him attend
In a glorious retinue.

Wealth more precious to a land
Are his sayings, manifold,
Than the silks of Samarcand
Or the Indies' mines of gold.

Working up through cycles wide,
Nature finds in him her goal;
All her forces glorified
Come to flower in his soul!

WALTER R. THOMAS.

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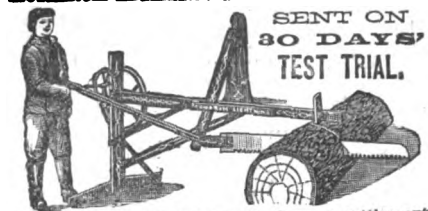
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

It is stated that Miss Kate Field has obtained a complete copy of the first edition of the Book of Mormon, published at Palmyra, N.Y., in 1830. On the title-page, Joseph Smith is announced as "author and proprietor of the book,"—an announcement omitted in all the later editions of this "word of God."

A PROTESTANT Sunday-school superintendent in Davenport, Ia., having been recently censured for bringing his scholars in a body to pray in a Catholic church, defended himself by saying that there was no Protestant church open in that city on Sunday, the preachers being all on vacation; and that the Catholic church was the only place to which he could conveniently take the children to say their prayers.

In the death of Hans Makart, which occurred on the 3d inst., the world has lost one of its most famous painters and one of the most successful artists of modern times. His picture of "Venice doing Homage to Catharine Comaro" was exhibited at the American Centennial, and was bought by the German government for the museum at Berlin. The best known and good judges say the greatest of his pictures is the "Entry of Charles V. into Antwerp."

ACCORDING to the *Christian Register*, the recent Unitarian Conference at Saratoga was "the best Conference of this body that has ever been held." The attendance was large, the spirit harmonious, and the action marked by unanimity. The harmony and unanimity were secured, it is needless to say, by avoiding all the issues and questions on which the members are divided, and giving consideration to the work of building Unitarian churches and extending the Unitarian faith. No action was taken and no discussion occurred in regard to that portion of the preamble to the Constitution which is offensive to non-Christian Unitarians, like Revs. M. J. Savage, Rowland Connor, J. H. Clifford, and many others we might mention, and which is inconsistent with claims that are made as to the breadth and liberality of the Association. There is no peace worth having which is not based upon justice and right; and that kind of peace, whether it be in the Unitarian Association or in the National Liberal League, is worth fighting for.

THE festival of the Free Religious Association, held in Parker Fraternity Hall Wednesday evening, October 1, was a decided success. Notwithstanding numerous other attractions in the city that evening, the attendance was large, the hall being well filled. Many persons of distinction—thinkers, authors, and reformers—were present, among whom were Dr. W. T. Harris, Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, and Miss Elizabeth Peabody. A pleasant, off-hand address by Miss Mary F. Eastman was followed by several brief speeches from Mr. W. J. Potter who presided, Mr. F. A. Hinckley, and Mr. J. K. Applebee. The attendance being much larger than was expected, the supply of substantial food was rather scanty; but there was abundance of coffee, tea, and ice-cream. The evening was extremely warm; but the party seemed to be in the best of spirits, and the occasion was one of real social enjoyment. The music furnished by the choir of Parker Fraternity was a feature of the evening. To the efforts of Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, of the Boston Ethical Society, was the success of the festival largely due.

Does the *Investigator* think that the support of those who have stood aloof from the National Liberal League because of its resolutions and action regarding certain postal laws is now to be secured by praising "The Nine Demands of Liberalism" as a "bond of union," and ignoring the fact that the position of the League, in the respect alluded to, remains unchanged? The former leaders of the League saw that the repeal agitation had kept from the organization the great mass of Liberals, and they proposed a reorganization on the basis of 1876. But the change proposed was not effected at Cassadaga; and the League, by its unrescinded resolutions, adopted and reaffirmed at previous conventions, is still pledged to the repeal policy. If this policy is right, let the *Investigator* defend it, as it has defended it in the past; but the method of avoiding all reference to that,—which is, with the majority of Liberals, an insuperable objection to joining the League,—and, assuming that all reasons for withholding support are now removed, is neither courageous nor fair. Besides, the suppression of the truth in regard to a public movement is a very short-sighted policy.

MR. JOHN S. VERITY, whose name appears often in reports of the Paine Hall liberal meetings, and who for a year or two was one of Mr. Chainey's supporters, says in a recent number of the *Investigator*: "We have now had no less than three ex-ministers, the last two, Mr. Holmes and Mr. Chainey, apparently not more than half-converted; for they both have gone back to dreaming about spirits and their old spirit-land. I can assure you that I am getting tired of helping to hire and support these young converts without satisfactory evidence that they are sound on the main question. It seems that we ought to accept them 'on probation,' and let them take back seats for a while in the future." But Mr. Chainey's views are probably quite as consistent and sound now as they were when, two or three years ago, Sunday

after Sunday he presented in the name of Liberalism the wildest and crudest sort of thought, in the most dogmatic spirit, with charity neither for those whose creeds he professed to have outgrown, nor for those who, with a philosophy he could not comprehend, declined to recognize his loose declamation as an exposition of genuine liberal thought. Let those who put Mr. Chainey forward as an exponent of Liberalism, and who find reason to criticise his utterances now, consider whether they are not quite as reasonable as were his violent harangues of two or three years ago.

THE *Religio-Philosophical Journal* urges the formation in this country of a Psychological Research Society similar to the one in England, for the investigation of phenomena of a mental character believed by many to be explicable only upon the theory that intelligences, once inhabitants of the earth, but now inhabitants of an invisible spiritual realm, manifest themselves under favorable conditions to mundane beings. We should be pleased to see such an organization effected for the thorough study of psychology in general, and for the close, honest, and impartial examination of alleged "spiritual manifestations" in particular. Every week, in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, *Banner of Light*, the *Olive Branch*, *Spiritual Offering*, and other spiritualistic papers, may be seen accounts of phenomena which, if genuine, are of profound scientific interest and of vast philosophic import. Investigations extended through a quarter of a century in many cities of the United States have convinced us that a very large proportion of the so-called spiritual manifestations deserve to be characterized as imposture and fraud. That some of the performances which the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* defends, and honestly we believe, as veritable spiritual manifestations, do not belong to this class, we are by no means satisfied. But we should be glad to unite with the editor of the *Journal* and all other honest Spiritualists in bringing the least questioned and the least doubtful phenomena alleged to be spiritual to the test of a rigid scrutiny, with a view to ascertaining the exact value of claims that are boldly made as to matters of fact, and the legitimacy of the conclusions which are by many intelligent and honest minds drawn from these alleged facts. A Psychological Society, if composed of men of acknowledged intelligence and character, might do something to discredit the claims of a host of heartless rascals who now impose upon and systematically swindle the ignorant, the credulous, and the sick by pretending to possess wonderful gifts or to be in direct communication with the spirit world. But the hope of diminishing the business of these charlatans to any considerable extent is in the growth of intelligence and the prevalence of the spirit and the methods of science. The chief value of the Psychological Research Society in this country would consist in collecting facts, assisting intelligent men and women to distinguish between genuine and spurious claims, and enabling them to arrive at just conclusions in regard to questions of a psychical character.

THE UNITARIANS AND WADE COLLEGE.

At their recent National Conference at Saratoga, the Unitarians decided not to attempt to complete Mr. Wade's proposition for the establishment of the proposed new college at Cleveland. The council and the special committee to whom the matter had been referred at the previous Conference reported that, though the college was needed and the plan of it a very noble one, yet the very breadth of the scheme put obstacles in the way of its being successfully carried out by the Unitarians as a denomination. After giving some sketch of the plan, the report, written by Rev. E. E. Hale, says: "But practical difficulties presented themselves at every step, resulting from the double use of language in regard to the Unitarian Church and its purposes. If a gentleman accepted a professorship in Wade College, was the world to understand that he had joined the unpopular little Unitarian communion? If a Catholic clergyman lectured at Wade College, was he to incur the suspicion of heresy? If a Hebrew philanthropist wished to endow a professorship, why should he intrust his funds to a board named by this body? The difficulties suggested by a thousand such questions proved so great that, at the advice of gentlemen most interested in the project, the special committee and the council eventually determined, with very great reluctance, not to press it under the auspices of this Conference."

The report, however, went on to express the interest which Unitarians as individuals would feel in the project, and to promise the readiness of many of them to give it financial assistance, and added the hope that Mr. Wade, now that his scheme should be no longer entangled with the inconveniences attached to any sectarian name, would go forward to establish the institution according to his own generous ideas, calling to his aid without regard to denominational lines those persons who might best further his object.

Resolutions were introduced in accordance with this report of the council and committee, and were unanimously adopted. This, of course, settles the question so far as the Unitarians are concerned. As a body, or denomination, they decline to take the responsibility of the college upon their shoulders. And this, perhaps, is a wise decision. It is certainly wise, if the breadth and usefulness of the college were going to be in any way hampered by the sectarian aspects of Unitarianism. But we cannot help feeling that, if the Unitarian plan of the school had not made the mixing of different theologies so prominent a feature in it, but had placed the special emphasis on sociology, ethics, and the *philosophy* of religion, the "practical difficulties" to which the report refers might not have been so great. Did not the difficulties to which the committee have succumbed arise, to a considerable extent, from the fact that they had not got far enough away from the old idea of a theological seminary? A theological seminary under the care of any sect, however liberal, might well be under suspicion. But a school for advanced learning in religious philosophy, ethics, and sociology, if manned with the best professors and lecturers to be found for these several departments and their branches, regardless of theological beliefs, would have been a powerful instrumentality in breaking down sectarian walls and claims, and in lifting Unitarianism itself consistently toward its profession to be an unsectarian movement. Now, it seems to have let slip a grand opportunity to assert by act its own continental breadth of aim, and sits down too content with being only a provincial sect in the religious world.

But we trust this is not the end of Mr. Wade's generous hopes and plans. The project now reverts to the mind of him who conceived it, and who has, we believe, a deep desire to see it become a reality. Surely, he cannot fail to find some way for realizing his magnificent dream. The need of such a college as that which he has had in mind has been of late newly shown by the excitement produced in the Presbyterian denomination, because one of the professors, Dr. Woodrow, in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, S.C., was discovered to have been teaching the scientific doctrine of evolution in his class-room. The extent of Dr. Woodrow's offending appears to be simply this: he claims that the Bible does not profess to teach scientific theories, and "does not contradict the theory of evolution as regards plants and animals, and *perhaps* not as to man's animal nature." This would not seem to be a very pronounced heretical position, yet it has thrown Southern Presbyterianism into the greatest consternation. The directors of the seminary have had a meeting on the subject, and after a session of two days were able to effect a compromise by passing the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Board is not prepared to concur in the view expressed by Dr. Woodrow as to the probable method of the creation of Adam's body; yet, in the judgment of the Board, there is nothing in the doctrine of evolution, as defined and limited by him, which appears inconsistent with perfect soundness in faith.

But a minority of the directors, three in number, could not allow this mild compromise to pass without a protest; and they accordingly put themselves on record in this curious theological statement:—

Evolution is an unproved hypothesis, and the Seminary is not a place for such teaching. The theory that Adam's body was formed by the natural law of evolution, while Eve's was created by a supernatural act of God, is contrary to our Confession of Faith. The advocacy of views which have received neither the indorsement of the Board nor that of the Synods having control of the Seminary, which have not been established by science, which have no authority from the Word of God, which tend to unsettle the received interpretation of many passages of Scripture, and to destroy the confidence of the Church in her doctrinal standards, which have already produced so much evil, which will injure the Seminary and may rend our Church, ought not to be allowed.

Nor does the matter stop here. It now must go to the four synods of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, which have charge of the seminary, and perhaps to the General Assembly of the whole denomination, before a final decision is reached. And, meantime, Presbyterian theological students must remain in a state of harassing uncertainty as to whether Adam and Eve were created by the same or a different process! The need of a school in which preachers should be trained in accordance with nineteenth century ideas could not be more forcibly illustrated than by this discussion over the fossil theology that is still taught as essential truth in nearly all theological seminaries.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PERPETUITY OF LIFE.

I.

In the eventful course of the dispute between the so-called religious and scientific parties, regarding the ultimate nature and origin of the principle of life, two theories are presented for our consideration. One of these, advancing with the trumpet-blast of pretended divine authority, claims to give an authentic account of a miraculous creation of all that breathes within the universe, through the fiat of an almighty and infinite power: the other,

more modest, by faithful experiment and logical speculation attempts to establish a tracing of the rising path upon which the dead matter of the inorganic world is supposed to have ascended, and perhaps still to ascend, to the ranks of living organizations. And nothing seems more positive to the sincere champions of these two theories than that the one view to which they adhere must eventually obtain universal undisputed acceptance. That another, third, explanation is possible appears but rarely to enter the philosophic mind. And yet we may well venture to ask, Whence and where arises this logical necessity of organic life having originated at all? Why should we be compelled to hold to, and seek for, its *first birth*? Why may we not with equal reason assume the organic world to have constituted the ultimate and primeval form of all existence, from which the inorganic descended by a *first originating death*? Or why should not both these forms have been and be eternal?

The proposition of the perpetuity of life might have been before this advanced to a careful consideration, had it not been evident that the earth we now inhabit has even until cosmogenetically recent times been subject to climatic conditions which appear incontrovertibly to negate the existence of organized beings. For epochs, the duration of which is scarcely imaginable, this globe of ours must have

Round the sun's celestial glory,
Off his ether-beaten coast,
Traced in light self-glowing story
'Mong a flaming planet-host!

And, surely, the physical conditions of such a planetary system must have excluded all traces of the life with which we are now acquainted. Earlier still, and for even vaster periods, an enormous nebulous mass is believed to have occupied the earth's orbit, or in undivided union with the sun represented its substance, a rotating immensity of vapor, in the midst of which

"In vain the foot might seek for restful ground,
The ear in vain await the footfall's sound!"

And to suppose that such conditions could have supported any form of life appears a manifest absurdity. And yet is this absurdity so manifest? Upon superficial consideration, yes, after a careful and searching examination into the range of possibilities, *No!*

The total range of variation in the conditions which environ terrestrial life is a narrow one. And, as the continuity of organic races undoubtedly depends upon their capability of adapting themselves to the vicissitudes of their environment, it is plainly evident that any exceptionally excessive change must be fraught with the greatest danger to organic existence.

But to illustrate this range in detail. The extremes of natural atmospheric pressure to which human life is at any one place subjected are marked by that experienced on the Andean tablelands of Quito (about one-half atmosphere, or fifteen inches barometric scale) and that to which the Arab camping on the Dead Sea shores is exposed (over one atmosphere: I cannot give the exact figures). The ultimate temperatures which have been observed on the earth's surface are said to be about seventy-five degrees below and one hundred and twenty degrees above zero. As to the range of light effects, they are subject to the limitations on the one side by the deep night of caves, on the other by the blinding glare of the sun's unveiled noon-day face. Acoustic experiences are limited below by the still death of polar nights, above by the near crash of thunder and volcanic explosions. Electrical conditions range between the delightful peace of a calm spring day

and the swift destruction of the lightning. Magnetic variations affect us but slightly: only the scientist marks the upper limit by bending with wrapt attention over the restless needle. Finally, in the range of action of mechanical forces, we may drowsily watch the motes dancing in the summer sunbeam: the upper extremity of their intensity was written across the earth's brow in the late convulsive terrors of Java.

Chemically considered, the life of all organic forms may be defined as a process of combustion necessitating a more or less continuous essay at the assimilation of foods, the material by which this process is sustained, and a corresponding excretion of wastes. For the undomesticated citizens of the animal and vegetal worlds, the range of tentative foods is limited to their natural occurrence. For civilized man and his organic dependents, it is co-extensive with that of the substances known to chemistry. Only a comparatively small number of these can, however, be without difficulty assimilated: a vast majority are either absolutely undigestible, or so active as to make the mere attempt at their assimilation dangerous or even fatal.

As well known, the animal organism is not able to assimilate any but a very few of the unprepared inorganic forms of natural matter, and is therefore constitutionally compelled daily to purchase its own existence at the price of destructive attacks upon the life of other organizations. Most plants can live on inorganic food alone; yet the instances of specific vegetal parasitism, not only on other plants, but even on animals, are numerous, not to forget those remarkable cases of animal-eating plants now so well established. Murder thus everywhere attends upon the track of life, and the contact of living forms is fraught with manifold dangers.

The extremes of all terrestrial environing conditions are localized in place, or at least in time, generally in both.

The above-mentioned extremes of atmospheric pressure are nowhere found occurring at the same point of the earth's surface. The temperature of seventy-five degrees below zero is only claimed for the rigors of an arctic winter; the fierce heat of one hundred degrees above, only for the summers of arid deserts and the inland regions of tropical continents. Never do the extremes of temperature at any one place occur near together in time. Not in the same day nor the same season nor yet in any one year. The gloom of the darkest night is never immediately succeeded by the glare of the brightest day. Thunder-storms are scarcely known in some localities of the earth's surface, in others they are extremely frequent. The forked lightning does not strike from an unelectrified atmosphere. Large portions of the globe are never affected by earthquakes worth mentioning; and, even in volcanic countries, the more violent disturbances are of rare occurrence, and usually preceded by minor alarms.

The dangers to life arising from indiscriminate assimilative attempts upon unselected material have been referred to. The plant is much less liable to evil effects from this source than the animal. Nor is the organism of the latter at all times and in every locality exposed to the entire range of the vicissitudes of doubtful assimilation. The composition of the atmosphere at any one place varies but little in the course of even lengthy periods. The constitution of the water obtained from any one source is almost constant. And not only by this fact, but also by the development of its senses and instinct, the animal is protected against the evil consequences resulting from a misselection of food.

The special dangers arising from the contact of organic forms are likewise much localized in place and time. The musk-ox of Greenland is not compelled to defend his life against the attacks of the tiger, nor is the scanty summer vegetation of his home cropped by the antelope. The pleasant country homes of New England are not now infested by the labyrinthodon, nor are the bathers of Swampscott in our day at all likely to be snapped up by a stray ichthyosaurus.

Taking all this into simultaneous consideration, it becomes evident that, if we would arrive at correct conclusions in regard to this problem of the perpetuity of life, it is not so much to the higher or lower extremes of environing conditions, nor even yet to the gulf between these, but rather to the extent of the earth's surface which is at any one time affected, and to the length of the periods within which they are likely alternately to appear or prevail, to which we must look for a solution.

There can be no doubt that all geographically extensive and very sudden changes of such extremity as to much exceed the range to which any organism has been accustomed to accommodate itself within like periods of time must be very dangerous, if not fatal, to it.

To begin with the effects of sudden changes in atmospheric pressures. The evil consequences of too rapid ascents of very high mountains are well known. A great increase in the number of respirations and pulse-beats, fainting fits, and bleeding from capillaries, has been observed. In the cases where artificially increased pressures had to be borne, still more serious consequences have resulted, extending to the manifestation of the pathological novelty of the "caisson disease," and in some instances, I believe, even to the loss of life. What dangers the extremes of arctic winter and tropical summer temperatures entail upon the unacclimatized organism, nearly every one is familiar with. But imagine these conditions suddenly much exceeded or transposed in place, what would be the consequences of such interchange to the inhabitants of those regions? Possibly, absolute extinction. The entire annual range of temperature in the city of New York is between about eighteen degrees below and one hundred degrees above zero. But the transition between these extremes, should they both ever really occur in any one year, is a very gradual one, occupying at least five months in its completion. Even then, the extremes are most dangerous to health and life. What, however, if this transition should eventuate in a much shorter period? What if it could take place in any one month of the year or in any single day; what if it occurred within one hour, minute, or second? The effect upon the organic constitution heretofore unaccustomed to such sudden and extreme changes could hardly fail to be disastrous.

That a general volcanic outburst of great violence, involving the entire surface of our globe, would extinguish the life which now inhabits it, is reasonably sure. A convulsion of our sun proportionate in intensity to that which was lately witnessed in one of the distant stars might even reconvert the entire planetary system into a vast gaseous mass rotating upon its axis.

To pass over matters of minor importance to the consideration of the possible effect produced upon organisms by any very sudden change in the chemical composition of the materials presented for assimilation, this would undoubtedly in many cases prove disastrous. Whether the tentative food were comparatively unassimilable and therefore inductive of starvation, or excessive and unequal in its action upon the different functional systems of the organism and therefore poisonous, death would in both cases result. In the latter case, the ques-

tion—like that of the dangers arising from the action of physical (meteoric) agents—would be mainly one of concentration of quantity in time. The therapist recognizes this fact, and speaks as freely of the "toxic" (poisonous) action of tartaric or citric acid, common constituents of our fruits, as he does of the like action of prussic acid or strychnine. The difference is only in the relative quantities, the introduction of which within a given time will prove deleterious to the life of the organism. Ten grains of morphine gradually administered in daily portions of a quarter of a grain are harmless: the entire quantity given in one dose would be, in most cases, fatal to a human being.

Savage men manage to hold their own against the wild beasts by which they are surrounded, only because the multiplication of the latter does not keep pace with the development of the defensive and offensive powers of the former. A very sudden onset of strong hordes of lions and tigers upon a feeble savage settlement might very readily put an end to its existence.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

GREAT CITIES AND GREAT LITERATURE.

During a late visit to Manahatta, the "city of hurried and sparkling tides," I was led to note down certain reflections which I am now moved to shape into some sort of a literary horoscope. I looked at the frettings and carvings of the new architecture: the iron portcullis on Broad street; the noble sachem faces of the Mutual Life building on Nassau Street; the great terra-cotta ship prows, with ropes and anchors, of the cornice corners of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's Romanesque building; the vast Karnak bridge of the East River; the swift movement upward, sideways, lengthwise, downward (elevators, elevated railways, and ferries), the dashing ambulance wagon, the meteor fire-engine, the weather bulletins, and far-speaking wires. I was shown over the wonderfully luxurious and tasteful rooms of the Century Company in Union Square. So far, so good. Here are the splendid enterprise and the new art instinct that befit such a city by the sea,—the emporium of a continent.

But there were certain *indicia* (straws, tokens) symptomatic of internal derangement. The general rudeness and loud, not to say brazen, tone of street manners; the poor public libraries, with their extreme suspicion of strangers; and, most significant of all, there on the great bridge, in the full stream of passers-by, a group of silly-looking policemen chaffing and bantering with, and being chaffed and bantered by, a triad of abandoned young girls,—women of the town.

With an ungraceful hiatus and a cutting dead of the major premise, I leap to my interrogatory conclusion.

Will the Attic salt of provincial genius thrown in amidst the cockney putrefaction of the modern steam-Babylons—London, Paris, Berlin, New York—suffice to sweeten the civic intellect to the point required for the production of immortal art, the higher literature? If there is any salvation for them, it must of course come from the country. There never was yet in the world a *great* literary genius who was not country-bred, or at least familiar with rural life. A pure cit can no more write immortal books than a cellar-grown potato-vine can make good potatoes or a parlor orange-tree produce good oranges. But the real question is not whether a country-bred genius like Carlyle can wear out a miserable existence in a modern steam-and-brick Babylon, and produce a number of dyspeptic books, but whether the conditions of life in said Babylons are not become such as to forbid the growth of schools of literary activity,

such as those of London two or three hundred years ago, or those of Edinburgh, Paris, and Athens, when those cities as yet partook of the half rural features of country towns, and knew not the nerve-shattering yell of steam and the dun canopy of smoke and soot, not to speak of democratic unrest and dynamite ethics? In other words, from what quarter are we to look for a revival of objective art, the literature of joy, the spontaneous laughter of the genius soul,—a new Aristophanes, Molière, Chaucer, Scott? The air is black with "literature of the prison-house." Of morbid analysis of vice we have a surfeit. Of the dragée and bonbon primer-literature let us see no more, for goodness' sake. In New York, we have a high-finish illustrated literature (admirable surely), and finical drawing-room belles-lettres of the Henry James and Howells type, but no creations like those of the Boston Transcendental School,—Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau. In short, nothing really great and immortal in art, with the exception of the writings of one man, and he famous chiefly abroad.

Remembering that contrasts of character and manners, the lights and shadows furnished by strongly accentuated types and by romantic scenery and traditions, are the materials eagerly seized upon by the creative artist, one would infer that such regions as Mexico and our own Pacific coast would be likely to be the source of great literature in the future. If, too, we may regard the age of steam as likely to be of short duration, and the era of swift electric or other agreeable locomotion by land or air as its successor (with consequent diffusion of urban population over vaster areas of rural landscape), we may then say that the problem of literary production will be easy of solution, so far as regards the necessary external conditions.

In fine, it is pretty clear that the literature of joy will appear simultaneously with the satisfactory settlement of the crucial social questions of the time. The great artist is not a pure optimist like Emerson, nor a pure pessimist like Carlyle, but one like Walter Scott, in whom the elements are so kindly mingled that the productions of his mind are as healthful and joyful as a sky-canopied meadow full of clover and bees,—joyful in the main, yet checkered with tragedy. But such an artist cannot sing or paint or write amid smoke, steam, dirt, atheism, rascality, and universal discontent. Away to the mountains, then, you who feel the creative tingle in your finger-ends. Sweetness and strength come out of the hills and the sea.

W. S. KENNEDY.

OUR PERSONALITY.

II.

I, for one, unhesitatingly believe in your existence outside my mind, and in your power to affect my being in sundry very efficient and momentous ways. In the same manner, I believe, as indeed we are all naturally convinced, that what is so definitely signalized in the different feelings constituting the perception of my hand subsists in truth as an extra-mental existent, forming part of my permanent being and capable of arousing in various specific ways its perceptual realization within my own consciousness and that of others. Quite evidently, that which in the medium of my feelings is signalized, and I in consequence call my hand, does not then and there come into actual being, does not suddenly start into existence just when I or any one else are perceiving it, but abides a steadfast complex of powers, ever ready under certain conditions to make its existence and present state mentally known to us.

Now, it is a further fact, strongly in favor of

extra-mental World-Realism, that within our immediate feeling we are only aware of our actual surface of contact with the outside world, and not of any of the rest of our massive and compound organization. All structural collocations and vital activities below the skin subsist and are sustained by extra-mental powers, normally unfelt and unperceived by us. So entirely is our consciousness representative of our relational life only, of our predetermined intercourse with an outside environment, affecting our sensory surface.

Without touching, seeing, or moving, we feel the external facing of our body; and we know, through specific modulations of this outspread self-feeling, what part of our body it is we are recognizing in a certain place,—that it is, for instance, the left foot and not the right hand which is occupying this or that position, the forefinger and not the thumb we are pointing. This distinctly specified self-feeling constitutes the sensitive medium for our entire perceptual and volitional intercommunication with the rest of the world.

Outside powers possess the efficiency specifically to modify this self-feeling emanating from the sensory surface. You place your hand in mine; and, by a stroke of magic, it is no longer my own hand I am feeling, but yours. Nothing has actually happened to me save a slight specific modification of my own surface-sensibility; yet I am positively aware of the presence of a clearly recognized existent, not forming part of myself. Thus, solely by means of the subtle play of definite sensorial modifications, outside existents stand perceptually revealed to us.

If, in touching your hand, only my feeling of it actually existed, and there were no real hand of yours to verify and to correspond with this feeling, would I not be the dupe of a most wanton delusion? My feeling of your hand! manifestly presupposes the extra-mental existence of your hand, which means that my subjective or individual feeling arises in pre-established harmony with your objective nature, with your nature outside my mind. In this way, our mental states are, indeed, dependent on non-mental nature for verification. All specific modifications of our sensory organs and all compulsory perceptions arising in consequence are thus indicative of a realm of external powers to which they correspond by dint of an organically preconcerted concordance.

Perceptual mind is altogether moulded on the foreign powers which appear to us as the outside world, and has therefore no meaning save in relation to those outside powers. Conceptual mind, in its turn, is significative of those perceptual realizations, and has no value but in reference to them. And—as we are all well aware—the natural and genuine field of exertion for our will, its objects of desire and aversion, lie likewise in the world of foreign existents outside our individual mind. Thus, not only our bodily organization, but our entire mental constitution, is fashioned in correspondence to a complex world external to our own being. It forms, in fact, the conscious realization of the outside influences which are complementary to our unifying and focussing individuality, and the conscious realization also of the manifold influences which this individuality is itself capable of exerting on the other existents. Instead, then, of being—as idealistically surmised—self-sufficient, autonomous persons, we are in verity wholly dependent for our thought and action on definitely organized relations to the rest of the universe.

We have already seen that we recognize immediately only the surface of our body. This subjective feeling we find corroborated by the objective senses, chiefly by sight and touch, which teach us that that which we subjectively feel has, like

other extra-mental existents, an independent reality capable of definitely stimulating our sensory organs. Our corporeal being in its entirety consists, however, of vastly more than is revealed by those surface sensations. Our objective senses discover not only a wondrously specified and attuned sensory surface, but a solid body marvellously organized through and through, and forming part of the world surrounding it.

Anatomical, physiological, and pathological evidence tends to prove that what we call the nervous system of this body is the true seat of consciousness; that, in fact, mental states are in some way a function of our brain. To understand how this can be, we have to recognize that, if, for instance, you were watching my brain while I was experiencing some mental state, this, my mental state, would certainly not be the function or effect of the peculiar perceptual realization within your mind. It is therefore absurd to try to puzzle out how the merely perceptual molecular motion of a merely perceptual brain, within your or any observer's consciousness, can possibly produce the mental state within my consciousness. The utter impossibility of such a causal connection has staggered scientific thinkers ever since the question was raised. They did not fully comprehend that what they were calling a brain and its molecular motion were really only their own perceptual realizations of a non-mental existent and activity, forming part of the veritable subject experiencing the mental states, which were thus occurring in strict correspondence to the functions perceived or conceived by them. The non-mental and, as such, wholly unknowable existent, which compels within your mind the perception of a brain in definite molecular activity, compels at the same time in me, the perceived subject, the entirely different mental state of which I am conscious. My mental state is an immediate effect of the functional activity; your mental state, its roundabout effect, involving foreign media and your own realizing being as effective conditions of your perceptual representation. This is the simple explanation of this hitherto incomprehensible concomitance, connection, or interdependence of mental states with brain motion.

The entity which we perceive as our bodily organization belongs clearly to the permanent world of extra-mental existents, and not to the ever-changing and transitory world of mental phenomena. At first sight, this our permanent being appears to be a self-rounded individuality, having only pre-organized mechanical relations to the outside world. But just as we found the innermost structure of our mind to be an expression of manifold deep-seated connections with the outside world, so also shall we find on close scrutiny our whole organization, in its innermost molecular composition and in all its textural collocations, to be the expression of such specific connections.

Our ectodermic economy, the least vital part of our being, has the office of preparing and elaborating for organic assimilation raw material appropriated from the outside world; a function resting on a complete range of specific chemical relations between the organism and its environment, beginning at the primordial atom and ending in the highest specified protoplasm. Our ectodermic life, emanating from the intimate composition and texture of what perceptually appears to us as our nervous and muscular systems, consists in the realization of the manifold complex fulfilments implied in the individual and generic relations of our being to the rest of the world.

Our body then, not less than our mind, is all through the result of organized interactions between ourselves and a universe of outside existents.

What, indeed, would our personality with all its mental and bodily faculties signify and avail, if there did not subsist a real outside world, ready to unlock its relational potentialities and to actualize them by genuine fulfillments?

The impression still prevails that our bodily organization is pre-eminently and lamentably frail and perishable, and therefore only of secondary importance to our personality. In truth, this very organization is the most substantial and steadily enduring reality in the whole known universe. Not the earth, the sun, and the stars do maintain so faithfully the identity of their infinitely less delicate and complicated form and texture.

Here is a skull ever so many thousand years old, and even experts can hardly detect any distinctive difference between that prehistoric relic and skulls of people living to-day. No one would, however, maintain that the world of thought realized by the possessor of that skull was likewise essentially like the world of thought realized in our own time, the thought of savagery equivalent to the thought of culture. In unbroken sequence, the organized wealth, the bodily and mental adaptations of such prehistoric beings, have been bequeathed to us; and generation after generation has added its mite toward the subtle and intricate additional development which distinguishes our life from theirs, our medium of culture from their medium of savagery, our realizing thought from their realizing thought.

Indeed, this vital organization of ours turns out to be the most marvellous, the strangest possible hyper-material, hyper-mental, hyper-individual kind of reality within existence. Its exhaustively comprehensive potentiality is transmitted with all but unerring precision in the compass of a microscopical gemmule, gradually unfolding beyond all consciousness, under constant change of material, into a complete reproduction of our many-sided organic efficiency. Here, for once, enduring identity or permanent substantiality is not sustained by the indestructibility of the material composing the body, for all such material only transiently subserves the organic purposes of the living and lasting form; nor is our fitful and fragmentary consciousness at all concerned in the never-flagging vital activity, whose toil alone maintains intact the high-wrought possessions of life; nor does the continual stream of perishing individualities sweep away with it the generically acquired and consolidated wealth of organization.

Now just consider a moment whether much of this unaccountably inherited wealth goes really to make us something quite apart from all former life, apart from the actual world into which we are born, apart also from the organic life of the future, of whose kindling spark we are the natural bearer.

To understand our true mission and veritable import in the sphere to which we belong, we need only once fully realize that our seemingly independent personality is in truth the present embodiment of all the laboriously secured acquisitions of an endless train of previous vital exertion.

Who knows of a more transcendent and all-comprising trust than the one thus confided to the care of those who are now actually carrying on the sacred and mystic rites of life?

Yea, full of ineffable awe is our moment of actual existence, uplifted from the dark, unfathomable abyss of sunken ages into the intense glow of sentient life, sustained and hallowed there by the perpetual powers that within the glory of an everlasting Now are progressively fulfilling the inscrutable destiny of creation.

EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

HEMPSTEAD, TEX.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE subject of the tenth volume in the "Famous Women Series" will be Mary Wollstonecraft. The author will be Mrs. Elizabeth Robins Pennell.

OSGOOD & Co. will soon publish a volume called *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, which has been compiled from the papers read before the Concord School of Philosophy last summer.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, among others, writes, expressing great interest in the experience of Mr. Moncure D. Conway and admiration of his "Apologia," printed in *The Index* of last week.

GEORGE BANCROFT, the historian, celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday anniversary at Newport last Friday. From England, Germany, France, and other countries came congratulations, many of them by cable.

REFERRING to the festival of the Free Religious Association in this city last week, the Boston *Evening Traveller* says: "The Parker Fraternity Hall was beautiful in its decorations of flowers and greenery, and the busts of Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and other great men looked down upon the gathering. It was a brilliant and distinguished company that assembled there."

A VERMONT subscriber writes: "I suppose I ought to join your Free Religious Association; that is, if joining will amount to anything in my isolated condition. I belonged to a fire company once, and made a very good member. I can think of no better recommendation which might not be disputed." The Free Religious Association appreciates the importance of extinguishing fires, and has contributed somewhat to this important and useful work.

JEAN ROBIE, the Belgian flower painter, writes as easily as he paints, judging from portions of his travels in Ceylon and British India which have been published in the *Indépendance Belge*. As a colorist, he is exceedingly able; and his flower-pieces have an enduring charm. They are not easily reproduced, so subtly are they rendered; but quite a successful effort has been made to reproduce one of his latest works by color printing on satin, which, as a publication, is unique and suitable either for an easel picture, panel decoration, or for framing.

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD informs us that he will lecture only in New England during the coming season. He will repeat the courses upon "America in the American Poets," "The Pilgrim Fathers," and "Emerson," which he delivered last winter in the West, and will give the following single lectures: "Carlyle and Emerson"; "Emerson the American"; "Whittier's Poetry of America"; "Lowell's Poetry of America"; "Puritanism"; "New England in England"; "Our Debt to Holland"; "The British Parliament"; "Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, or the Gospel of Toleration." His address is 73 Pinckney Street, Boston.

"SINCE," observes the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, "the new order of things has produced such a radical change from the old that purse-proud ignoramus count it infamy if their daughters marry a man instead of a money-bag or an addle-pate, it may be as well that the shifting toward a social balance should take the form of a passion for coachmen and butchers. It strikes the extreme in a way that will make the medium acceptable. Sensible girls want men rather than fops; and, since they are denied the society of admirable young men in the middle and honored walks of life, it is not unnatural that they should turn kindly toward the only real men it is their fortune to know, the family servants. Better a coachman than a dude any

day; for they will, in the majority of cases, make better husbands and fathers."

AT the meeting of the Parker Memorial Science Class, held Sunday, October 5, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Whereas intelligence has been received that Miss M. A. Hardaker died at Canton, N.Y., Sept. 9, 1884, therefore,—

Resolved, That the Parker Memorial Science Class has learned with profound sorrow of this sad event, which deprives it of a gifted and accomplished member to whom it is largely indebted for the work it has achieved.

Resolved, That in the death of Miss Hardaker we recognize the loss of a woman of rare intellectual powers and varied attainments, of great moral courage and frankness of speech, of a self-reliant, independent spirit, a kindly nature, and a genial and cheerful disposition, and of a member who, although her life to all earthly vision has gone out, has left with us the fragrance of a memory and an influence that remind us perpetually of her devotion to truth, and inspire us to emulate her interest and zeal in promoting the objects of this Class.

Resolved, That the next meeting of the Class, Sunday, October 12, be a memorial meeting with reference to the life and death of the deceased, and that members be invited to speak in *memoriam* on that occasion.

THE *Truth-Seeker* says: "In making comments upon the proceedings of the National Liberal League, the editor of *The Index* makes a point that only forty-eight delegates presented credentials, and leaves the reader to infer that the Congress was very small." It further states that some delegates came late, of whose attendance the secretary made no record, and that the call was so broad that "many not delegates were present and lent their influence to the organization." What we stated in regard to the number of delegates present was stated on the authority of the *Truth-Seeker*. We did not say "only forty-eight delegates presented credentials," but, "According to the report we find printed in the *Truth-Seeker* there were present at the Congress forty-eight authorized delegates, several of whom were proxies." Since the secretary failed to keep a list of the additional delegates, and the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* who was present made no mention of them, it will be seen that the implied charge of unfairness against *The Index* is groundless. The fact is that in *The Index* was printed the fairest, fullest, and best account of the proceedings of the Congress that has yet appeared, as we can prove by the testimony of the most prominent members of the League who were present. Our report stated that the attendance was about three hundred. The *Truth-Seeker's* statement, above quoted, is in keeping with the dishonest suppression in its report of a portion of the proceedings, in order to gain the adherence of those who have stood aloof from the League on account of its repeal policy. It was well understood at the Congress that the *Truth-Seeker* would become the virtual organ of the League; and its editor, doubtless with the concurrence and advice of the new leaders, decided to suppress all that was said and done, showing that the League adhered to its position in regard to postal laws against obscenity,—a position which makes it still impossible for those who do not sympathize with the repeal folly, however strongly devoted to State secularization, to become members without stultifying themselves. The hostility manifested during the proceedings to every Liberal who had persistently opposed the policy of repeal was most bitter, and if, as private letters inform us and as we believe, "the better element was in favor of carrying out the programme which had been announced," still the programme was not carried out; and the action of the Congress was largely influenced by unworthy characters known to be such by the former leaders of the League.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

THE ABSOLUTE AND LOCAL EGO.

BY WM. ICRIN GILL.

X.

Long we dwell on the ego, and it is necessary; for, in more senses than one, this is the pivot on which everything turns. Till the ego is well determined and defined, no further progress can be made or intelligently attempted. We can never know when we leave the ego till we know what the ego is; and only after such knowledge is attained can we begin to understand the conditions on which a philosophical transit from the ego is possible.

The Absolute Ego.

It was the absolute ego which was expounded in the last chapter; and this ego will be understood by very few for a long time, I fear, fit subject deemed by most for amusement instead of philosophical investigation.

The absolute ego readily emerges from an analysis of phenomena, all of which are found to be only subjective states, whatever their form or action or relations; and the ego is simply their common subject, that of which they are the conscious modes. The ego must at least be commensurate with its own states or modes; and, therefore, it cannot be less than co-extensive with the known universe forever. All time, all space, and all their contents and changes are one with their subject; and their subject is the one absolute ego. Thus, I and all that ever have been known, is known, or ever can be known by me are one, the only difference being that between the subject and its modes; and these are the same substance or force, for the modes are the subject or substance or force itself existing in said modes. This we will consider as having been sufficiently expounded and supported; that is, for all whom any amount of exposition and evidence could benefit. This is what we call spiritual monism. On this theory there is no possible discrimination of the ego from the non-ego within the bounds of the universe, because the ego includes all that universe. The absolute ego is all the knowable, and the non-ego is all the unknowable. This is precise and final.

This ego includes the whole deity of pantheism, which identifies God and the universe, from which I exclude God and all else except myself. Spinoza's deity is extension and thought, a duality which con-

stitutes the universe in all its forces, forms, and activities; and all this I expound as constituting my own exclusive individuality.

One of the most notable of recent thinkers is Lotze, and he also identifies the world with God; though he does not say but that God transcends the world, and (however inconsistent) he sometimes seems to think of man as different from the world. On the other hand, our exposition allows of no such line of discrimination between God and man or between the world and man. The universal substance of the world which he pronounces to be God I call man and my own sole individuality, because it is certain that the known ego and the known world are one. If there is a God and any other being besides myself, they are purely extra-mundane. As says Emerson (Essays, First Series, p. 245), "The art of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and object, are one." But that does not include God and all beings, as he imagines, but only one man, the observing ego.

Against this absolute ego, sole individuality of the universe and constituting the universe, the empty shells and dried skins of effete metaphysics will be freely thrown; and we must brush them aside. One of these is the assertion that the ego can become conscious only through interaction with the non-ego. Not a particle of proof has ever been offered of this dogma, which is worth as much as the poorest of dogmas in other departments of human invention; and I take it for what it is worth. It has arisen from a confusion (very obvious in Fichte) of the absolute with the local or organic ego. The latter is evolved from the external world and changes by interaction with it, which is ego, to the organic ego.

But the absolute ego includes the world and the organism, and its diversity of modes operate on each other or relative to each other. It is objectively conscious of itself in its consciousness of these diversified modes, which are itself; and it needs nothing else as a condition of its conscious action. We may, if we will, call these diversities parts, and sometimes that will be convenient in practice; and they are parts proper only in the sense that they are not wholes, but necessary constituents of One, the Grand Totality, which some call the Unknowable, some call God, and which I call Ego, which some think is unconscious, but which I know to be conscious, if it is I. All agree, however, in making this great Being a simple unitary force, with a possible infinity of modal diversity. Even those who attempt to deny it, and who, therefore, use the vaguest possible term to describe it, are obliged to come to this at last, allowing an ultimate "potential substratum, out of which issued the divisions and separations, the heterogeneity which constituted the properties and qualities on which all conscious experience depends." This I grant; and, on the other hand, it must be also granted that this "heterogeneity" is the same potency and essential reality as the "potential substratum." So that here, also, we have diversity as the modal unfoldings of the Abiding Unity, which is my doctrine; and this opposition to it is a mere logomachy. Fichte himself affirmed this kind of a simple unitary force, working and manifesting itself in infinite diversity, only he strangely mistook it for the non-ego, contrary to his idealism.

The Local Ego.

There is a special and elliptic form of the ego which we will designate as the local ego. This is limited, because local, in distinction from being everywhere. The absolute ego is virtually omnipresent: this is limited and localized, though it may not be agreed as to what are its exact boundaries. This local ego is variously conceived, and all the disputes among psychologists concerning the ego have been about the local ego. It was necessary to discriminate such an ego from the non-ego, because the non-ego is supposed to be known, and indefinitely vaster than the ego. But this necessary task has not been satisfactorily performed; and the local ego has assumed different aspects to the mind, according to the method of performing this task.

The Local Ego defined as Transphenomenal, and all Phenomena as Non-ego.

Some philosophers have pronounced all phenomena to be non-egoistic; and the ego they have considered to be a transphenomenal subject and agent, lexically connected with organic phenomena. This is the method of the pre-scientific mind, and of the initial

stages of scientific inquiry; and this method often shoots far onward, into the era of cultivated thought. It is the source of Plato's doctrine of superhuman ideas as the regnant principles of the human mind; for those ideas are not described as modes of the human mind, but as external to the mind, though intimately connected with it, as divine glories at which it gazes with a charmed reverence. The doctrine of the non-egoistic nature of all phenomena finds distinct utterance even in so recent a writer as Bishop Berkeley, who was Platonic in his spirit and style, though he was an ardent nominalist. In the first paragraph of his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, Berkeley describes ideas as follows: "It is evident to any one who takes a survey of the objects of human knowledge that they are either ideas actually imprinted on the senses or else such as are perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind, or lastly ideas formed by the help of memory and imagination." It is clear that he uses the term idea with the same breadth of meaning as Descartes and Locke, to denote all phenomena, whether sensible or supersensible. In the next paragraph, contrary to the theory of Descartes and Locke, perhaps unconsciously, he says the ego is something besides these, as a different thing from them. "But, besides all that endless variety of ideas or objects of knowledge, there is likewise something which knows or perceives, and exercises divers operations, as willing, imagining, or remembering about them. This perceiving, active being is what I call *mind, spirit, soul, or myself*. By which words I do not denote any one of my ideas, but a thing entirely distinct from them." This is clear and distinct verbally. The non-ego, according to this, is immediately known, and that with indubitable certainty, because it constitutes the phenomena of sense and consciousness. Whenever the mind acts or is conscious, the non-ego is then present as a known object. This is the most simple and easy method that could be invented of transcending the ego. The non-ego is of two kinds, sensation and reflection; and the former, according to Berkeley, is created by God, and the latter by the human mind, or ego.

This theory, in the first place, is antiquated by modern psychology, which makes all phenomena to be modes of the ego, and one with it. In the second place, the distinction between ego and non-ego is merely verbal, an intellectual void. The ego, rendered absolutely unphenomenal, is therefore unknowable and inconceivable. So that it cannot be discriminated from or identified with anything whatsoever. On the other hand, if all phenomena are non-ego, most or all of our mental processes, so called, lose their significance. All pronouns, personal and possessive, are nullified. Thought, feeling, volition, are neither states nor qualities nor acts of the mind or spirit; and we have no means of knowing that they represent our mind or spirit, or sustain any relation to it. All principles are destroyed, and all intellectual guides and indicators are obliterated; and it is utterly gratuitous to talk of the mind or ego forming and compounding ideas of reflection by the help of memory and imagination, or any other way. Every assertion whatsoever concerning its nature and action and relations is utterly unwarrantable. In the third place, its explanation of the origin and existence of sensible phenomena by referring them to the creative will of God is a vast and needless leap, however pious. A philosopher will spare himself such an effort, if he can find an easier explanation; and this explanation is found in the subjectivity of all phenomena. But it may be also found in Berkeley's own doctrine of the ego. If it is unphenomenal and the author of the ideas of reflection, it may be the author of the ideas of sensation. The only objection he brings against the subjective origin of the sensible work is that it is involuntary. He assumes that it is different from us, because against or irrespective of our volition, forgetting that he has already defined volition as non-egoistic: so that to be different from it is not to be different from the ego.

The Local Ego conceived as Super-sensible and Sensible Phenomena as Non-ego.

The next method to be noticed is that which defines the sensible phenomena only as non-ego, and affirms that all the phenomena of interior consciousness are egoistic. This is the old dualism of matter and spirit in its purity. On this theory, the non-ego is composed of our organism and all sensible objects beyond it;

and then all that is identified with the remaining forms of experience are ego, spirit. We are conscious of various experiences which have in them no element of extension or motion or any recognized form of matter or sense. These are all egoistic and spiritual, and modes of the ego, which pronounces itself a spirit in distinction from matter; and it is also conscious of perceiving sensible phenomena as external to itself and non-egoistic.

This sensible non-ego has been considered by many others as only a series of images flashed upon us by God, a series of divine acts, a multifarious form of the divine energy. But that involves vast theistic assumptions, and such a creed should wait on proof or some reasonable evidence. It is more simple and ulterior to say with common dualists that matter is a solid, forceful reality of many varying forms or modes, which, according to its nature and internal relations and its various external relations, operates upon itself and upon us.

As the personal ego is thus contradistinguished from matter, it is free from all the elements of mutability which are characteristic of all the organic forms of matter; and its immortal capability and independence are thus disclosed as possible and highly probable. We hence see also that it cannot be evolved from any previous condition of matter.

This is a fair picture; but, like all pictures, it shows only one side. It is dualism in its most unsophisticated form of philosophic creation. A lunatic said he had two sides to his head, a potato side and a brain side; and that he was sane or insane according as he spoke from one side or the other of his unfortunate cephalic dualism. We have seen one side: now let us see the other. This other shows all human action, utterance, and history a mere dead force. The soul of things is fled. Man has left the stage, and mere puppets play in his place and name. All men, so called, and all their motion and action and speech, as known to each other and to history, are only the motions of organic matter, never of real men and human beings. All the play of domestic and social or public life and interest, all the inventions and discoveries of physical science, all physical work, pleasures, pains, battles, sieges, wounds, healing, nursing, are nothing essentially human, only the various play of material elements. War, murder, death, birth, marriage, kisses, tears, laughter, groans, and songs have all lost their chief, their human significance and importance. Where before we had seen the flow and eddyings of a vast and varied tide of human beings, now wallowing in vice or reeking with blood and crime, now flashing with the coruscations of bright genius, now gleaming in the loveliness of beauty, or shining in the loftier power and charm of pure goodness, we now see nothing but so many automatic motions of matter as distinguished from spirit, non-human, unconscious. It may be said that these phenomena are symbols of human realities. But, as a system of symbolism, it is not less ghastly than the Ancient Mariner's company of dead shipmates working at the ropes, without the associated relief or explanation of angelic agency.

The further and popular allegation that these bodies are really alive, conscious, and purposeful, being animated by spirits which use them as their several instruments, is good, if admitted; but it furnishes a reason for its own rejection. For, if a finite spirit can give life and conscious energy and purpose, much more may the Infinite Spirit do the same for all these forms; and, for aught we can see to the contrary, the evolution of this result may be, under certain conditions, a necessity from nature's intrinsic force. And, as this is the more simple and scientific hypothesis, it is to be preferred, so that we are bound to dispense with the hypothesis of finite spirits distinct from matter, and step at once on to the more solid and sensible foundation of materialism, pure and simple.

This theory is utterly without proof or evidence at any point; and it is everywhere inconceivable, because it is either a mental void or a self-contradiction. As we know of no mental phenomena dissociated from matter, so we have no evidence that they are not at the bottom the same. There are different classes of phenomena, but this is no proof that they have not the same subject and substance. It is also too late in the day to pronounce all sensible phenomena to be non-ego. So far as the ego is connected with the organism, it is identified with the organism. We always say "me" and "my" concerning bodily forms, feelings, and motions, and that they are ego-

istic is as well proved as that any of our mental states are.

The Local Ego defined as Organic and the Non-ego as Extra-organic, which gives us the Physiological Ego.

This brings us to the physiological ego of the material monists, who hold that mind and matter are one, and differ only in their aspects or phases; that the organism is the ego, which changes as changes the organism, and which therefore begins and ends its existence with the animated organism. This theory is burdened with the contradiction of consciousness affirming personal unity and sameness all through life, while its individual substance is not the same. The me of yesterday is not the me of to-day, while consciousness affirms that it is. No one ever attempted in a criminal court to prove an alibi on the ground that the crime imputed to him was committed a long time ago, though on this theory he has abundant right to do so. The spontaneous as well as the reflective action of consciousness repudiates the theory; and all human institutions are based on that repudiation, for they all assume the continued personal sameness through all organic changes. Without this, society could not exist, and life itself would be impossible. To say that the ego, or conscious unity, is the organic unity, which at any moment prevails, is only to say that this ego is forever changing, never the same; because this is the case, not only with the material particles of the organization, but also with the form and action of the organic structure in many of its functions and faculties. On this theory, it is true that we may say "I"; but it must always be of as well as in the present only. It is I who write this word, but it is not the same "I" who wrote some of the earlier pages. Yet my consciousness affirms that it was the same "I" who wrote at the far distant times, thus contradicting the theory. In all this, it is like the antiquated French sensism.

On the other hand, it is very clear that there is a relation of responsibility between successive periods of the same community. A nation may be saddled with a duty to-day, because of an act of the nation generations or centuries ago. This is constantly seen in the action of its internal economy. It is exemplified very constantly in the application of common and statute law; and we all easily see how certain actions of parents may devolve obligations on their heirs for generations, and one administration of government devolves obligations on another, though the latter may be of very different political views. But it is only by mental confusion that any one can imagine, as some have done, that these facts favor the doctrine of physiological egoism. The communication of responsibility is not limited either to the same individuality or organic connection, but only by power and circumstance. The story of the "Good Samaritan" suffices to show that responsibility is derived from opportunity and power in given circumstances, no matter who is responsible for the situation. An action of one generation devolves duties on another generation, not because the latter generation is morally responsible for the first, but because each and all are under obligation always to do the best they can with their powers and opportunities. Our relations to each other, whether individual or corporate, affect our obligations, not because we are parts of a common and organic individuality, but because of our personal individuality in relation to others. Each is responsible for his own action in all connections, and that collectively constitutes the action of the whole.

On the physical side, there is found in the modern discoveries, by the microscope, of germ-cells a strong argument in favor of a bold utterance to the effect that personality is but the abiding expression of an organic combination whose constituents are always changing. The organism is made up of an indefinite number of microscopic cells, each of which is alive, an organism in itself, and gifted, like the general organism into which it enters, with the power of procreation or self-multiplication, and that by three (or four) different methods. According to this, there is a combination of a vast number of individualities in each organism, and our personal individuality is their combined and organized expression and representative; and that its continuity and responsibility are analogous to that of a municipality or a nation, which in its corporate capacity is represented by its legislature, its executive, and its judiciary. Com-

munities are held responsible, though always changing, and in this they are like our organic individuality; and they, too, are organic individuals, only they are more complex organisms than that of our body. To escape this result, a result which was claimed before these cells were discovered, dualism was invented, according to which the organism is not the ego or a constituent of it, that the ego is a spirit in contradistinction from matter, spirit being alleged to be one and simple and continuous, and that the individuality of communities is only figurative.

Sensism can defend itself against dualism by showing the radical, logical inconsistencies of the latter. Yet the latter possesses a vast and manifest advantage in its appeal alike to reason and consciousness in support of its fundamental position that the ego is substantively one and the same through all organic or other changes. This is infinitely more sublime than its opposite, and it is in perfect accord with all mental and moral phenomena; while its opposite is not. However much we may explain and evade, it still remains clear that responsibility belongs only to agents; and these are responsible only for their own action, not for any action which is attributed to them hypothetically merely because of certain organic associations. Two animals of different species have been organically spliced together, so that they shared the same blood and organic life; and what fed or poisoned either fed or poisoned both. Men might be treated in the same way; and nature did this for the Siamese twins. A good man and a bad man might thus be conjoined, retaining their separate and opposite moral consciousness and character, which are always wholly and absolutely individualistic. In the community, each is responsible only for himself; and, if he suffers from others, that is not a moral consequence relative to himself, is not a moral punishment to him. On the assumption of this perduring, substantive individualism, all thought and all action proceed; and no analogies or arguments can change or obscure it. Here, sensism of every form is baffled and beaten into hopeless defeat.

But though dualism is irrefutable in its affirmation of an ego which remains absolutely the same unit all the way through the progression of the hours and years with their multifarious metamorphoses; yet it has a weak point which it cannot protect,—its denial of the unity of body and mind. Here, the physiological psychologists occupy an impregnable position. Their arguments against dualism are conclusive, and they ought to be repeated till they become universally effective. There is a law of invariable relations between certain conditions of brain and certain forms of consciousness, and these connections are historic and evolutionary. This ego, therefore, is not strictly constant, but variable. It constitutes the aggregate of conscious states existing at any given time. Hence, also, it has all the extension which belongs to organic phenomena. This individuality is an inconstant field of life, of special form and development, a definable portion of the larger life of universal nature, a portion which is transient, as all the various forms of this universal nature are transient. This ego is therefore susceptible of disintegration in various forms and degrees, and to the utmost; and with the signs of such operations we are painfully familiar in bodily diseases, in mental derangement, and in some forms of vice and crime. Since this ego is composed of all organic forms and forces and motions, with the brain as the central organ of bodily synthesis, sympathy, and synergy, it follows that the disorganization of the cerebral centre is the dissolution of this ego, so far as the dissolution of the physiological unity extends.

On physiological grounds (which are also ultimately psychological grounds), Dr. Maudsley is rigidly just and scientific in using the following language: "The consciousness of self, the unity of the ego, is a consequence, not a cause; the expression of a full harmonious function of the aggregate of differentiated mind centres, not a mysterious metaphysical entity lying behind function and inspiring and guiding it; a subjective synthesis or unity, based on the objective synthesis or unity of the organism. As such, it may be obscured, deranged, divided, apparently transformed. For each breach of the unity of the united centres is a breach of it: subtract any one centre from the intimate physiological co-operation, the self is *pro tanto* weakened or mutilated; obstruct or derange the conducting function of the associating bonds between the various centres, so that they are dissociated or

disunited, the self loses in corresponding degree its sense of continuity and unity; stimulate one or two centres or groups of centres to a morbid hypertrophy, so that they absorb to them most of the mental nourishment and keep up a predominant and almost exclusive function, the personality appears to be transformed; strip off a whole layer of the highest centres, . . . you reduce man to the condition of one of the higher animals; take away all the supreme centres, you bring him simply to the state of a sentient creature; remove the centres of sense, you reduce him to a bare vegetative existence, when, like a cabbage, he has an objective, but no subjective ego. (*Body and Will*, Part Third, Sec. 6.)

To this theory considered as "the conclusion of the whole matter," a fatal objection is presented by one of our modern sciences, the science of optics, whose long and undisputed deliverances on this subject Mr. Maudsley and all physiological egoists here overlook. Optics teaches that the objects of sight are never the same as those of touch: so that the tangible and visible organism are not only dissimilar, but numerically different. It follows that there are at least two physiological egos; and there is no unity or community between them, unless we go back to an extra-physiological and extra or supra organic reality and agent, which is common to both of these organisms, and to all phenomena; and this agent is our absolute Ego. Thus, this physiological egoism is broken utterly asunder; and it can find no rational or logical and scientific bond until it abuts on our basis and adopts our doctrine of an absolute and universal Ego as well as the sub-doctrine of a local and physiological ego, as one of the generic classes of the modes of the great and absolute Ego.

This narrow conclusion of pure organicism is the prevailing view of modern science working on the physiological side of our nature. It is modern sensism, and it coincides with a very early, if not primitive, notion of man. Indeed, it shows the still common and popular line of demarkation between the ego and non-ego; and, in spite of themselves, it invades all isms and theories. But a faithful and progressive conformity to this method leads us to far loftier heights and broader and grander vistas than material monism can ever attain. It leads us to the discovery of an Ego which is infinitely more glorious than the organic or physiological ego. The same style of investigation and argument which identifies the organic soul and body or proves the organism to be ego compels us to identify both these and all extra-organic phenomena with a super-organic ego, commensurate with them all in duration, in spatial extension, power and variability,—a modal variability,—while itself remains the same, the same substance or force. While the organism is ego, it is not the whole of ego. All the known, including the organism as a very small fraction, is ego; and the physiological ego is not discriminated, as is supposed, from the non-ego, but only from certain other forms of the general or absolute Ego, and so the degeneration and dissolution of the physiological ego is only a small modal change in the absolute or total Ego.

The Pantheistic Ego.

Here creeps in pantheism. If there is an ego general and an ego local, and as many local egos as animated organisms, and if these constitute all the knowable universe, what is this but to say, with Spinoza, that the universe is one being and substance, with many special forms of conscious, personal beings of limited power and duration perpetually evolving from it and then again relapsing into it? It will be very natural and easy for some to state my doctrine in this way, and draw the inference contained in this interrogation. For we are seldom duly careful or competent to understand an unwelcome system or theory and its logical issues. Therefore, I so state it now by anticipation, to prevent such perversion. The terms above italicized are incorrect. I have affirmed only one known ego, local or general. The many local personalities are only apparent. I, who affirm my personality in connection with my organism, affirm that other organic forms are not persons, but only symbols of persons and modes of myself: so that I recognize but one being in all the universe, myself, who am the conscious subject of all the knowable. So that the absolute and universal being of this theory is an entirely different conception from the unconscious and impersonal universal absolute existence of those philosophies which have

been considered pantheistic or pantheistic. This existence as expounded thus far in Philosophical Realism is simply and solely my own conscious individual self, multifarious and ever-changing in its conscious states. It is always and forever absolutely alone, knowing itself only, and evolving only into new forms of its conscious self without end, but never more than one consciousness or conscious subject.

Now, the question arises whether I am the only reality. On this question there will be no serious debate, so that we may consider it settled as soon as raised. We all believe in the existence of other beings. On what grounds? In experiential knowledge, I am shut up to myself, which includes the whole universe. How can this be scientifically transcended? This is the great question for us to answer, now that we have thoroughly defined the ego.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A COLONY OF "LATTER-DAY SAINTS" ON CAPE COD.

Editors of The Index:—

Brigham Young was busy in his endeavors to make converts to Mormonism in Boston and its vicinity at the time that Joseph Smith—the so-called Mormon prophet—and his brother Hyrum were shot by an infuriated mob at Carthage, Ill., in the year 1843. He suddenly left the field of his labors for the West as rapidly as the slower methods of travel of that day would carry him to accomplish his own particular and far-reaching projects. Smith and Rigdon, it is said, were jealous of Brigham's growing influence with the Mormons at Nauvoo; and he had been exiled from that beautiful and surprising city under the guise of missionary work in a portion of our country that required the services of an adroit and intelligent manager.

It is certain that his purposes in this direction were successful to a moderate extent, and that he sowed seeds of Mormonism in this Commonwealth, before his departure for the West, that have developed slowly but surely into the doctrines that he taught so long ago. There are Mormons in many parts of New England, and particularly in Massachusetts there are several communities of these deluded people. So little is published in the newspapers concerning them that they come and go unnoticed; and, indeed, few persons comparatively are aware of their existence in the Eastern States.

At Dennisport, a fishing village down on Cape Cod, there is a flourishing colony of the "Latter-Day Saints."

It was in the early spring-time that the writer made a pilgrimage to this locality to "see what we could see" of these particular Mormons. The excursion can be easily made in a day from Boston by taking an early train on the Cape Cod Branch of the Old Colony Railroad.

The journey from Buzzard's Bay is a continuous progress through scenery of the most pleasing character,—picturesque without being grand, and suggestive of thrift, peace, and plenty everywhere, if the old-fashioned dwellings, as well as the new ones, surrounded by luxuriant gardens and orchards, the pretty lakes, the quaint villages, and evidences of barter, can give the idea of a population living in the midst of an abundance of this world's comforts.

A resident of one of the numerous villages on the route, returning to his "native heath," was ready to give information regarding the "Saints." He had seen car-loads of Mormons going to their yearly conference at West Harwich, and had heard they "hailed" from Boston, Providence, Fall River, and more distant places. He described them as "a jolly crowd."

Leaving the railway at the West Harwich station, it is but a short drive to Dennisport, two miles distant. The Jehu of the one conveyance to the village instantly assumed a mysterious expression of countenance when we asked the most direct way to the place where the Mormons reside. He "guessed likely he knew"; and, with increased gravity, said very slowly, "We don't call them Mormons down here, they're 'Saints'; and I'll take you to see them. Yes, I'll tell you all I know about them. It ain't much, but you're welcome to it."

West Harwich is a lively little town, and wonder-

fully respectable in appearance, with its pretty houses and gardens redolent of countless perfumes of flowers, its churches and public buildings, including a town hall.

It is less than a mile from the hotel in Harwich to the Mormon settlement, and a stranger would see no outward evidences of the peculiarities of its residents to distinguish it from any other New England village of moderate size. Two or three roadways are closely lined with small frame houses painted white and having no suggestions of ornamentation. They are most of them close to the road, and very few of the tiny front yards graced with shrub or flower. Green paper window curtains seemed to be the rule; and all were let down, as though the women folks were in the back part of the domiciles, and possibly at work. Driving slowly past all these houses, it seemed remarkable not to see the face of a single female or a child; and yet the morning was a most inviting one to be out doors.

Our driver informed us that as nearly as he could tell there are about five hundred persons in the village. A plain, square, white-painted structure was pointed out as "the meeting-house"; but there is no school-house, the Mormon children attending the free school in Harwich with the other children of the vicinity. A lovely roadway, bordered with larches and shrubs and wayside flowers, leads down to the "Port," perhaps half a mile from the village. Here, a picture that would have delighted the eyes of marine artists met our vision. A long wharf extends out into the ocean, on which are packing-houses, etc., for the curing and packing of fish. Several fishing-smacks were lying beside the wharf, which seemed outlined against the clear blue sky and blue ocean with peculiar distinctness. The rough garb of the men at work here and there added to the picturesque effect. Some low sheds close to the beach are used as shelters; and in one of these, as there was a stiff breeze blowing, our team was driven, and we started on foot to find Captain Howes, one of the most prominent of the "Saints." He was in a small boat just going out "for a catch," but at once came in shore when our driver screamed to him over the water that "some people from ever so far had come to see him." The captain was just fitting for such surroundings,—tanned, weather-beaten, lithe, strong, and keen of visage.

"Yes," he said, "he was always ready and willing to talk of his religion. We are Mormons of the kind called 'Latter-Day Saints.'"

"You admit this?"

"Certainly," he replied; "but we do not believe in plurality."

"Do you mean polygamy?"

"That is just what I mean. The Mormons separated at the time of Joseph Smith's death, and some of them went off to their destruction in Utah with Brigham Young. We don't countenance them. Our leader is Joseph Smith, Jr., of Plano, Ill."

"Then you think the elder Joe Smith founded the Mormon religion?"

"Yes, we believe he was a true prophet."

"But he originated in Central New York; and there are many people still living who remember him as he appeared when he was a lad, his irregular life, and the true origin of Mormonism after he had pretended to find some golden plates in a hill near Palmyra."

"Yes, I've heard about those gold plates; but I don't know much about them," said the captain, somewhat disturbed.

"Have you heard of Sidney Rigdon, Smith's associate, friend, and assistant in the Mormon scheme?"

"No, I've never heard of him." And then, as though anxious to hurry through an interview that was getting to be annoying, he went on of his own volition to define the articles of the Mormon faith: "We believe in immersion as the true baptism, because Christ was baptized in the river Jordan; we believe no one will be eternally lost, although they will suffer for the sins done in this body; and we think Christ is coming in person to reign over us."

"What is your form of worship?"

"Well [and this seemed to be a vexing question], we have a Bible that Elder Pratt translated for us: it's a good deal like the King James Bible, only things are explained like, made clear to us. We sing and pray just like other folks; and we have Sunday meetings, and Sunday-school, and week-day meetings."

"Is not your religion a mixture of a good many religions?"

"Yes," he replied, "and the best of them, all put together." (This, with a smile of inward satisfaction.) "And the Book of Mormon, what of that?" "Oh, that is the history of Mormon." "Have you read it?" "No, I haven't: I never saw it." "Who wrote it?" "I don't know. Smith said he found it."

The captain said further that he had always resided at Dennisport; that he was converted by an elder, a Mormon missionary; that Joe Smith, Jr., has attended some of the Mormon conferences which are held in West Harwich yearly, in Ocean Hall, their own church being too small for the accommodation of the Saints in attendance, residents in New England, who are colonized at Providence, Fall River, Boston, New Hampshire, and elsewhere. He pronounced these conferences as *very interesting*. "I wish I had more time to tell you of our people," said the fisherman, "but our Elder can give you further particulars." There was just the suspicion of twinkle in the captain's steel blue eyes, as he gave the address, and turned to pursue his calling. The elder was at home, but reported to be ill. We fancied the excuse was made for the occasion, and to evade awkward inquiries.

"It's too bad," said the driver: "he could ha' told you all about the Saints."

Some less cautious persons were communicative as to their neighbors of Dennisport. One resident of Harwich said: "You see, they've lived here so long, we don't think of them as Mormons. We trade with them, but we don't mix with them socially."

An intelligent woman remarked: "I suppose they are honest enough in their business dealings, but I don't want to meet them or go near them. The truth is, they are under a social ban."

Another person informed us that all the men belonging to the colony of Saints are fishermen, hard-working fellows. The yearly conference is their great holiday; and "the Gentiles" (as the Mormons call other people besides themselves) attend these meetings with evident pleasure, also.

A young woman belonging to Harwich described the conferences as "well worth attending, good speaking from real smart men, and good singing, too." The same person admitted that it is generally known in the vicinity that, while the Mormons do not profess to believe in polygamy, they have their free-will as to an "affinity." Marriages are frequently broken in this way. "I cannot see the harm," said she: "people cannot help loving each other, if they are married." A male relative joining in this conversation said: "Well, they generally come back, if they do go away. One woman was gone to Utah twenty years with a Mormon; and she's come back, and is living with her family here." Other cases were mentioned of a like character; and, on our expressions of surprise at such a condition of affairs in old Massachusetts, both the woman and the man talked lightly of it, one of them concluding with, "Oh, if you lived here, you would not think so much of such doings." In short, here, as in all the localities where the Mormons live, or have lived, they demoralize their neighbors: their terrible doctrines permeate the whole moral atmosphere, and, as a clergyman in Northern Ohio, where the Mormons made their first settlement, once remarked, "It seems impossible to get rid of the taint."

As quietly and as unostentatiously as our visit had been made, and, so far as we knew, without the slightest premonition to them, it was obvious that its purpose was quickly known; and that, while the neighbors of "the folk" at Dennisport professed a willingness to tell us all they knew of the Mormons, in reality they communicated as little as they could decently. As an astute old "Cape Codder" said: "We don't like to offend the Saints. They have some black sheep among them of course, like any other religious society. Generally, they behave well enough. They don't drink,—at least, they are, as a rule, temperate; and we think people ought to be allowed to have any kind of faith they choose, so long as it don't hurt anybody."

ELLEN E. DICKINSON.

MR. BLAINE'S HONESTY DEFENDED.

Editors of The Index:—

Observing that you do not ignore the Presidential question, I ask space for a few words on the subject. As a Republican, I was opposed to the nomination of Mr. Blaine on moral grounds, believing that there

was room for doubt of his official integrity. That doubt has been removed from my mind by the arguments adduced to prove his corruption and by reading the so-called "Mulligan Letters," which have convinced me that, so far as the transactions are concerned to which they relate, what Mr. Blaine did and intended was legitimate and honest. It is quite evident, to my mind, that the construction put upon certain words extracted from the letters is not only not warranted by the letters as a whole, but is inconsistent with known facts.

It seems to me that any person conversant with business affairs and the rules by which they are governed, who will read the "Mulligan Letters" in a plain business light, must see that no corruption was practised or could have been intended by Mr. Blaine in his efforts as agent for Messrs. Caldwell and Fisher to place among his friends in Maine a limited amount of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railway Company. When Mr. Blaine wrote to Fisher that he saw "various channels in which he could be useful" in the matter, and that he should "be no dead head," the time had passed when he could officially aid him. This is, I believe, an indisputable fact of history.*

The rule of construction applied by Mr. Schurz and others of his class to the letters is absurd, and unworthy of a man of his standing and intelligence. Mr. Schurz appeals first to our higher moral sense, and lays down broad ethical propositions which all accept as true. He then charges Mr. Blaine with corruption in office, and attempts to convict him by his (Blaine's) own words from the "Mulligan Letters," which he construes upon an assumption of guilt, in utter disregard of the contents of the letters as a whole, the facts of the transaction, and the capacity, moral and legal, in which Mr. Blaine was acting. I am therefore forced to the conclusion that Mr. Schurz, and not Mr. Blaine, is immoral; or, if not immoral, that he is incompetent to judge of the case, and hence not entitled to attention. Concerning the privacy exercised by Mr. Blaine in placing the bonds, the letters indicate that he was governed by the wishes of his principal, Mr. Fisher, who for reasons of his own preferred to avoid publicity. Privacy in private business not only does not imply dishonesty and corruption, but is usual, proper, and is protected by law and established principles of right. Mr. Blaine had the courage to maintain this right in the teeth of his enemies,—a right which belongs to all.

Your correspondent, Prof. Allen, alleges that "Mr. Blaine's nomination was forced by the worst elements of the party," etc. This is, I think, untrue, unless the great mass, the rank and file of the Republican party,—they who have sustained it and gained its grandest victories,—are its "worst elements." That Mr. Blaine was clearly the choice of the great majority of the Republican party of the country is, it seems to me, unquestionable. That this great majority is honest and patriotic Prof. Allen will not deny. They are the men who believed in Abraham Lincoln and Garfield, and elected them. When Prof. Allen penned that sweeping assertion, he had in his mind's eye, I apprehend, a certain ex-political boss of our State, who is at war with the head of the institution with which Prof. Allen is connected. The professor may so magnify the proportions of the said ex-boss as entirely to obscure the grand army of plain honest Republicans with hard horse sense who are able to read business letters in a business light, who have not acquired those arts which distort language into corrupt meaning where no fact or intent of corruption exists, and who hence believe in the integrity of James G. Blaine.

Grant, if you please, what Prof. Allen claims, that Mr. Cleveland was nominated by the best elements of the Democratic party against Tammany and Butler, does that prove him adequate or his party worthy to rule the country? I think not. Twenty-five years of defeat and discipline with the general increase of intelligence have done much, it is hoped, to improve the Democratic party. Its leaders and its rank and file have been dragged along in the rear of our civilization, which it has stubbornly opposed at every step; and that is still its temper. Present indications are that another quarter of a century will scarcely bring

* The letters and facts of the transaction show that what Mr. Blaine did and intended to do was in no sense connected with his official duties, but that it was purely private and personal, and done in a regular and business-like way.

that party to a condition that will qualify it to direct the course of the government.

But sentiments of political prudery and prejudice should not decide questions of national welfare. The balanced mind should weigh against one another all the considerations on every side. When this is done, I believe that the people will accept Republican rule and James G. Blaine as most likely to preserve all that the country has gained, and to achieve what is most desirable in the future for national reform and progress.

R. C. SPENCER.

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 30, 1884.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: IS THE CHOICE STILL OPEN?

Editors of The Index:—

I am obliged to confess surprise at the conclusion to which you come in the editorial upon "Public and Private Morality." It seems to me that your argument ought not logically to lead you to the conclusion that neither Mr. Blaine nor Mr. Cleveland should be supported for the Presidency.

In considering the question of a choice between the two candidates, it must be borne in mind that, when once a nomination has been made, the question passes out of the hands of the members of the party, and a reconsideration of the action of the convention becomes practically impossible.

If the Democratic Convention had acted with as full a public knowledge of the flaw in its candidate's life as the Republican Convention had of the corruption of its candidate, the cases would have been parallel; and conscientious men would have been justified in refusing to vote for either. As a matter of fact, however, the nomination of Grover Cleveland was made at the instance of the Independents themselves; and yet you say that these men should "reconsider their position, declare their distinctive platform, and name their separate candidates." Would not the Independents, in following this course, really break faith with the Democratic party, which in all sincerity met their advances cordially, followed their advice, and as they believed rose to the occasion by nominating New York's reform Governor as their common candidate for President?

Do you not think that the chief influence which will lead many clergymen to cast their ballots for St. John rather than Cleveland will be lack of moral courage? Do they not say to themselves, What will my people say of me, if I vote for a man who has this acknowledged stain upon his private life? In your case, moreover, the temptation to yield to this moral cowardice is even greater than on the part of the orthodox clergyman. Liberals have been charged with countenancing free love. In order to avoid even the semblance of such viciousness, is there not danger of laying aside the judgment, and thus really injuring the character in the effort to sustain the reputation?

Already the scandal against Mr. Beecher has been revived by Republican papers which call themselves respectable, because he is giving his support to the Democratic candidate. How much nobler in the eyes of the highest intelligence is his action than that of men who, not being enthusiastic for national prohibition, yet find nothing to choose between Cleveland and Blaine.

JUSTICE.

[We are glad that our correspondent has raised his first point. There is no doubt that many of the Independents who are supporting Cleveland are doing it because they feel that the nomination so commits them. Especially is this the case, if they were among those who pressed the nomination upon the Democrats: honor seems to hold them to the choice. But, in our view, the conditions are now changed by what has become known concerning Cleveland's private life, so that no one is bound by honor to support him, if he now thinks him an unfit candidate. Moreover, there are thousands of Independent voters who took no part in the Conference that recommended the support of Cleveland; and, certainly, every one of these "carries his sovereignty as a voter under his own hat." With respect to our correspondent's second point, on which he makes a personal application, we will only speak for our own action. We have never been accustomed to consider what Mrs. Grundy may say, and have not thought for a moment what she is likely to say in this matter.—W. J. P.]

Mr. G. H. Heywood, of Princeton, Mass., writes: "It should be said, relative to your remarks in *The Index* of October 2, that the copy of *The Word*, which seems so to have exasperated Rev. Mr. Applebee, was sent him at the request of one of his own parishioners interested, to draw his attention to labor and social questions of growing importance. Said parishioner also paid for the papers sent Mr. Applebee. But, supposing he had not ordered or paid for *The Word* sent as above, the statute invites and permits publishers to send specimen copies to whomsoever they think best. If the papers are not wanted, the receiver has simply to say so to the carrier or postmaster, whose legal duty it is thereupon to notify the publisher that papers are misdirected or refused. It is surprising to not a few intelligent people that Rev. Mr. Applebee is so far behind the times, free-speech wise. After the rulings of Judges Treat, Nelson, and Pitman of the United States and States Courts have completely reversed the irrational attitude of Clark, Benedict, and other judges, which Mr. Abbot justly denounced in the columns of *The Index* and in Liberal League Congresses seven years ago, here is a minister, claiming to represent Theodore Parker, who seems far behind even orthodox clergymen on mental liberty issues! Rev. Mr. Applebee's action calls to mind the bigots in Park Street Church, who, in 1837, I think, prayed God to put a hook in St. Theodore's jaws and haul him quickly into hell fire!"

BOOK NOTICES.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF BAYARD TAYLOR. Edited by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884. Price \$4.00.

Apart from its interest as the biography of a brilliant and versatile genius, and one of America's most illustrious *littérateurs*, this work has a charm of its own which ought to gain for it readers, even among the few who do not know Bayard Taylor either through his lectures or writings,—in the fact that this true story has all the ingredients of a first-class novel, which it reads like in its record of deserved success. The hero is all one could desire. He is portrayed at first as young, handsome, in poverty; in love, a genius, ambitious, enthusiastic; pure in life and thought, high in aim; strong, daring, romantic. His love story is a romance, his beloved is an ideal realized. She is young, she is gifted, she is daintily lovely. Their attachment is frowned upon and forbidden by her worldly-wise parents. Its constancy is tested by years of patient hopeful waiting on her part, of eager endeavor on his. The story told in the beautiful letters which passed between the two is intensely interesting; and few can read without tears the pathetic ending of that love story in the death of the young wife of a few months, after all those years of discouragement and patiently borne disappointment.

There can be no doubt, however, that this severe discipline of hardship and of sorrow in his earlier years bore good fruit in making Bayard Taylor a stronger man and writer than he would otherwise have become, and doubtless made more dear and earnest the affection he gave to his second choice. That he was always a man of high moral purpose and courage, the extracts given from his early correspondence with Mary Agnew show very clearly. We hope there are still many young men of to-day who may read these volumes, and find in their own souls an echoing answer to such brave words as these, written when he was but twenty-two years old: "I find that, in the midst of all this toil and struggling which I am now going through, a strong will is fast growing into existence,—a will which will do all and dare all. I am determined to conquer penury and care, and keep, withal, that love of the pure and the beautiful which is the soul of true poetry. This determined spirit, combined with the enthusiasm of my nature, has helped to accomplish all which I have yet done, and will achieve still greater results."

And again, a year later, he writes: "In the continual struggle after what is good and true, I have learned self-dependence of thought. I will not suffer any one to control my own free judgment, though a sympathy of feeling is always grateful beyond words. The true, the exalted faculty of thought, can brook no trammels; and it is now far easier for me to bear the remonstrances or even pity of those who think I have fallen away from the good path than to feel the degradation of having been unfaithful to myself." It

was little wonder that a man like this drew around him and to him many and high-souled friends, such as were his for the greater part of his life; or that some of these wrote of him, as did one gentleman, his elder by years, that "his company is a gain to me in every respect. . . . He has won my love by his amiability, his excellent heart, his pure spirit, in a degree of which I did not believe myself capable." It is pleasant to the expectant reader of this true romance to mark step by step the progress made in gaining recognition, honor, fame, tangible remuneration also, as well as friends and love, so that he could write appreciatively but a short time before his death, on the occasion of his being appointed Minister to Germany from the United States: "The world does appreciate earnest endeavor in the end. I have always had faith; and I have learned to overlook opposition, disparagement, misconception of my best work, believing that the day of justification would come." His work in literature took a wider range than that of most writers. He was journalist, traveller, lecturer, translator, novelist, but most of all a poet; and to be a poet and a great one was his chief ambition. Whether he achieved that ambition, other generations can better decide. That he did exceptionally good work in that line there is already no doubt. Taylor was always a worker from beginning to the end of his public life. His plans widened with his opportunities; and, at the last, he was obliged to leave unfinished some of his cherished purposes. He died in December, 1878; and, in the September previous, he wrote from Berlin, in a letter to Whitelaw Reid, "I am now sure of securing two to three hours a day for myself, which is all I need; and I have the most delightful and generous offers of assistance (in regard to the *Life of Goethe*) from all sides." This contemplated *Life of Goethe*, however, was scarcely begun by reason of his illness and death. In spite of his many disappointments of one sort and another, his was a brave, busy, earnest, and successful life. Mrs. Taylor and Mr. Scudder have done their work as biographers with excellent judgment and rare good taste. Nowhere do they obtrude their own individuality as partisans or critics on the reader, and the story is so felicitously told that it almost seems to tell itself. These volumes contain so many literary reminiscences that they must needs become a necessary part of the library of every lover of or dabbler in literature, as well as of those of the recognized co-laborers of Taylor.

S. A. U.

TRUTH.

For *The Index*.

Hold your grip on what is true,
Though heaven should fall:
Truth will live to bear you through,
Over all.

Show the world your honest mind,
And never dare
Profane the holy truth you find
Waiting there.

Curses falling thick and fast,
Like stony hail,
Though driven forth by angry blast,
Shall not prevail.

Fiercest storms are soonest spent,
And peace serene
Is like a benediction sent,
To close the scene.

Truth, though crushed, shall rise again
Some other day,
When colors false no longer stain
Fair display.

Though faith may blind the human soul
With creeds of youth,
Our reason sees an aureole
Around the truth.

Ice-guarded truth around the pole
Hath charms to draw,
Though hungering death may wait the soul
Who dares her law.

Behind the facts which nature shows,
But half revealed,
With sphinxy power that no man knows,
Is truth concealed.

All conquering truth shall wear the crown
By natural right,
When all that's false has fallen down
Before her might.

Though prejudice may overcast
Eternal fact,
The truth may stand revealed at last
By nature's act.

Honest thoughts we here enshrine,
All hearts to win,
That truth like beacon light may shine
From within.

A. D. MARCKRES.

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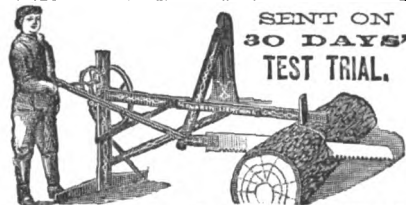
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE mortality of the globe, as given by a foreign journal which has made the computation, is as follows: per minute, 67; per diem, 97,790; and per annum, 35,639,835; whereas the births are 36,792,000 per annum, 100,000 per diem, and 70 per minute.

THE slaveholders in Brazil are bitter in their denunciations of the government that recently passed a law to hasten emancipation, and are using every means possible to defeat it at the next election. A curious feature of the fierce contest is the sympathy of the British residents and bondholders with the slaveholders' party. The fierceness of the agitation, it is said, recalls the condition of this country in 1860.

SAYS the Boston Transcript: "It is so foreign to our common notions to look for anything in the way of progressive thought from Spain—though Republicanism, as Señor Castelar's papers proved, is hardly further beneath the surface there among the intelligent classes than in England—that it is with surprise as well as pleasure that we receive a pamphlet containing an address on 'Woman: Her Moral and Political Influence,' by the Viscount de Campo-Grande, delivered before the Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences two years ago. His views are interesting more as revealing the better sort of Spanish grandees' endeavor to keep pace with the progress of the world, and their temper and point of view in reference to such a thing as the woman question, than as contributions to the solution of the problem. The translation is from the hand of Mrs. Thomas Nickerson, of Newton Centre."

SAYS the Radical Review: "The aims and doings of the Society of Ethical Culture have been repeatedly referred to in the columns of the Review. To-day, we wish chiefly to speak of one feature of its work in which we are especially interested, and which is of prime importance for the future of Liberalism,—the education of children in practical morality. It is here that the society is destined

to do truly great work, and we cannot too strongly urge parents to co-operate with it in this important mission. Mr. Salter meets his children's classes once a week, to teach them by the hand of fable and history, with precept and example, the duties of man to man. As yet, the work is in its infancy; and the number of children who can be brought under the influence of this excellent instruction is a very limited one. We sincerely hope that Mr. Salter will receive all possible aid in this part of his work, and that the Ethical Society will be upheld by all true Liberals in the city of Chicago for their children's sake."

THE Parker Memorial Science Class devoted its entire session last Sunday to exercises in memory of the late Miss M. A. Hardaker, who, until her health failed, was one of the most active and useful members of the Class. The president, Mr. John C. Haynes, was in the chair. B. F. Underwood, who made the opening address, was followed by Mrs. Moody of Malden, Mr. S. H. Roper, Mr. Clement, editor of the Boston Evening Transcript, Mr. W. R. Spear, Mr. W. H. Hamlen, Mr. W. Mitchell, Miss Agnes Burke, Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, Miss Ella Johnson, Mrs. Tower, Miss Adams, and Mr. D. H. Clark, who all spoke from personal acquaintance with Miss Hardaker. None of the speakers indulged in the fulsome praise and the solemn platitude so common to memorial services. On the contrary, the addresses were marked by discrimination in their estimate of the character of the deceased as well as by evidence of sorrow at the loss of a friend, a member of the Class, and an able, earnest, and independent thinker and writer. The exercises were a fitting tribute to the deceased.

REFERRING to the action of the National Liberal League at its last Congress, the Radical Review says: "This [the evil effect of adhering to the repeal policy] was being perceived by many Liberals; and, as our readers know, a move was being made to effect a reconciliation between the hostile factions. The Liberal League Convention, if we are rightly informed, would not listen to anything so base, but in strange inconsistency elected Col. Ingersoll, who publicly disapproved of the policy to which the League pledged itself in 1880, to the Presidency; and Mr. Charles Watts, who played a similar rôle in England, to the Vice-Presidency. If there is any other explanation of this action than that the League lacks vitality and is really dead, we do not know it. Had the Cassadaga Lake Convention elected Messrs. Ingersoll and Watts to the chief offices after rescinding the action pledging the League to the repeal of the national obscenity law, or had it elected men favoring that policy, there would have at least been consistency. In stultifying itself in the manner indicated, the Cassadaga Lake Convention reaped little honor for Liberalism."

REV. MR. CRAFTS, of Chicago, wants newspaper subscribers to unite in a protest against Sunday editions. He does not seem to know that Sunday papers are published because there is a demand for them. Sunday papers are independent of the

daily edition, and are sustained by special subscribers, and supported therefore by those who want them. Mr. Crafts suggests, too, that printers and reporters strike everywhere against the Sunday paper. He evidently thinks that the Sunday paper is the result of Sunday work. If his anxiety is for the printers and reporters, why does he not protest against the Monday edition? Says the Inter-Ocean: "The newspaper man is in no need of philanthropic sympathy; and a well-conducted Sunday paper is a blessing, a boon, a practical benefit, and may be made a moral comfort to society, and is in no sense an injury or a disturbance. The Sunday paper not only does not secularize the Sabbath and imperil the nation, but it exerts as moral an influence upon both as can any other agency of intelligence, spiritual or intellectual, that operates by the wisdom of man. The Sunday paper is an institution of education. It came in obedience to the requirements of a more active and far-reaching thought, a more generally diffused knowledge than formerly obtained. It is unassailably fixed in the good opinion of the public, and only material inexcellence can defeat the life of the Sunday newspaper."

IN an article on the degeneracy of family characteristics, suggested by the death of Henry Clay, grandson of the brilliant orator and statesman, from the effect of a wound received in a drunken brawl, the Chicago Inter-Ocean remarks: "Occasionally, we see instances where the order of greatness is maintained through several generations, as in the notable experience of the Adams family, where the great-grandson borrows little from the fame and reputation of his honorable ancestors, and yet lives as high in regard and holds equal place in individual character and in intellectual attainment. It is difficult to understand why the qualities of a superior mind are so seldom transmitted from one generation to another, and it seems impossible that the explanation should be a deficiency of brain power or mental capacity." The Inter-Ocean thinks it is really not a question of heredity, but of education. The success of the parents begets conditions that deprive the children of experiences, such as were incentives to their own endeavors and helped to lay the foundations of their own success. Young men who are shielded against the pressure of untoward circumstances, without exercising their own intelligence and industry, and who evade the rigors of self-restraint by dissipation, are very liable to drift, making no earnest, well-sustained effort and often yielding to the allurements of debilitating vices. The lesson to be learned from that phrase of ignominy known to every civilized age, "Degenerate son of a noble sire," is to check the license allowed to youth in the use of money and dependence upon parental aid. "The sons of rich fathers should be taught self-reliance, a virtue that the sons of poverty learn of necessity; and, until that sort of discipline is put upon the growing mind and disposition, nothing else is to be expected than that the sons of men distinguished above the people will fall below the moral and serviceable standard of the people."

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC OPINION.

Public opinion is a powerful unwritten law in human society. But it is no impersonal entity. It is not an abstract, irresponsible thing whose sources cannot be traced. It derives its power solely from individual minds and characters. It has no vitality apart from the active vital opinions of living men and women. Its roots run down into the personal sentiments, impulses, and activities of individual lives. It has a personal source and cause. It is the aggregate power of the dominating individual opinions in any community. It is a power that works for both good and evil. For which it shall work depends upon whether the personal source whence it springs is of good or evil quality. People who live upon a low moral and intellectual level and pursue ignoble objects degrade the moral standard of the community about them, and infect the moral atmosphere with corrupting elements. People who live honestly and nobly help to raise to a higher level the whole surrounding community.

These commonplace truths, which everybody will assent to, should lead to a higher regard for the law of moral accountability contained in them. The fact that each person helps to make public opinion puts into his hands a powerful lever which he may use for the public good. Public opinion is a force which has more to do with shaping people's characters than have government and laws. It is a power behind law and government which shapes even them. To stand with one's hand on public opinion is to stand, therefore, at the very sources of the power that moves the human world, with the opportunity to turn it at one's will. A wise educator of public sentiment is a savior of the race. But it is educated *character* rather than learning that is invested with this high office. Enlightened individual opinion, directed by moral earnestness,—this is the power needed behind public opinion to make it an effectual instrumentality for promoting public benefit.

And this is a power that is mighty in its results, when it is once fairly aroused. But the arousal is not so frequent as it might be. The trouble is that too many of those whose natural province it would be to shape public opinion to good ends are too fond of their own ease, too averse to self-sacrifice, to make the necessary effort. They are too apt to think or hope that things will somehow drift right of themselves, and so they withhold the word or the action which is wanted to turn the current in the right direction. According to one of the old Hebrew stories, Jehovah promised to save a city if there should be ten righteous men found in it. To-day, the ten righteous men must save their own city. It will not do for them to sit down and fold their hands and wait for a supernatural intervention. And, perhaps, this was the meaning of the old legend. Righteousness, of necessity, is an active leaven which works out from individual characters and efforts, and thus gradually vitalizes public sentiment with purer qualities of life, and cures the evils that afflict human society. It is the law of social redemption that the improvement, if it come at all, comes through the earnest and untiring endeavors of just those few people who see most clearly that it is desirable. Their clearness of perception and corresponding faith and earnestness infect others. Sometimes, a few resolute words or a brave action at the right moment will turn the whole current of public sentiment from a dangerous to a safe direction. There is a greater power in the simple, confident assertion of the right for moving the popular mind than people are wont to think. Evils yield, reforms are accom-

plished, social progress is made, because there are always some people who keep working away for precisely these ends. By here a little and there a little, the thought and feeling of the community are changed, obstacles give way, and the goal is reached. It is not done by any chance drift of opinion, by waiting for something to turn up, much less by any miracle; but it is done by the steady fidelity of those who see the better thing in standing heroically to what they see until public opinion is converted into an agency for doing it.

There are special reasons at this time, and in this country, why individual faithfulness in enlightening and elevating public opinion is particularly demanded. One of the most alarming features of American society at present is the prevalent disregard of integrity in respect to financial obligations and trusts. Delinquencies of this kind—defalcations, embezzlements, swindlings—have been of late of such frequent occurrence among men who have acted as officers and agents of financial corporations, or have had the use of trust-funds, or have held official positions in government service, as to suggest that there must be some contagious epidemic of mental or moral disease.

And there is *moral disease* at the bottom of the trouble. Physicians speak of certain physical organs which, having lost their healthful vitality, can no longer normally discharge their functions as having suffered "degeneration." So, in these breaches of financial trust, there is degeneration of the sentiment of honor and of the faculty of conscience. In the prevailing haste to get riches, or through the strong preference of a large body of mentally enterprising persons, who have not riches, to live by their wits on financial speculations rather than by the prosaic processes of common industry, the simple virtues of honesty and honor, which are the very bond of civilized society, are lost sight of and violated. Conscience inevitably becomes callous under the operation. The moral perception is enfeebled, until the man who would feel himself forever disgraced by being caught at petty larceny from a shop window will coolly take a hundred thousand or a million dollars intrusted to his care in a corporation-safe or a bank-vault, and walk off with it apparently without a compunction. But the disease is not confined to himself. The trouble lies back of his degeneration of conscience. Possibly he might have been saved from such fatal degeneration, if the public opinion of the business world had held him to stricter account in his business methods while he was in smooth sailing, and before he took the final plunge. Did he feel the least frown from the business circles around him upon his *smartness* in speculation? Was he not rather led to feel that success in speculative enterprises was the measure of their morality? Did he not perceive that many ways and methods in the financial world, which would be counted dishonest and criminal if they failed, were condoned if they succeeded? And, since speculation was his whole business, should he not take the chances of winning, even in such a stake? Of course, all this does not lessen his crime, and should not lessen his shame. But it does point back of him to a too lenient and guilty public opinion concerning those methods of business which lead to such crimes. A man of this type may get off to Canada, where he may defy the whole legal power of the United States, and become a sort of lion for the public admiration. Or, in the reverse case, he may come from Canada and set up in business again in New York, and find plenty of business men to aid and trust him. The lack of an extradition treaty between Great Britain and this country for such offences as this is a disgrace to international law. And

that public opinion does not demand such a treaty in terms which the two governments could not help but heed is only confessional proof of its own laxity in passing judgment on these great financial criminals, who are the legitimate product of the gambling spirit which rules with such immunity in the business world.

Again, the aspect of political questions in our country at this time loudly calls for the elevating influence of a nobler public sentiment. Good men of all parties can but be grieved at the demoralizing spectacle presented by the Presidential campaign through which the nation is now passing. Neither of the two leading candidates for the Presidency satisfies the moral sentiment of the country: not that a perfect character is to be expected in a candidate, but that the moral sense of the country does demand that the President shall be a man free from great transgression, whether in his official or personal character. There are large numbers of people who confess in private that the two prominent candidates fail to meet this demand, who are yet going to sacrifice their own opinion to the party pronunciamento and work and vote for one or the other of them. And yet nothing is more needed for the purification of politics than just this outspoken voice of the upright individual conscience. If the moral sections of the two great parties at this time had not been so ready to yield their own conscientious convictions to party authority, the country might have been saved from much that is now most demoralizing in the Presidential campaign. Even now, their protest should be spoken, though it may be too late to change the conditions of the present problem. But it is not too late for changing the conditions of coming political problems. It is not too late to set political conventions a lesson they will not be likely soon to forget, nor to begin to create a public opinion that shall shape the issues of the Presidential campaign four years hence. And it is due to the best interests of his party as well as his country that every one who is dissatisfied for moral reasons with the Presidential nomination which his party has made should speak out his most genuine convictions,—his highest moral conviction,—and be ready to act upon it in the most effective way. The bane of our politics is partisanship,—not party organization, but *partisanship*,—the spirit that subordinates truth to party expediency, honesty and candor to party victory. There is sectarianism, bigotry, intolerance, the pressure and yoke of authority in politics as in religion; and some of the evils that most grievously afflict modern politics spring from this spirit. To break down this insidious evil influence, a more healthful public opinion needs to be invoked.

And, again, what is needed to effect practical reforms in legislation is a public opinion strong enough to order them. Secretary Stanton once said that the national government would never reform its Indian policy until the people should knock at the doors of Congress with an unmistakable demand for it. The civil service reform, so far as it has been carried at all, has been carried in opposition to the chief party leaders, through a few persons of both parties who earnestly set themselves to effect it, and who knew that the plain common sense of the country would support it. A half dozen other most important matters of national legislation might be named, which are now postponed to party exigency or obstructed by party jealousies, and which need the creation of a strong public sentiment outside of Congress in order to put them on the way to success.

Nor need any persons plead that they have no public position nor large opportunity for affecting

the public mind. The responsibility cannot be thus escaped. The ten men whose existence, it was said, would save an ancient city, are not declared to have been ten legislators, nor ten office-holders of any sort, nor ten editors, nor even ten clergymen; but they were its ten "righteous men." And righteousness, we know too well, is not monopolized by legislatures, municipal governments, nor even by editorial chairs and pulpits. Wherever it exists, in however humble and private position, if it only bravely manifest itself, it will show its power. Two or three morally earnest boys or girls in a school, not afraid to stand out in a good cause against their fellows, can change the moral atmosphere of a school-room. One honest, plain-spoken man in a corporation or legislature or town-meeting can so prick the bubble of a specious speculation or political job that, in the clarified air, the very elements of it shall disappear before even the ballot can be applied to it. Woman, unfortunately, cannot vote; but she cannot be robbed of the opportunity of sharing in the formation of public opinion. Let her not echo what she may hear from man, but utter her own thought and instinctively finer sentiment. From the parlor and family circle, she may send out influences that shall appear in better laws and a purer administration of office. What is wanted on all sides is more faith in the potency of speaking and standing by one's best thought, even though one may have to stand alone. Sincerity, moral earnestness, fidelity to moral convictions,—these are the missionaries that must convert public opinion into public benefit.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PERPETUITY OF LIFE.

II.

Having examined into the probable effects upon life of any very sudden changes in its environment, it remains to be discussed in what manner the same life would be affected, were these changes to take place with extreme slowness, the increments of variation to be evenly distributed through long periods.

The changes in atmospheric pressure which have been borne by human beings have been referred to. It is to be noted that the very exceptional extremes have in no instance been borne for any length of time. In the case of changes of residence to great altitudes, such as that of Quito, the inconvenience is said to be frequently great at first, but is generally overcome by acclimatization; and it would be bold to assign a definite limit to the adaptive capacity of life in this direction.

In regard to the probable effects of gradual changes in temperature, we can arrive at very definite conclusions. That the human inhabitants of the temperate zone have no difficulty in adapting themselves to the extreme heats of arid and sultry regions—that those forms of life which are accustomed to a climate so equable that the maximum annual range of temperature does not exceed 20° can accommodate themselves to one where the daily variation is often more than that, while the difference between the annual extremes encompasses 120°—is an established fact. That such accommodations entail some suffering we know. Should the extreme heat of summer in the city of New York, now about 100° F., rise 1° every year, a considerable increase in the mortality of its inhabitants would unquestionably result. But what if this rise were evenly distributed through ten years? It would be much less dangerous. What if the rise of the annual extreme of heat were only one hundredth of a degree? In this case, all forms of life would probably adapt themselves to it. And if the extreme heat of each year were only

increased by one thousandth of a degree? There would be no perceptible effect upon health or life. But, in one thousand years, this would make the extreme summer temperature of New York 101°; in ten thousand years, it would make it 110°; in one hundred thousand years, it would make it 200°; and yet even then the annual increase would only be one thousandth of a degree, a quantity too small to be observable on the ordinary thermometers. Whatever forms of life might exist at any one temperature could undoubtedly bear the transition of the next one thousand years. Where, then, is to be placed the limit to gradually attained temperature which life would not be able to transcend? Clearly, increase or decrease *alone*, when sufficiently gradual, cannot be fatal to life, however injuriously some of the immediate physical consequences of this change might affect it. And this same line of argument may be applied to its other physical surroundings.

But it is in the investigation of the adaptive capacity of the organism to gradual changes in its chemical environment that we meet with the most wonderful facts. That men and animals can accustom themselves to breathe an air containing scarcely more than one-half of its ordinary quantity of oxygen per volume, as well as to the much vitiated air of cities, is well known. A by no means small percentage of the inhabitants of civilized communities have virtually abandoned the habit of drinking water and substituted for it beer, wine, coffee, tea, and other artificial beverages. Current popular opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding, travellers of acknowledged veracity state that they have drunk sea-water without ill effects; and, were our supply of fresh water to become gradually more and more salt, we would probably accommodate ourselves to this change without any great difficulty.

The dangers to the continuity of life which may arise from the attempted use of untried foods have in a number of cases been eliminated by gradual accommodation. We all know what large numbers of the human race readily habituate themselves to the steady consumption of alcoholic beverages and tobacco, both poisons. The existence among us of a not inconsiderable number of individuals addicted to the use of opium preparations (laudanum, morphine, etc.) is frequently made the subject of public comment. Nothing, indeed, is more wonderful than the adaptive capacity of the human race for the preparations of opium. Three grains of morphine would, in most cases, be fatal to an unhabituated adult; yet persons are not rare who indulge in a daily consumption of sixty grains of this poisonous alkaloid without inconvenience. To what extent such people have succeeded in *protecting* themselves can only be realized by supposing this dose to be simultaneously administered to each and every human being. For this procedure would sweep away the entire human race—with the sole exception of those very individuals who had become habituated to this large dose of so deadly a drug—as surely as one of the before mentioned "star-explosions" of the solar system. To the morphine-eater, what was once a poison, and later on a stimulant, at length becomes a necessary article of food. It is important to note that the constitutional function of the conquest of such foods from the "banquet of death" appears to be that of the substitution of one chemical radical for another in the composition of the tissues and secretions. Considerable differences in the composition of the corresponding tissues of different animals are known to exist, and the instances of animal and vegetal species enjoying perfect immunity against virulent poisons are numerous. Pigeons are said to feed upon the ber-

ries of the deadly nightshade, and to be scarcely affected by doses of atropine which would quickly put an end to the existence of a strong man.

Many caterpillars and other insects subsist exclusively on plants very deleterious to vertebrates. I have myself observed the growth of fungoid or algoid organisms in strong arsenical solutions. From all this, we may conclude that all organisms are capable of radically changing the constitution of their tissues and secretions, and even their assimilative capacity itself.

So far then, as we have seen, no change in the environment of life, however great, need be fatal to it, provided only that it be either very much localized in place or very gradually brought about.

Some logical objections, however, still remain to be met, when we assume the change in chemical conditions to have led to the total disappearance of those material elements which now seem indispensable to the formation of the tissues of all living organisms. And still greater logical difficulties must be overcome, when we endeavor to call up an image of life among the conditions of a fiery fluid planet or an intensely glowing nebulous mass, offering no solid materials whatever from which tissues could be framed.

When we assume the gradual disappearance of those elements which are now indispensable to life,—carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, etc.,—we are still able to fall back upon the possibility of the gradual substitution of some other similar elements at present unknown. Or we may reinforce our views by reference to the probability of a *modification of the elements* themselves by steps so gradual as to have, during our brief scientific acquaintance with their chemical nature, so far escaped our notice. That such a modification may be brought about *by the use and disuse during long periods of their various physical and chemical powers* I have long believed; although it is quite possible that the experimental proof of this proposition may never be attained by human hands.

In the conditions which must have held sway upon a fiery planet, I can find no obstacles to the existence of life so long as this planetary mass presented the variety of aggregational states which make life possible among us,—solid materials, fluid oceans and currents, and a gaseous envelope. Elements may exist among those known to us—or, if not among these, they may lie buried nearer the earth's heart, or may have been modified past all recognition of their former character—which answered this purpose during the fiery epoch of the earth's history, now gone with the forms it nourished.

A greater obstacle to the assumption of the existence of life is encountered, when we take a planet at a temperature so high as to preclude the existence of solid matter. It is true that organic forms are even now known whose solid framework—like that of the jelly-fish and vinegar-mother—is reduced to a minimum. But some solid framework, however slight, all living forms now known do show. Yet we must not forget that the solid, liquid, and gaseous states of matter can be made to pass into each other by insensible gradations. And thus the last logical gate is opened through which the organic form of the imagination may pass, from among the glowing molecules and pathless chaos of the nebulous mass, across the mystery of its million years' existence among the flaming tides of a molten planet, on and on to palæozoic days,—nay, even to these years and this very hour!

That any very sudden change, exceeding very much the usual intensity and range of the variations in the conditions which environ life, might annihilate forever this growth and line of descent,

may be admitted, and the gigantic span of the theory of interstellar migrations thrown across the philosophic chasm. But, be this as it may, the natural law of safety (and its reciprocal, that of danger) is not in doubt nor indefinite.

The safety of the continued existence of any living race under any change in its environment is directly as the time within which this change eventuates, inversely as the space affected, and inversely as the ratio which this change bears to the extremes to which the organism is accustomed.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

MORMONISM IN A NEW LIGHT.

II.

"The Manuscript Found."

Nobody doubts—nay, everybody seems to know—that the Spaulding manuscript (the name given to an historical romance said to have been written by a graduate of Dartmouth College) is the original of the Book of Mormon. Such prominence and emphasis have been given to this assertion by nearly every writer on Mormonism, it being adopted even by the New Encyclopædia Britannica, that it has become the prime article in the anti-Mormon creed. But the question is not, who believes it, how many believe it, nor how long it has been believed, but what are the facts? This story of the Spaulding romance has itself a history quite as inscrutable, to say the least, as the one it was meant to confront and annihilate.

I will begin by quoting from the testimony of the widow of Solomon Spaulding, given in 1839:—

In the town of New Salem, or Conneaut, Ohio, there are numerous mounds and forts supposed by many to be the dilapidated dwellings and fortifications of a race now extinct. Mr. Spaulding, being an educated man and passionately fond of history, took a lively interest in these developments of antiquity; and he conceived the idea of giving an historical sketch of this long-lost race. As he progressed in his narrative, the neighbors would come in from time to time to hear portions read. It claimed to have been written by one of the lost nations, and to have been recovered from the earth, and assumed the title of *The Manuscript Found*. From New Salem, we removed to Pittsburg, Pa. Here, Mr. Spaulding found a friend and acquaintance in the person of Mr. Patterson, who was very much pleased with it, and borrowed it for perusal. He retained it for a long time, and informed Mr. Spaulding that, if he would make out a title-page and preface, he would publish it, and it might be a source of profit. This Mr. Spaulding refused to do. Sidney Rigdon, who has figured so largely in the history of the Mormons, was at that time connected with the printing-office of Mr. Patterson, as is well known in that region, and, as Rigdon himself has frequently stated, became acquainted with Mr. Spaulding's manuscript and copied it. It was a matter of notoriety and interest to all connected with the printing establishment. At length, the manuscript was returned to its author; and soon we removed to Amity, where Mr. Spaulding deceased in 1816. The manuscript then fell into my hands, and was carefully preserved.

Mrs. Spaulding and her daughter then visited her brother, William H. Sabine, at Onondaga Valley, N.Y.; and in 1820 she married a Mr. Davison, of Hartwicks, near Cooperstown, N.Y. The trunk containing the writings of her former husband still remained in her possession. In 1828, the daughter was married and went to reside at Monson, Mass., where she was joined by her mother, who died there in 1844. The trunk with the manuscript was left at Hartwicks, in care of Mr. Jerome Clarke. So runs the story.

Sidney Rigdon made reply through the Boston Recorder, in which Mrs. Davison's letter appeared, denying the whole charge as regards himself, never, as he says, having heard of Spaulding or his manuscript until years after his residence in Pittsburg. He had a slight acquaintance with a Mr. Robert

Patterson, who had once owned a printing-office. This Mr. Patterson afterwards said he "had no recollection of any such manuscript being brought here for publication." Lambdin, his partner in the business, was dead; but the widow, Mrs. Lambdin, writes, "I am sorry to say I shall not be able to give you any information relative to the persons you name [Rigdon and others]. They certainly could not have been friends of Mr. Lambdin." Employers of the firm have testified they know "nothing of Spaulding or his book, or of Sidney Rigdon." All the evidence shows Rigdon did not go to Pittsburg until the year 1822, when called there as the pastor of the First Baptist Church, which was at least six years after the Spaulding family had removed to Amity, Pa. But this difficulty is easily surmounted. "Now, as Spaulding's book can nowhere be found, or anything heard of it after being carried to this establishment, there is the strongest presumption that it remained there in seclusion till about the year 1823 or 1824," etc. So reasons Mr. Hurlburt in *Mormonism Unveiled*, in the face of Mrs. Davison's statement that "the manuscript was returned to its author," "carefully preserved by myself," and "frequently examined by Mrs. McKinstry, my daughter, and by other friends!" And Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, a grand-niece of Mr. Spaulding, as late as 1880, says, "After keeping it a while, Mr. Patterson returned it, declining to print it." And this lady, too, credits Rigdon with the forgery.

There never has been a whit of evidence showing the existence of a correspondence of any kind between Smith and Rigdon before the Book of Mormon was published and the church was organized. Parley P. Pratt, writing in 1839, "defied the world" to prove that Sidney Rigdon was "either directly or indirectly" connected with the printing establishment in Pittsburg, though a fact which Mrs. Davison had said was "a matter of notoriety and interest to all connected with the establishment." He continues: "The statement that Sidney Rigdon is one of the founders of the said religious sect is also incorrect. The sect was founded in New York; while Mr. Rigdon resided in Ohio, several hundred miles distant. Mr. Rigdon embraced the doctrine through my instrumentality. I first presented the Book of Mormon to him. I stood upon the bank of the stream while he was baptized, and officiated at his ordination."

The story has a continuation. The battle has to be fought over again at the other end of the route. The toils were laid for Rigdon at Pittsburg, and now they are spread in New York for Joseph Smith. Mrs. Dickinson, already quoted, speculates in this fashion: "Smith, however, could easily have possessed himself of the manuscript, if he had fancied it suitable to his purpose; for it is understood that he was a servant or teamster on the farm of Mr. Sabine (Mrs. Spaulding's brother), in whose house the package of manuscript lay exposed in an unlocked trunk for several years." But there is no proof that Joseph Smith was in Onondaga Valley during that time, much less in the employ of Mr. Sabine, "a lawyer of distinction and wealth." The Smith family deny it, and Mr. Sabine never claimed it. And what is there to show that "the manuscript lay exposed in an unlocked trunk"? Nothing more than the bare word of Mrs. Dickinson, who belongs to the second or third generation of this race of inquisitors. The manuscript is said to have been at Mr. Sabine's, from 1816 to 1820. It was at this latter date Smith reports having his first vision. He was then but fifteen years of age. Onondaga Valley, Mr. Sabine's residence, was one hundred miles east of Manchester where Smith lived. The scene of all of Smith's doings up to this

time, as told by friend and foe, is within the town of Manchester. Some of his critics seem always to have had him under their eye; and in none of their diaries is there to be found room for such an exploit as going a hundred miles, and getting a sight of the Spaulding manuscript. But the same authority that tells us the manuscript was at Mr. Sabine's states that it was removed in 1820 to Hartwicks, which was still farther away. Smith, then, must have copied the manuscript or committed it to memory before the age of fifteen, both of which suppositions seem equally absurd; for one of the charges made against him by his enemies is certainly true,—he was illiterate. He would seem to have been in need of a Urim and Thummim to discover and to translate the Spaulding manuscript, no less than the golden plates. Moreover, the manuscript lay at Hartwicks long after Smith's first visions, and after the translation of the Book of Mormon had begun, 1827, and even after its publication, 1830.

But the story's dénouement is not yet reached. So far, it is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. Dr. Philastus Hurlburt is the inventor, or originator, of the Spaulding story. He joined the Mormons in 1832. Because of unvirtuous habits proven against him, he was disfellowshipped. Confession and repentance restored him to confidence. But he was afterward expelled from the Church for attempting the seduction of a young girl. He was put under bonds in Geauga County, Ohio, for threatening the life of Joseph Smith. I have not seen these charges contradicted, so I suppose them to have some other ground than the axiom that "pure, honest, virtuous men never apostatize,"—an axiom loaded with the spirit of bigotry and persecution. Hurlburt coined for himself the title of "Doctor," in virtue of his being the seventh son. To which was now added the title of "Reverend," as soon as he turned anti-Mormon lecturer, which was very soon. In his travels, he learned from a Mr. Jackson, of Jackson, Penn., a friend of Solomon Spaulding's, of a romance written by the latter, relating to the ancient history of America. He returned to Ohio, and there broached his theory of the origin of Mormonism, which it appears the people of Conneaut had never dreamed of until this moment, when several were ready to testify that they recognized in the Book of Mormon the romance of Solomon Spaulding. Sums of money were raised to enable Hurlburt to bring out his *Mormonism Unveiled*. He was also deputed to visit Mrs. Davison for the purpose of obtaining the manuscript. He went and got it. Mrs. Davison and Mrs. McKinstry testify to the fact. In an affidavit obtained from Hurlburt by some of Spaulding's relatives, he states: "Upon examination, I found it to be nothing of the kind, but a manuscript upon an entirely different subject. This manuscript I left with E. D. Howe, of Painesville, Ohio, with the understanding that when he had examined it he should return it to the widow. Said Howe says the manuscript was destroyed by fire, and further the deponent saith not." Mrs. Dickinson, who visited both Hurlburt and Howe recently, informs us that the latter "advanced the theory that Hurlburt got the real Spaulding manuscript, but that the one given him was something else." She adds that "it was obviously of value to the Mormons; they have probably had it in their control, and the fate of it will never be known." She forgets that the manuscript was "obviously of value" to others besides the Mormons. At least from the time its name became linked with that of Mormonism, whatever its real value, its fictitious value was then great. Hurlburt disposed of his *Mormonism Unveiled* to

Howe for \$500, and stopped there. And what better reason can be assigned than his finding that the Spaulding manuscript "did not read as he expected"? And, instead of Howe thinking Hurlburt had made some other disposition of the real one, the fact of his burning the one given him indicates that his fears were all the other way.

The burning of that manuscript was as great a fraud as the one charged against Joseph Smith, while the one is proven and the other is not. Any Spaulding manuscript would have solved the mystery, acquitted or condemned Mormonism. Some peculiarity of thought or style, some mental idiosyncrasy, if nothing else, would have enabled the world to detect the author's identity. But, happily, we do at least hear something of its contents. Hurlburt, in his original statement, speaks of it in these words: "It is a romance purporting to have been translated from the Latin, found on twenty-four rolls of parchment in a cave, but written in modern style, giving a fabulous account of a ship being driven upon the American coast, while proceeding from Rome to Britain, a short time previous to the Christian era, this country then being inhabited by Indians." And this statement receives the strongest corroboration from the testimony of Mr. Jackson, who was the first to inform Hurlburt of the existence of the Spaulding romance. Hurlburt, before he had wilted on finding that the manuscript "contained nothing that suited his purpose," called on Mr. Jackson and asked him to sign a document which testified to the probability of Mr. Spaulding's romance having been converted into the Book of Mormon. This he indignantly refused to do. "He stated there was no agreement between the two; adding that Mr. Spaulding's manuscript was a very small work in the form of a novel, which said not one word about the children of Israel, but professed to give an account of a people who originated from the Romans, which Mr. Spaulding said he had translated from a Latin parchment he had found." But it is declared by Spaulding's friends in Ohio that he "told them he had gone further back with dates, and written in the old Scriptural style." But is it not strange that not one of these writings, drawing at one time such "a large circle of admirers," has survived to us? Why did not Spaulding publish some of them? Why did not the widow make some attempt to utilize her husband's labors for the benefit either of the family or the world? Why did not Hurlburt publish it, when by so doing he could have gratified two of the very strongest of passions, cupidity and revenge? And, finally, why did not Howe publish it, who was just then putting on the market "*Mormonism Unveiled*?"

Spaulding's relatives and others say his book endeavored to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews or the ten lost tribes. But these witnesses against the Book of Mormon had read it before making their affidavits. It matters not that John Spaulding "was perfectly familiar with his brother's romance, and repeatedly heard the whole of it read," as Mrs. Davison informs us; for that is the very thing to be proven. It only makes his testimony the weaker, as he can remember so little, and that little easily learned by a hasty glance at the index to the Book of Mormon itself. It would have been very desirable to know what the report of their memory would have been without any reference to the table of contents or the printed page of the Book of Mormon. The world seems satisfied because certain persons affirm the identity of the two works, whereas the thing most needed is an identification of the Spaulding romance by an agreement of witnesses not tampered with.

One of the Hebrew or "lost tribe" class of witnesses says the Book of Mormon is the identical work of Solomon Spaulding; but this is a lie on the face of it, for the Book of Mormon makes but few references to the ten tribes, and there states that the American Indians are not their descendants, and that they were never in America. Another of this same class says the Book of Mormon, with the exception of the religious matter, is copied word for word from Spaulding's manuscript; but how can that be, when the narrative is, in respect to style and language, *one throughout*, and that style has not a trace of literary handicraft?

The only other class of witnesses is the Latin or "Roman colony" class, who agree among themselves, and with the other class, in these particulars: on the name, *Manuscript Found*, and that the work was not religious, but historical; that it was an idolatrous, and not a religious people; and that the work was small in size! Mrs. Davison stated that the manuscript of her husband was one-third the size of the Book of Mormon; Mrs. McKinstry that it was about one inch thick (of written, not printed, matter); and, of the other class, Jackson states that the romance was a very small work; and Hurlburt says it contained about one quire of paper.

The Book of Mormon, on the contrary, has five hundred pages of closely printed matter, with a religious purpose running all through it, and nowhere betrays the diction or the lore of the scholar and student of history. It says not one word about the Romans; and, instead of being a history of the ten lost tribes, it brings its first migration from the Tower of Babel before the existence even of Jacob, their great progenitor, and its second migration from Jerusalem before the Babylonish captivity.

One thing we have found out is that this *Manuscript Found* will not stay found when it is found: like a will-o'-the-wisp, it vanishes as soon as seen. It cannot be identified, as it has no identity. Its only ascertained attribute is its power of transformation: only, it reverses the evolutionary process by evolving from definiteness into indefiniteness. Is it a myth? The last act of its friends would seem to prove it such beyond all peradventure.

T. W. CURTIS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE meetings of Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee's society (the Ethical Society) are held in the Church of the Unity, Pembroke Street.

It is better to wait, and to defer the realization of our ideas until we can realize them fully than to defraud the future by truncating them, if truncate them we must, in order to secure a partial triumph for them in the immediate present. It is better to bear the burden of impracticableness than to stifle conviction and to pare away principle until it becomes mere hollowness and triviality.—*John Morley.*

OF divorce, the *Free Press* (Ottawa, Ont.) takes this view: "Divorce is the medicine for unhappy marriages. Like ordinary medicine, when improperly and injudiciously administered, it kills when it should cure; but its non-use, like its abuse, perpetuates or intensifies unhappiness and suffering. The proper course, then, is a well-defined law of divorce, federal in its operation, strict in its application so far as causes are concerned, and easy in its obtaining, where adulteries, crime, intemperance, and insanity can be proven against the respondent, the decree only being issued when the children of such unhappy unions are satisfactorily provided for in the court's opinion."

AN article in the New York *Tribune* takes the ground that much of the injury ascribed to educational over-pressure in our schools is due rather to lack of intelligent regulation at home, and that, while there is still room for improvement in the modern methods of education, the tendency to lay all the blame of the break-downs that occur now and then upon the schools, and to overlook the accountability of home training, is calculated to lead to wrong conclusions, and is unjust to our educators and the system under which they teach. The *Tribune* thinks that unwholesome food, late hours, dissipation, candy-eating among girls and cigarette smoking among boys, etc., have quite as much to do in producing abnormal conditions of health as any possible educational over-pressure.

REFERRING to Miss M. A. Hardaker, *Unity* says: "A bright, gifted intellect quickened by courage was hers. People seriously differed from her, and may have disliked some of her positions and peculiarities; but none could doubt her sincerity." After quoting a paragraph from *The Index*, *Unity* adds:—

The same paper contains resolutions of respect passed by the Meriden Scientific Association to the memory of Miss Emily J. Leonard, a woman who acquired eminence in the widely different fields of social and botanical science. The death of these women, so different and yet so alike in their strength and fearlessness, suggests the constantly widening field of influence and power open to woman. It also calls tenderly to the mind of the editor of this paper the keen intellectual companionship which he enjoyed with the former as a fellow-student at Meadville, and the earnest and helpful support which he received from the latter as a parishioner in the first years of his ministry. The lives of both women show how independent cheerful living or courageous dying is of theological tenets or doctrinal formulas. Wherever there is activity, there is joy; and, wherever there is sincerity, there is courage.

ON the 2d inst., the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association held its eighteenth annual meeting at Providence. The speakers were Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace, the President, Mrs. L. B. C. Wyman, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. F. A. Hinckley, Hon. George L. Clarke, and Mr. Thomas R. Slicer. The daily papers of the city gave fair reports of the proceedings, and mentioned the speakers with the utmost respect and courtesy, in very marked contrast to the treatment some of them received in the early periods of this agitation. We have room only for the editorial remarks of the *Providence Daily Journal*, which gave the addresses of the speakers mentioned at considerable length:—

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace is always listened to with respect and attention; and her re-election to the office of President of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association is deserved testimony to the sincerity and the fidelity with which she has devoted herself to the cause, and to the dignity and courtesy with which she has occupied the chair. Her address was sensible, and reviewed the situation in a calm and philosophical spirit. All intelligent men, whether in favor of woman suffrage or not, are willing to acknowledge that the legal status of woman is not what it ought to be, and what a wife and mother deserves. Few will question that a widow's right in regard to a husband's estate should be identical with that of the surviving husband in the wife's estate, and that the present system is often attended with cruel hardship to woman at a time of life when the attractions and vigor of youth may perhaps have departed, and she is ill prepared to struggle unaided for her support. Mrs. Chace clearly pointed out the evident fact that the advocates of woman suffrage must overcome the indifference of women before they can expect to convince the judgment of men; and she advised for that purpose the circulation of literature on the subject, and personal and systematic visitation. The address, in the afternoon, of Mrs. Sara A. Underwood was very interesting and, perhaps,

measurably alarming in its quoted suggestion that women, if admitted to a share in the government, might be prompted by their love of material display to keep the nation perpetually embroiled in costly wars. Mrs. Underwood did not, however, agree with this view of the possible results of the extension of the franchise. "So long," she said, "as men believed in settling disputes between nations by an appeal to force, the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war will find, both among men and women, encouragement and support in natural vanity and pride, as well as patriotism"; but the era of universal peace could be brought about only by improved international relations, and the continued advancement of the moral and material interests which broaden the sympathies and bind nations together.

MR. SAMUEL P. PUTNAM, Secretary of the National Liberal League, sends us a printed circular, addressed "To the Liberals of America," with a request that we publish it, "if not all, at least a part of it." It invites the cooperation of all "those who are in favor of a total separation of Church and State." The League is to revolutionize society, "so that every worker shall have a home, and every child born upon this planet a place to live and a right to nature's bounty." "To carry out these all important undertakings, vital to ourselves and our children, the National Liberal League has voted to raise a fund of \$5,000,"—certainly a very modest sum, considering the magnitude of the undertaking. "To carry out all the purposes named, Mr. Watts, the first Vice-President of the League, and myself will devote ourselves to the lecture field." Mr. Putnam, once an orthodox, afterward a Unitarian preacher, who left the pulpit a few years ago, started out as a liberal lecturer, and, failing of support, declared he found a higher morality in the Church than among Liberals, returned to the pulpit and left it again, but not from choice, now, as secretary of the National Liberal League, proposes, with the aid of a colleague, if the sum of \$5,000 is raised, to make some wonderful changes on this old planet, so that "every worker shall have a home, and every child born upon this planet a place to live and a right to nature's bounty." There is to be "an aggressive campaign," "points of attack," and for the "enemy no resting spell." While effecting "a change of front of the universe," Mr. Putnam solicits invitations to attend "the burial of our dead," and announces that he and his colleague "will be ready at any time to serve those who, in the shadow of death, require the noble consolations of our secular faith." He does not mean that, to those "in the shadow of death," he will give consolation by talking about State secularization. He means that he will give them "the consolations of our secular faith"; that is, the faith of those who believe in the system called Secularism. Whether he knows the difference between State secularization and the creed called "Secularism" is doubtful. If he does, how can he, as the Secretary of the National Liberal League, while asking for the membership and co-operation of all who believe in the separation of Church and State irrespective of religious or philosophical beliefs, announce himself as the authorized exponent and minister of "our secular faith"? The circular is full of Utopian ideas, cheap rhetoric, "liberal" cant, and that sort of exhortation, assurance, and dogmatism peculiar to a certain class of preachers who bring to the liberal movement the method and spirit of their old faith. We advise Mr. Putnam to throw this ridiculous circular into the fire, and get somebody to write one which, whatever be its other defects, will not confound State secularization, the alleged object of the League, with Secularism, an ethical and philosophical system which many who are in favor of State secularization do not accept.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

V.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS.

Jesus' Doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The religion of Jesus would by no means be adequately viewed or comprehended in its entirety, if regard were had only to its technically religious or theological aspect. Beside its Godward look, its attitude toward the current supernaturalism of the time, its relations of consent or negation toward the ancient faith of his people, it had also its manward look, its ethical and social side. In entering upon a consideration of this phase of the thought and teaching of the Galilean prophet, we would completely fail to understand it, to give its several precepts their proper force and correct interpretation, if we neglected again, and even more clearly and emphatically than heretofore, to strike the key-note of his entire system of thought, as it is revealed to us in his doctrine of the kingdom of heaven and its speedy advent.

In his general conception of the heavenly kingdom as a new spiritual and social order to be established on the earth, with the will of the heavenly Father for its sole and perfect law, with all evil and hurtful conditions completely overcome and destroyed; the necessity for toil obviated by the constant production of all necessary articles of food through the spontaneous fruitfulness of the regenerated earth; the cessation of war and conflict; the destruction even of death itself by the complete eradication of sin through which death had come into the world,—Jesus did not apparently differ from many of the earnest and faithful followers of Judaism in his generation, among the different sects of the Pharisees and the "people of the land." Pictures of this "good time coming" were drawn from the older prophets, and exaggerated by the glowing imagination of the hope-

ful and faithful representatives of the faith of Israel.

"It shall come to pass at the end of days that the mountain of Yahweh's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it. And many nations shall go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke among many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."*

In the writings of the rabbis, we find wonderful pictures of this heavenly kingdom. Wild animals are to become tame and harmless, "the lion and the lamb shall lie down together"; immense bunches of grapes are to burden the vines; springs of living water are to burst from the barren rock, as under the rod of Moses, at the desire of whosoever may thirst; and life is to be a continual round of "delight in the law of the Lord." There are many evidences, outside the New Testament, that this expectation was held by the early Christians as well as by the Jews. Irenæus, writing during the latter part of the second century, declares that Papias, an earlier Christian writer, quotes from the memoirs of the apostles, as genuine words of Jesus, this saying: "The day shall come when each vine shall grow with ten thousand boughs, each bough with ten thousand branches, each branch with ten thousand twigs, each twig with ten thousand bunches, each bunch with ten thousand grapes, each grape shall yield twenty five measures of wine."

The Speedy Advent of the Heavenly Kingdom.

The special thought of Jesus, that wherein he differed from many of the Jews around him, that which impelled him to his prophetic labor and which dominated and gave color to his ethical system, was the profound conviction that this great change was "at hand."† It was coming now,—in this generation. "There be some standing here which shall not taste death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." Such is the assurance of Jesus as preserved in the oldest gospel.‡ "Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation." . . . "So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." These are the words of Jesus as reported by Matthew.§ This is the concurrent testimony of all the synoptical writers in many similar texts, derived incontestably from the primitive tradition out of which they drew their materials for the biographies of the Galilean prophet. No teaching in the New Testament is so plainly presented or so frequently reiterated as this. It is inconceivable that these assurances should have entered into the gospel narratives, unless Jesus really uttered them; for no writer of after times, desiring to present the claims of Jesus as an infallible teacher, could possibly have invented and referred to him these unfulfilled promises and prophetic utterances which by no possibility could ever be fulfilled, since the time plainly set for their accomplishment had already long since passed away. These assurances of Jesus are at once the proof of his reality as an historical personage and

* Isaiah li., 2-4. † Mark i., 15; Matt. iii., 2, etc. ‡ Mark ix., 1. § Matt. xvi., 28; xxiv., 33, 34; xxiii., 36, etc. Compare Luke ix., 27; x., 11; xii., 40; xxi., 8, 32, etc.

of his human fallibility and liability to error,—a fact of the most striking significance.*

The Kingdom of Heaven described in Parables.

Believing thus in the speedy advent of the heavenly kingdom, and perceiving the blindness and unpreparedness of his people, the overmastering desire of Jesus was to arouse them from their apathy, and induce them to make clean their lives in preparation for the new life which awaited the "sons of God,"—the children of the kingdom. To those who heard him willingly and accepted something of his message, he explained the nature of this new life in apt and beautiful allegories. In the parable of the Sower,† he thus taught that the preparation for the coming kingdom was an inward process, an ethical regeneration of the soul, and not merely an external obedience to the precepts of the law.‡ In the parable of the mustard seed,§ he presented the hopeful assurance that the acceptance of the kingdom, "in spirit and in truth," by a few humble believers, would ultimately result in the world's regeneration. In the parable of the tares,|| he assured his disciples that the faithful doers of the word, though few in number, would be preferred to the many who carelessly neglected or wilfully rejected his warnings. In the allegories of the treasure hidden in the field and of the "pearl of great price,"¶ he solemnly impressed his belief that all else was as nothing compared with the necessity of "seeking first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness." In the parable of the house-holder,** he held out the merciful assurance that even late repentance and return to righteous living would secure all the rewards of the kingdom, in which "the first should be last, and the last first." In the parable of the nobleman and the servants,†† he illustrated the truth that the faithful laborer should be abundantly rewarded, while he who perceived the truth without laboring to spread it should be surely punished.

Jesus not a Zealot.—His Doctrine of Non-Resistance.

Jesus taught that the best preparation for the coming kingdom was to commence now to live as nearly as possible the ideal life of the sons of God. The time was short before the great change would take place: therefore, it was better to bear the ills of the present life with patience and without physical resistance rather than increase them by fomenting insurrection against the "powers that be," thus bringing down upon his followers the persecution and oppression of the government. This thought appears to lie at the foundation of his teaching in regard to the non-resistance of evil. "Resist not evil," he said. "If any man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."†† He forbade his disciples to take with them either gold or staves in their journeys.§§

When his enemies sought to entrap him by

*The current orthodox claim of the fulfilment of these prophecies in the alleged phenomena of the "day of Pentecost" is wholly unsatisfactory. Apart from the want of evidence sufficient to establish the historical verity of these phenomena, they in no manner fulfil the conditions of the advent of the heavenly kingdom as set forth in the prophecies. The belief in the second advent of Christ as an event yet to occur, which has been common in all ages of the Christian Church, testifies to the admission of theologians that the New Testament prophecies are yet unfulfilled, but fails to take cognizance of that clear and vital element in the prophecies which limits the period of their accomplishment to the then living generation.

† Matt. xiii., 3-23; Mark iv., 3-15; Luke viii., 5-15.

‡ Compare Luke xvii., 20, 21.

§ Matt. xiii., 31, 32; Mark iv., 30-32; Luke xiii., 18, 19.

|| Matt. xiii., 24-30, 36-43.

¶ Matt. xiii., 44-46.

** Matt. xx., 1-16.

†† Luke xix., 11-27.

‡‡ Matt. v., 38-41; Luke vi., 27-35.

§§ So Matt. x., 10, and Luke ix., 3. Mark, on the contrary, contains an express command to take a staff with them (Mark vi., 8).

asking whether it were lawful to render tribute unto Caesar, he pointed to the emperor's image and superscription on the current coin of the empire, and said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but unto God the things that are God's."* In assuming this attitude toward the existing government, he at once thwarted the machinations of his more active and violent enemies, who sought to identify him with the party of the Kanaim, or Zealots,—who taught the duty of resisting taxation and abjuring the authority of the Romans,—and disappointed his more literal and patriotic followers, who believed that the Messiah, in his own person, would lead the faithful of Israel to overthrow and destroy the oppressor by force of arms, and thus re-establish the kingdom of the house of David.

Jesus' Communistic Teaching.—His Exaltation of Poverty.

As the kingdom of heaven was to constitute a sort of ideal community, where all would be equal before the heavenly Father, it appears also that Jesus and his disciples attempted to realize this social ideal in their intercourse with the world and with each other. It seems to have been a condition of discipleship that the true believer should relinquish his individual property, and hold all things in common with his brethren. One of the disciples was therefore appointed the treasurer, or custodian of their common fund.† Not only community of interest, but the blessedness of poverty appears to have been explicitly taught by the Galilean prophet. To the rich young man who had fulfilled the entire law in its spirit, loving God and dealing justly with his fellow-man from his youth up, he still further commanded that he should sell all that he possessed, and give the proceeds thereof to the poor, before he could be accounted a true disciple.‡

Jesus was not alone among his people in his abhorrence of riches and exaltation of poverty. The long conflicts of the Jews with foreign enemies, the destruction and spoliation of their cities and their sacred temple, and the later period of lawless violence during the reign of Herod, seem to have given rise among them to two diverse ways of regarding poverty and riches. Those who dwelt in the larger towns and cities—the artisans, tradesmen, and inheritors of the priestly office and its emoluments—became very frugal and saving, careful to obtain the greatest possible advantage in bargain and trade. Of this class were the sellers of doves and changers of money in the court of the temple, whom Jesus in his indignation is said to have driven out with a whip of small cords. Others, however, accepted their poverty as the righteous appointment of God, to rebel against which was impiety. Certain religious enthusiasts, particularly among the Galilean peasants who believed in the speedy advent of the heavenly kingdom, taught that it was wrong to accumulate property, and that all in excess of one's personal needs should be given to the poor. In the Jerusalem Talmud is preserved an account of Rabbi Jeshobeb, a contemporary of Jesus, who gave all his property to the poor. For so doing, he was reproved by the celebrated teacher, Gamaliel, at whose feet Paul sat.§

Less than a century later, this improvident mania had become so prevalent that a convention of rabbis, held at Usha, a town of upper Galilee, decreed that no one should bestow upon the poor more than one-fifth of all he possessed.|| The

* Matt. xxii., 17-22; Mark xii., 13-17; Luke xx., 21-26.

† So John xiii., 29, following a generally current tradition.

‡ Matt. xix., 16-22; Mark x., 17-22; Luke xviii., 18-24.

§ Jerusalem Talmud, tract *Peah*, 15, b.

|| Babylonian Talmud, tract *Kethuboth*, 50, a; *Arachin*, 28, a. See also Renan, *l'Évangile de Jésus*, p. 169, ff.

Essenes and disciples of John the Baptist despised riches, commanded alms-giving and the equal distribution or communistic possession of property. These sects, as well as Jesus and his disciples, believed that the poor would enjoy special privileges in the heavenly kingdom. Ingenious attempts have been made by Christian commentators to soften or explain away the saying of Jesus: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God."* They have even gone so far as to invent a Greek word, *καμίζος*, defined as a heavy cord or rope, thus suggesting difficulty, but not impossibility, in the salvation of the rich. The word, however, is spurious, being found nowhere outside the fertile imaginations of its originators. The "needle's eye" has also been explained as the designation of a low gate in the city walls of Jerusalem, through which a camel could only pass by kneeling and being stripped of its load, the proverb being thus robbed of its terrors, and made to convey only the trite suggestion of the impossibility of taking worldly riches into the life beyond the grave.

As a matter of fact, however, Jesus in this saying merely quoted or adapted a common Semitic proverb, which is found in a slightly altered form in the Talmud and the Koran as well as in the New Testament.† That his own interpretation was very literal appears not only from his admonition of the rich young man, but also in the parable of Lazarus and the rich man: the former of whom reposes after death in the bosom of Abraham, for no virtue, so far as we know, save his poverty; while the latter is suffering the torments of unquenchable fire, for no reason, so far as we know, save his riches.‡

In the parable of the wedding feast, also, Jesus appears to have taught that only the poor could inherit the heavenly kingdom.§ He pronounced blessings upon the poor and curses upon the rich.|| He commended his disciples to "lend, hoping for nothing in return." He forbade them to "lay up treasures upon the earth." He bade them "take no thought of the morrow," but live from day to day like the lilies of the field "which toil not."¶ He ordered them to make no provision for their journeys, but to solicit alms everywhere among those who would receive them, and to shake off the dust of their feet against that house which should refuse to entertain them.** He declared plainly the impossibility of at once serving God and Mammon.††

The attempts to soften, discredit, or explain away these explicit teachings of Jesus, while their obvious relation to his belief in the speedy advent of the heavenly kingdom, constituting their only rational explanation, is overlooked or ignored, have been both ingenious and amusing. They stand, however, as certainly reflecting the thought of the Master as anything recorded in the New Testament. The earliest communities of Jewish Christians accepted these doctrines; and their successors derived from them the designation of "Ebionites," from the Hebrew *Ebionim*, "the poor,"—a designation which came to be regarded as synonymous with the terms "saint" and "friend of God."

The Possibilism of Jesus.—His Views of Marriage and the Family.

It would appear from all these considerations that Jesus' view of existing society was essentially

* Mark x., 25; Matt. xix., 24; Luke xviii., 25.

† See Babylonian Talmud, tract *Bera Koth*, 55, b; *Baba melsa*, 30, b. Koran, Sura vii., 38.

‡ Luke xvi., 19-26.

§ Matt. xxii., 1-11. Compare Luke xiv., 12-14, 16-24.

|| Luke vi., 20, 24, 25. ¶ Matt. vi., 19-21, 28-32; Luke xii., 27-34.

** Matt. x., 8-15; Mark vi., 8-11; Luke ix., 3-5. †† Matt. vi., 24.

pessimistic. The present and natural social order he regarded as not worth saving. Its inevitable burdens were to be endured while they must, in hope that patient endurance would speedily work out "a more exceeding weight of glory."

In reference to the domestic relations, Jesus exhibited the same tendencies of thought and feeling which he manifested toward society in general. He declared that in the heavenly kingdom there would be "neither marrying nor giving in marriage." * Endeavoring to conform himself to this ideal condition in the midst of the existing order, he formed no family relations himself. He even withdrew from the companionship of his father's family, and declared that his true disciples, following his example, must "forsake father and mother, brother and sister, husband and wife," and devote themselves wholly to preparation for the coming kingdom. His true relations, he declared, were his disciples and followers.†

Yet we are not to suppose that his thought and action herein was occasioned by any deficiency of the natural affections. His love for little children was not the manifestation of a disposition naturally cold or ascetic. Of such, he declared, was the kingdom of God. "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child," he affirmed, "he shall not enter therein."‡ He took little children in his arms and blessed them, rebuking his disciples when they would prevent their mothers from bringing them into his presence.§ "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones," was his command to his followers. He appears to have regarded children as representatives of that purity and simplicity of character and that sincerity of faith and trust which he deemed essential to the members of the ideal community of the heavenly kingdom.

The relations of Jesus with his disciples, and with those families who received and entertained him, appear to have been always friendly and social. In this respect, certainly, he was no ascetic. He dined with Pharisees and Publicans alike,|| and was even accused by his enemies of being "gluttonous and a wine-bibber." Herein, he resembled neither the Essenes nor the disciples of the Baptist, who, like the Nazarites of old, were total abstainers, and lived on the most spare and frugal diet.

His views of the sacredness of the marriage relation, regarded as a necessary accompaniment of the existing social order, were of the most exigent character. He forbade divorce save for the single cause of adultery;¶ but he also defined adultery as the inward desire of the heart, which, if admitted literally as a sufficient cause for divorce, would perhaps open the doors as widely as is desired by any of our modern social reformers.** Doubtless, his doctrine of divorce, also, can only be rightly estimated as it is related to his belief in the speedy coming of the heavenly kingdom.

His Views of Education and Labor.

Jesus nowhere commends education or the systematic cultivation of the mind. Literary or scientific attainments formed no part of his own personal equipment, nor did he conceive of them as necessary or valuable to others. They were not an

* Matt. xxii., 30; Mark xii., 25; Luke xx., 35. According to another text (Matt. xix., 10-12), he even countenanced self-mutilation as an alternative to marriage.

† Matt. viii., 21, 22; x., 34-38; xix., 29; xii., 46-50; Mark x., 29, 30; iii., 31-35; Luke ix., 59-62; xiv., 26; xviii., 29, 30; viii., 19-28.

‡ Mark x., 15; Luke xviii., 17.

§ Matt., xix., 13-15; Mark x., 13, 14, 16; Luke xviii., 15, 16.

|| Matt. ix., 10-17; Mark x., 18, 19; Luke vii., 33, 34, 36.

¶ Matt. xix., 3-9.

** Compare Mark x., 2-12. In this older and perhaps more reliable version, the prohibition of divorce is absolute, not even adultery or fornication being recognized as a legitimate cause for divorcement. This would of course deprive the above suggestion of all force or pertinency.

essential part of the preparation for the kingdom of the future, wherein all useful knowledges would arise in the mind spontaneously by a divine intuition.

Opposing the acquisition of property, and adjuring his disciples to live as the lilies which toil not, he naturally refrained from any explicit recognition of the necessity, importance, and honorableness of labor. Incidentally, indeed, he declared that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," *—a principle which, carried to its logical conclusion, would conflict radically with every system of servile labor. Yet he nowhere expressly recognizes, either in approval or condemnation, the existing institution of chattel slavery,—an institution which, in the subsequent evolution of society, became a constantly aggravated social evil. Had he given it a thought, doubtless, like the apostle who returned the fugitive Onesimus, he would have deemed it better to endure the evil for a time without protest rather than to interfere directly with a social order which was so soon to pass away.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE REMONSTRANTS RIGHT.

Editors of The Index :—

It appears that the "Remonstrants" are going to block the wheels of the "Woman's Rights Movement," so called. And this is eminently right and proper. An effort extending back for forty years is pushed forward by certain women who have become particularly identified with this movement, and they have been aided by certain philanthropic men, and by some men well known; but there has always been in the movement more noise than strength.

So far as these efforts are directed to the opening of new avenues to women for getting money and wealth by their own exertions, I say, and all men say, God speed; but, when it comes to imposing new duties upon all women, a majority of them being already overburdened, then the women themselves rise up and remonstrate. Their remonstrance will be heard and heeded, and the right, privilege, and duty of voting will not be assumed by the female sex for an indefinitely long time; and this conclusion will be just.

For, as long as there is a respectable minority of the sex who are not willing to undertake the duties which belong to the ballot, so long there is no right in anybody to impose them upon it. There is a rule in the government of the United States House of Representatives, made to protect the minority, that allows one member by his single objection to turn aside and defeat the will of every one of his colleagues. So in the question of woman's voting. "I object," say the Remonstrants; and the business moves on to some other channel.

This matter of majority is conventional. In Russia, one is a majority. In America, sometimes 51 per cent. is a majority; while at other times it requires 67 per cent., as in Democratic Conventions, and again 75 per cent., as in amendments to the United States Constitution. Now here comes along a small clique or club or association or party, or whatever else you may call it, and demands to apply this conventional rule to the establishment of a new order of society, and to the breaking up of the traditions of that long interval since voting came into fashion as a factor, or, finally, as the factor, if you please, of governing.

The conventional rules of majority do not apply to this case. No legislature nor Congress, be the majority in favor of it never so great, can disturb a vested right. That principle has become so well settled that it has become an axiom. How much less can a majority of men decide that the female half of the world shall be charged with new and onerous duties and grave responsibilities! To these, the Remonstrants object. They declare that they are not ready for the change; that they have rights that society is bound to respect, and will respect; and that they will not assume the duties that are attempted to

* Luke x., 7. The connection, however, implies only the enunciation of the right of the disciples to food and lodging—the bare necessities of life—while they were prosecuting their missionary labors.

be foisted upon them. Congress and the legislatures have nothing in justice to do about the matter. It is beyond their province. They might as well be asked to legislate English out of and Sanskrit into the vernacular of the people. If the movers in this matter are anxious to succeed, let them proceed to convert the women of the body of the people to their notions; for they may rest assured of one thing,—namely, that, whenever the women of the land, with anything like unanimity, ask for the elective franchise, they will be sure to get it. There is nothing in this world that they are physically fitted for that they cannot do, if they will, and nothing they cannot have, if they desire it.

Now let us briefly examine the practical aspects of woman suffrage, and see whether the Remonstrants are not right in refusing this so-called boon.

The United States has finally adopted the practice of universal suffrage as to males, and its strongest advocates are not pleased with its success. The better class is constantly neglecting to vote, and rings led by a conscienceless set of demagogues rule the cities and rob the tax-payers. They even get hold of State governments, and they are not unknown at Washington. Spasmodically, the better class rise up and stamp upon these creatures; but, being endowed with immortal life, they constantly come to the top again.

New York has finally resorted to the unprecedented experiment of confiding the powers of her government mainly to one man, hoping that a knowledge of this fact may constantly draw out the vote of its conservative element, and thus secure good municipal government. Now, how, as an illustration, would female suffrage work there?

It is said that the *demi-monde* of that city embraces thirty thousand women. The vote of every voter among them might be safely put down for misrule and the robbery of high taxes. The great number of the good women who could find time to vote at all would vote as most of the good man vote,—on party lines. It is the great army of the neutrals that is to be relied upon to counterbalance the rings and their voters, and so it would be the neutral and independent-of-party women who would have to be relied upon to counterbalance the new auxiliaries of the rings. But here comes in the weak point of female suffrage; and that is, that not so large a proportion of the good, non-party women could be relied upon at the polls as of the good, independent-of-party men. The reason is obvious. It is inherent in woman. I estimate that fifteen per cent. of the best women would be necessarily absent from every election. This rule would only apply to the *demi-monde* with half the force or less. Then, after we have excepted the women who could not come to the election, how many respectable women, whose husbands or fathers did not insist upon it, would come out in rain or snow or slush, and stand in a queue to await their chance to vote and their share of the gibes and sneers that would be sure to be cast upon them?

But I think I hear the friends of the measure say: "We should not propose to require the women to vote with the men. We should provide separate and suitable quarters with fires and dressing-rooms, with suitable refreshments." Exactly; and, I doubt not, pretty soon, with proxies, so that all the discomforts and labors of voting might be avoided. Gallantry should go a great way; but allow me to say that the rulers of parties and members of rings have no gallantry to waste in politics. Throw open your ballot-boxes to women; and then gentlemen will soon discover how to disfranchise (practically) the respectable women, while they avail themselves of the female vote they want.

In the South, the effect of female suffrage would be mischievous in the last degree. Add another million of ignorant voters to the million we have now, with polling places far distant, often ten or even twenty miles from some of the voters' residences, and tell me how many of the reliable and respectable women could you expect to go to the distant polls? But every darkey wench would go. It would be only a frolic for her.

To saddle upon our overworked women the duty of riding over bad roads, perhaps behind oxen, and camping out of nights in fear and risk or in the presence of rain and the victims of insects, vainly to attempt to counterbalance the gratuitous and useless increase of ignorance and irresponsibility at the polls is to put upon them a duty which, as they have not

asked for it nor coveted it, they will decline to accept. I know they will thank their sisters, the Remonstrants, for the stand they have taken in bearding this lion in his very den.

JOHN G. WEBB.

OSPREY, FLA.

EMERSON'S THEISM.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In *The Index* of September 25, under the title of "The Ghost of Theism," W. S. Kennedy admits that Emerson "is theistic in his prose and in many parts of his poems." This fact I wish to emphasize. Throughout Emerson's writings, his theism is made prominent. His belief in Deity seems to be the mainspring of his inspiration. In the lofty prose-poem, "The Over-Soul," this is especially discernible. From point to point in that wonderful essay, he rises to the rapture of the saint; but his statement is intellectual, and has not, as he says of Plato's writings,—"what is, no doubt, incident to the regnancy of intellect in his work,—the vital authority which the screams of prophets and the sermons of unlettered Arabs and Jews possess." But precious to the soul in its rational search after the "Supreme Intelligence" are Emerson's words in the above-named essay: "Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul. . . . How dear, how soothing to man, arises the idea of God, peopling the lonely place, effacing the scars of our mistakes and disappointments! The soul gives itself, alone, original, and pure, to the Lonely, Original, and Pure, who, on that condition, gladly inhabits, leads, and speaks through it. Then is it glad, young, and nimble. It is not wise, but it sees through all things. It is not called religious, but it is innocent. It calls the light its own, and feels that the grass grows and the stone falls by a law inferior to, and dependent on, its nature. Behold, it saith, I am born into the great, the universal mind. I, the imperfect, adore my own Perfect. I am somehow receptive of the great soul, and thereby I do overlook the sun and stars, and feel them to be the fair accidents and effects which change and pass. More and more the surges of everlasting nature enter into me, and I become public and human in my regards and actions. So come I to live in thoughts, and act with energies which are immortal."

Something more than "The Ghost of Theism" is visible in these passages, and others of kindred nature may be culled in abundance from Emerson's glowing pages. In "Spiritual Laws," he exclaims: "O my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the centre of nature, and over the will of every man, so that none of us can wrong the universe." And, in "Self-reliance," he says, "When a man lives with God, his voice shall be as sweet as the murmur of the brook and the rustle of the corn." In "The Poet," we are admonished that "the spirit of the world, the great, calm presence of the Creator, comes not forth to the sorceries of opium or of wine"; and, in "The Problem," we find

"The passive Master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned;
And the same power that reared the shrine
Bestrode the tribes that knelt within."

But it is needless to multiply examples. Emerson had evidently no "plunge" to take from "the shore of the dark river of nescience," but was ever serene in the thought that "as a plant upon the earth, so a man rests upon the bosom of God; he is nourished by unfailing fountains, and draws, at his need, inexhaustible power."

M. F. D.

STONES AND BREAD.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In the article of *The Index* of September 4, on "Stones for Bread," by Thomas Davidson, what this writer says of the demand for strict morality in a moral teacher has our hearty approval; but he evidently has no moral sympathy with a person educated in Orthodoxy and gradually emerging from the pit through doubt and fear. Teachers generally reject one error in this old creed at a time; and, while passing through their state of mental evolution, they may be very inconsistent with themselves while they are wholly sincere. There is often a state of semi-intellectual looseness when the heart is honest. Persons in a transition state are not bound to preach all their

doubts. A person grows into the rejection of such doctrines as trinity and eternal punishment by degrees. The evil is oftener in one's circumstances than in himself, and those preachers who accept their creed "for substance" of doctrines are not conscious of dishonesty. Prof. Swing, on trial, seemed to believe statements of doctrine which seemed to be refuted in his public teachings. There are many preachers who consent to the best results of natural science, who do not see the inconsistency between those results and their own theology. They are not dishonest, however illogical they may be.

To declare that, "for the most part," the preachers of this country are more dishonest than "men of any other profession" is an outrageous slander. It is admitted that they may have a creed which they have learned by rote, and still really think that they honestly believe it. They may show "a sad want of intellectual thoroughness, courage, and spirituality"; but they may still be honest. On the basis of Bible authority and interpretation, preachers may teach the most unreasonable dogmas and still speak their inmost convictions. The writer supposes that the "historical criticism and philosophical discussion" of this age must naturally lead all minds to the same conclusions. He does not allow for the mental condition of these thousands who adhere to the old doctrines, despite the "light which is in the world to-day." He may say that the light which is in them is darkness, but still it is their light. A boy put under Catholic authorities at the age of twelve years, and kept twelve years under such authorities till he is a priest, must believe the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Many Protestant ministers are educated almost exclusively under dogmatic influence. The narrower one's scope of vision, the more intense is his conviction and the deeper his sincerity. The average orthodox minister who sticks "doggedly to his old-fashioned notions" is as honest as he is bigoted. His errors are more of his head than of his heart. I say this, not in charity, but from sheer justice. All educated persons do not accept the results of the Dutch school of Biblical criticism nor the conclusions of the Concord School of Philosophy, and still those persons may be honest. All scientists are not evolutionists. The religious mind of the age is subject to the law of evolution in accordance with which gills precede lungs, fins arms, and a fish is the prophecy of a man. Is it not honest in the amphibian to use gills in the water and lungs in the air? There are amphibian preachers. I scorn the statement that "the Christian ministry is, at the present day, one of the most effective schools of deceit in existence." Let those who stand outside of all religious institutions show us that they can be just to the deluded orthodox.

Let us now look at the charge that many ministers who accept the advanced views of religion "go on preaching the old doctrines, trying, for the low motives of money, position, and popularity, to convince themselves and others by means of vague, equivocal language that they still adhere to them."

We admit that there is a considerable number such, as he illustrates by the "Episcopal minister"; but their error is more of the head, in a theory of moral action, than in the intention. There may be many liberal-minded persons in the pulpits who are trying to filter the new theology into the minds of their hearers by the indefinite use of popular phrases, and they verily think they are doing God service in this way. Their ethics are Jesuitical. But such preachers are an exceptional class, and their peculiarity is generally recognized by their hearers. They do not represent the average educated Christian minister of any denomination. There is the liberal orthodox preacher who is a time-server, and there is the liberal teacher in an orthodox pulpit, who is honest and true according to his light.

Rev. Heber Newton is a representative of such; and there are many in the country who are in the Congregational churches, and under the yoke of no imposed creed, who are as honest as he. We regret to find men of the class to whom we would object, who are liberal or orthodox according to their companions and the occasion. I believe a minister who gains the reputation of being a Unitarian or Universalist or a Rationalist, while filling the place of an orthodox minister faithfully, does not put conscience into his religion; and the layman who upholds him in this stage-acting, knowing his private opinions, has no religious conscience. There are a few such people;

but fifty laymen who uphold the double policy for the sake of the pews, where there is one minister who preaches from the low motives referred to. Some denominations have an immoral policy with heretics. It is frankly said by Methodists that they did not wish to trouble or persecute Dr. Thomas, of Chicago. He could hold what opinions he chose, only he must preach Methodism. Yes: they would be willing that he be dishonest with himself, if he would preach Methodism. In this direction, the Methodists, some of them, seem to be falling from grace. But such are only a class, and do not represent the mass of the Methodist Church.

S. S. HUNTING.

THE MORMON OATHS.

Editors of *The Index* :—

The charges made against the Mormons by Mr. Michelsen, one of the "apostates," in *The Index* of September 11, whether true or false, were well calculated to stimulate that prejudice or feeling already so strong against this religious sect to its highest pitch of intensity. I, too, have been through the Endowment House, and at the proper time and place will tell my own story, which will be found, however, to be but a very small part of the whole story which begins with the article in this week's *Index*. But I must make one or two observations now. The Endowment House oaths are the result, and not the cause of persecution; while the reports given of them thus far have been in a spirit of malignant exaggeration. The testimony of this "apostate" may be offset by that of Bishop Tuttle, whom he misquotes at the very head of his article by the omission of these words, "I know them to be honest, faithful, and prayerful workers," and also by the fact that this Bishop in the Episcopal Church had had a residence among the Mormons of some twenty-five or thirty years. It would seem as if these revealers of the secrets of the Endowment House are a refutation of their own charges, as these things which they relate as so horrible prove not to have been the cause of their own apostasy; while their revelation of them eventually has not brought them any personal harm. And, to the party now in question, these oaths, it seems, were quite endurable, not going "against the stomach of his sense"; while the prophet's avowal that "the best revelation he ever had was good sound sense" proved that Mormonism was not of God, was not divine!

T. W. CURTIS.

BOOK NOTICES.

OUTLINES OF PSYCHOLOGY, with Special Reference to the Theory of Education. A Text-Book for Colleges. By James Sully, M.A., author of *Sensation and Intuition*, *Illusions*, etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1884.

There is no science which has been so radically revolutionized by modern scientific and philosophic thought as that of psychology, and this book is a spontaneous result of this change in the method of viewing mental phenomena. In the old method of study, physiological conditions were ignored, and the universality of the application of the doctrine of evolution to all phenomena was unknown; and the attempt was made to erect this science on a metaphysical basis, deducing the whole from a few abstractions from our mental experience. But, when it was discovered that our mental as well as physical life is slowly and solidly built up by the conspiracy of the myriad influences acting as stimuli upon the sensitive organism, itself the result of the same evolutionary process carried on through ages of ever-accumulating toil, a science of the most mysterious and unknown domain of human inquiry became possible. In view of the fact that the development of scientific thought in other departments have shown this to be the most difficult of all sciences, on account of the extreme complexity of the ever-varying phenomena, involving in their operations the twofold world of mind and matter, it may be said to be yet in its infancy, and consequently cannot by any means be regarded as a completed science.

But, as a compendium of what has been accomplished toward this end, this work fills a much-needed want; and its value can hardly be over-estimated. The new method of studying this science has enabled the able author to give a clear, full, and most interesting account of the different phases of mental action; and he treats all the various

classes of the phenomena with great scientific completeness and accuracy, and in a manner to be easily understood by the common mind. The feeling which pervades one's mind on its perusal is, not that he is soaring in the thin air of metaphysical abstractions, which offer no fulcrum for his thought, but that he is dealing with concrete facts, which spontaneously admit of practical application in his every-day experience.

The author has long been a persistent student of mental science from the evolutionist's stand-point, and has written many periodical essays, besides publishing other works upon the same subject, notably among which are *Sensation and Intuition* and *Illusions*, both of which are most valuable contributions to our knowledge of mind. He brings to his work in this book a vast fund of information from English and foreign authors, and every page bears marks of one who is conversant with the views and conclusions of the leading writers upon mental science.

The paramount importance of this work in the cause of education cannot be too highly estimated. If a fraction of the time devoted to the study of obsolete languages were given to the new psychology, the results would entirely overbalance any beneficial influence of theirs to education and general culture. The reasons for this are very palpable; for, while these linguistic studies deal with the superficial developments of mental phenomena,—isolated mental facts,—the study of psychology, by enlarging our knowledge of the universal nature and science of mental action, out from which all linguistic as well as all other mental development springs, enables us to comprehend them in their very origin and connections, and to detect the shades of meaning in the variations and derivations of terms resulting from changes in psychological states and conditions, in consonance with changes in material conditions and in all the different phases of social environment.

The work consists of seven hundred and eleven pages, divided into fourteen chapters, in which all the different phases of sentience are very fully treated respectively, as follows: Scope and Method of Psychology; Mental Operations and their Conditions; Mental Development, Attention, which are especially valuable; Sensation; Perception; Reproductive Imagination (Memory); Constructive Imagination; Conception; Judgment and Reasoning; Feeling (Simple Feeling); the Complex Feelings (Sentiments),—under this head are treated Sympathy, Intellectual Sentiment, Aesthetic Sentiment, and Moral Sentiment; the Will (Voluntary Movement), in which the nature of Desire and its relations to Will in connection with Representation are ably elucidated; Complex Action (Conduct), besides several pages of very interesting appendices. The evolution of the mental faculties in the mind of the child is very fully treated in connection with various phases of mental action throughout the work.

SOME HERETICS OF YESTERDAY. By S. E. Herrick, D.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.50.

In this volume, we have a course of twelve lectures given as a Sunday evening course to the people of his church, by Rev. Dr. Herrick, of the Mt. Vernon Street Church of this city. For these lectures, the writer could well have taken the words of Lowell as a text:—

"By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back.
And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet hearts have burned."

Dr. Herrick's "Heretics" are "Tauler and the Mystics," "Wiclif," "Hus," "Savonarola," "Latimer," "Crammer," "Melancthon," "Knox," "Calvin," "Coligny," "William Brewster," and "John Wesley." These lectures give an excellent bird's-eye view of the advance in Christian theology from 1290 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The advance since then has been much more rapid and wide-spread; and the "heretics" of these days are the religious saints, if not the religious bigots, in the thought of some of the thinkers of to-day. Though delivered from a Christian stand-point, these sketches are admirably filled out, and present to Christian or radical an excellent epitome of the progress of religious thought.

THE VIKING BODLEYS: An Excursion into Norway and Denmark. By Horace E. Scudder, author of the *Bodley Books*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.50.

This is the eighth and last volume of those delightful story books for young people, the *Bodley Books*. The author, referring to the characters which he created, says: "For my part, I, the writer of these simple chronicles, have other friends to whom to say farewell. I bid good-by to the many children and their parents who have followed me year after year as I have set down the observations and thoughts which were part recollections of my own childhood, part the creations of a playful fancy, part the new discoveries which come to us when we who were children have children." The present volume describes the journey of the Bodley family through Denmark and Norway, giving a realistic description of the people and manners of those countries. Considerable space is devoted to Björnson, Ole Bull, Hans Christian Andersen, and Thorwaldsen, whose portraits, with other pictures of interest regarding them, are given. The book is beautifully bound, has eight full-page illustrations, and about forty smaller ones, picturing noteworthy places, scenes, or people of the countries described.

WHAT'S THE MATTER? By Celia B. Whitehead. Southington, Mass. Price 25 cts.

This pamphlet is a vigorous appeal for reform in the dress of women. Mixed with considerable wholesome and sensible truth on the subject, there is also much crudeness of thought and impracticable suggestions in regard to the reform dress to be adopted in accordance with the writer's ideas. The style is lively, earnest, and readable.

THE Art Amateur for October might be called a Club Number. It gives "Glimpses of the Tile Club of New York" by Mr. Lathrop, illustrated by woodcuts of the works of the artists who belong to it. These are clever sketches in charcoal, and show vigor and life in the club. It is a small association, composed entirely of artists. The object of the club seems to be social enjoyment, which encourages good feeling among the artists rather than serious study. "Beta" gives an account of the Art Clubs of Boston, and the reasons why artists are dissatisfied with the original Art Club, whose control has passed into the hands of moneyed men rather than members of the profession. It is a mistake frequently made to seek rapid outward success for an institution by admitting to its counsels and government those who are not fully committed to the aims and purposes for which it is founded. Such a course brings fine buildings and large investments, but not real success in carrying out the idea. "The Paint and Clay Club" has striven to make up for this defect by confining its membership to "contributors to Art." It appears to be on friendly terms with the Art Club, which has granted to it the use of its gallery. The "St. Botolph's Club" is a more general association, including literary men. "There is one objection to all these clubs,—that they exclude women, in order that they may admit" "wine and cigars," the sale of which articles contributes largely to the pecuniary success of the Clubs. We hope Boston may yet have artistic and literary associations not open to these objections. There is the usual variety of interesting instruction and illustration in *Decorative Art*. The *Art Amateur* is a welcome guest in every household where there is a love of beauty or a taste for fancy work.—E. D. C.

THE Revue de Belgique for September, after discussing military and academic training, gives a powerful article by Count Goblet d'Alviella on the best way to resist those reactionary papists who have not only crippled the public school system of Belgium, and thrown open all the municipal and village treasures to be plundered by the clergy and the convents, but have openly violated the national constitution. The Church has taken such a position that her priests must be simply electioneering agents, who meddle with religion in their spare moments, but always with a view to political spoils. The clerical party opposes so obstinately all expenditure of money on the public schools that the friends of education ought in return to set themselves against any State aid to public worship. The mottoes of the Belgian liberals must be, "No more plunder of the State by the Church!" "Down with the convents!" Our friends expect soon to be obliged to add, "Down with the Church."

THE INEVITABLE.*

[In memoriam of Miss Hardaker, among whose last words uttered to the only near friend who stood by her death-bed were these: "I have made a hard fight, but have to yield."]

Her serious life
Was constant strife
Betwixt her fortune and desire;
Her strong, firm will
No fate could chill
Nor e'en her steady purpose tire.

The victories gained,
The ends attained,
To her seemed earnest of her dower;
That fragile frame
To her became
But servant of volition's power.

The weaker-souled
To whom she doled
A scornful pity,—courage-bred,—
For winds that swayed
Or storms which laid
Their fairest hopes among the dead,

Eyed her askance,
Said, "If perchance
Death inevitable should come
At life's high noon,
Would she attune
Her will to resignation dumb?

"That would decide
Her strength of pride,
If, quivering not in Death's cold clutch,
She dared defeat,
And tried to cheat
Him of the life she loves so much."

We little guessed
How soon such test
By that brave soul would be endured;
Her heart ne'er failed,
She never quailed,
Even when Death's victory was assured.

She faced alone
The vast Unknown,
Dared lone the mysteries thus revealed;
She asked no friend
To share the end;
In silence masked her thought concealed.

Thus to await
Her new estate,
Her new life's birth or sole life's close,
Gave evidence
That no pretence
Had ruled her vaunt to friend or foe.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE people of Wyoming Territory are to vote upon the 4th of November on the question of taxing church property.

THE Executive Committee of the Prohibition party has issued a call to the people of this country, in view of the evils of the liquor traffic, "to observe Wednesday, October 29, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession."

THE First Spiritual Temple in this city, now nearly completed, is a massive and lofty edifice. The cost of the building and the lot on which it stands is said to be \$250,000, the gift of Mr. Ayer, a wealthy Spiritualist. The main hall will seat fifteen hundred persons; and in addition there are small halls for lectures, schools, and other purposes.

On the 13th, after the celebration of mass in St. Peter's, London, the bishop of the diocese and the clergy and the congregation, numbering five hundred, proceeded to the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, where they knelt and prayed for the conversion of England to the ancient faith. The *Despatch* says: "The people made the sign of the cross. The visitors at the Abbey were much astonished by the proceeding."

MR. VANDERBILT'S munificent gift of half a million dollars to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the City of New York, is a most praiseworthy contribution to the advancement of medical science, which will receive grateful acknowledgment from all who are interested in the study and practice of medicine, and from intelligent people generally, who see the intimate relation between a knowledge of the cause and cure of disease and the general welfare.

SOME of the religious papers of New York think the new five-cent rule of the elevated roads will lead to desecration of the Sabbath, but the *Christian Union* speaks in praise of it as follows: "This is a good movement, and one to be encouraged as a promotion of better Sunday observance; for it will enable the poor classes, hived in their tenement-houses during six days in the week, to

get into the country with their families at little expense. It will, we trust, afford a counter attraction to the Sunday excursions, which are almost invariably accompanied with drinking, often with carousing, and sometimes with fighting. Anything which tends to break up the tenement-house system in New York is beneficent, even if it breaks in upon it only one day in seven."

It is now urged against Carl Schurz that he is an "infidel." Gath writes to a Cincinnati paper: "In my first letter, I described him as having been born of good Catholic parents. It seems that he has no religion himself. . . . He has no respect for the humblest class and no recognition of God. Where has he attended church in this country since he came to it? Yet his English education has made him very careful about offending the Orthodox instincts of the Americans." The letter is headed, "A man without religion, honesty, or principle." Gath, who seems to be devoid of piety except during political campaigns, is in pretty small business when he attempts to excite popular prejudice and resentment against a man in a political contest, because of his views on religious matters.

THE London Society for Psychical Research was organized two years ago. The president is Prof. Henry Sidgwick, who fills the chair of moral philosophy at Cambridge. It has four hundred members, among whom are Rayleigh, Tennyson, Ruskin, Balfour Stewart, and Prof. W. F. Barrett. The society divides its work into several departments, each of which is under its own committee. Among the objects of investigation are hypnotism, mesmeric trance, clairvoyance, Spiritualism, alleged apparitions, etc. It aims to separate illusion and deception from fact, and to make a scientific examination of certain obscure phenomena instead of leaving them to the control of chance or charlatanism. Consequently, instead of putting aside any alleged phenomena as impossible, on the ground that the belief in them is the result of superstition, it endeavors to explain or expose them by its own original investigations. We understand that a Psychical Research Society, modelled after the London organization, has been formed in Philadelphia.

REV. W. J. COLEMAN, referring in the *Christian Statesman* to the Prohibition party, after mentioning that the National Reform Association ("the God in the Constitution party") has been laboring forty years "to vindicate the claims of our Lord Jesus Christ to national acknowledgment and obedience," rejoices that "now there rises a party which, in the first plank of its platform, acknowledges God's sovereignty over nations and the supreme authority of his Word." Of those who compose this party, he says: "So far as I know, they are all Christians. Infidels are on the other side, as the champions of man's 'personal rights.'" The fact is, "infidels," so called, have been pioneers in the cause of temperance, and, in proportion to their number and means, are not behind Christians in trying to lessen the evils of the liquor

traffic and supporting rational temperance principles; but how can they, while working for the complete separation of Church and State, supposing they have overcome all objection to what is implied in prohibition, give support to a party that would, if it had power, make such changes in the National Constitution as would virtually disfranchise them? Temperance is a virtue; but, when the honest sentiment in favor of it is, through the influence of men of narrow religious views and intolerant zeal, misdirected to the support of a movement which not only opposes every effort to remove the existing remnants of the union of Church and State in this country, but aims to Christianize the government and to incorporate into the Constitution sectarian theological dogmas, consistent "infidels" will think twice before giving such a movement their support. The cause of temperance deserves better associations and wiser leadership than it gets from those who use it to secure legislation in the interests of sectarianism, and against religious freedom and equal and exact justice for all.

THE *Investigator* says, "A Spiritualist, and even a Christian, as well as an Agnostic, might join the League; for it does not at all interfere with any of their views on religion." This accords, with the design of the founders of the National Liberal League; but is it consistent with the declarations of its Secretary over his official signature, in regard to building "halls for Liberalism," promising that, if "friends give of their wealth, they shall see the cross vanish in the laboratory of science," and talking about "our consolation, our faith, our glory founded in the life that now is," "the noble consolations of our secular faith," etc.? Since Christians are invited to join the League, is not a Christian eligible to office? If elected to the position of secretary, would he be permitted by the liberal members to declare officially his intention to build Christian churches, "to speak our word, our consolation, our faith, our glory in the life that is" to come, "the noble consolations" of our Christian faith, etc.? When the co-operation of all who believe in complete State secularization is solicited in support of an organized movement for that distinct purpose, how can the leaders of such a movement, by their official words and acts, honestly or fairly commit it either to Christianity or to "our secular faith"? If Liberals wish to unite for the propagation of any particular religious or anti-religious philosophy, it is their right to do so; but they have no right to declare that their work is one in which "even a Christian as well as an Agnostic might join," and then announce a policy and a programme in which no Christian can concur, and to which some even who are not Christians conscientiously object. We go as far as anybody in the rejection of theology and in opposing it fairly and honorably, but do not believe in, and cannot even by silence consent to, the smuggling into a movement announced by its leaders to be solely for State secularization a scheme to oppose the religious faith of thousands who sincerely believe in State secularization.

AN OASIS IN THE POLITICAL DESERT.

In the midst of the crimination and recrimination of the pending Presidential campaign, and the dreary dearth of commanding political principles in the discussions on party platforms and in the party press, it is refreshing to find an account in a few of the newspapers of a very important philanthropic meeting that has been held in behalf of the reformation of the national Indian policy. This meeting took place at Lake Mohonk, New York, in the last week of September, and continued three days. It was called by Albert K. Smiley, one of the United States Indian Commissioners, who is the proprietor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House and its twenty-five hundred acres of forest grounds. In his capacity as commissioner, he has himself made frequent visits to the Indians, and has a thorough knowledge of the Indian problem; and the object of the meeting was to bring together in conference as many as possible of those persons who, either as Indian Commissioners or agents or educators, understand the practical condition and needs of the Indians, and also prominent representatives of that class of citizens who are now philanthropically interested in the civilization of the Indian as the only solution of the Indian question. It was, therefore, a conference that was important by its weight of character; and its voice can but have great influence in moulding public sentiment, and even in affecting congressional opinion, if Congressmen, after the Presidential election is over, can be induced to give heed for a few weeks to the elementary principles of common sense and justice in legislating upon Indian affairs.

Among the members of the Conference, which numbered about sixty persons, were Gen. Clinton B. Fish, Gen. E. Whittlesey, William McMichael, and William H. Lyons, who are also on the Board of Indian Commissioners with Mr. Smiley; Dr. Rhoads, Henry S. Pancoast, Herbert Welsh, and Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, who represented the Indian Rights Association; Gen. Armstrong of Hampton, Va., and Captain Pratt of Carlisle, Pa., who have had experience as practical educators of Indian boys and girls; Gen. R. M. Milroy, who has been a wise and successful Indian agent in Washington Territory; and Alice C. Fletcher, who has just completed most satisfactorily the difficult and delicate task, as government agent, of settling the Omaha Indians upon lands in severalty, with individual deeds of ownership. In addition to these were several officers of associations for doing educational missionary work among the Indians, and other noted men and women specially interested in obtaining legislation for righting the Indian's wrongs.

The work of the Conference was carefully laid out with a view of confining the discussions to a logical order, and bringing them to a clear and definite conclusion. The whole subject was divided into two parts: first, Indian citizenship as the solution of the Indian problem; second, criticism of the present national system of managing the Indians. Each of these parts was again subdivided, and hours allotted successively for consideration of each of the subdivisions. Under the first head were considered: proofs of Indian capacity for citizenship, and, as necessary for securing and maintaining citizenship, the ownership of lands in severalty with a personal and protected title; the ballot; education in all its branches, industrial, intellectual, moral, and religious; also, for accomplishing these ends, the reformation of public opinion and the reformation of national legislation. Under the second head, the discussions covered the matters of government treaties

with the Indians, the reservation system, government aid and agencies, law and courts. It was clearly shown that the custom of making treaties with the Indians as if they were a foreign people, the granting to them large tracts of territory without showing them how to cultivate it, the taking care of them through agents (and often dishonest agents) as if they could not take care of themselves, and their anomalous position in respect to the national laws and courts, are great obstacles in the way of Indian civilization. Yet it was also admitted that, in order to prevent suffering, these obstacles must be gradually removed, while the Indian is being prepared by education and supervision, through carefully chosen wise agents, to pass from the present system to that which is proposed.

As to the capacity of the Indians for civilization and hence for citizenship, there was no question among these men and women, whose testimony on this matter is to be regarded as that of experts. The fact was brought out that, in several instances where the conditions had been favorable, and even sometimes in the face of great difficulties, tribes or portions of tribes are already far on the road to civilization. Commissioner Lyons, for instance, said of the Flandreau Indians, a part of the Sante Sioux, who for the last nine years have had homesteads in Flandreau, Dakota, that they "have already good farms, excellent houses,—in some of them a melodeon,—clean and nice housekeeping. The merchants of Flandreau trust them the same as white men; the banks likewise. They are already civilized,—that is, Americanized,—good citizens; and yet some of them were of the bloody Sioux who engaged in the New Ulm massacre."

Nor was there any essential difference of opinion in the Conference as to what needs to be done. The resolutions were clear and pointed. They recommended the adoption of measures that would gradually abolish the tribal relation and the reservation system, and the granting of lands in severalty at once to all Indians who are ready to take them. It was also resolved that the bill which passed the Senate at the last session, known as the Coke bill, would, though susceptible of some amendment, be a good law for effecting this object, and that the House of Representatives should be urged to pass it at the coming session of Congress. Another resolution declared that all adult male Indians occupying lands in severalty should be admitted to full privileges of citizenship, including the ballot, by a process analogous to naturalization, on evidence of adequate qualifications presented before a court. Strong protest was made against the Indians being removed from one reservation to another, entailing much loss and suffering upon them, because their lands happen to be wanted by white settlers; and education, especially industrial, was urged as the sovereign remedy necessary to accompany all other measures, and the government was called upon to increase its appropriations for this object. It was equally urged that the issuing of rations for the support of the Indians, though now often a necessity on account of the bad policy of the government, is a demoralizing, pauperizing custom, and should as rapidly as possible be made unnecessary by training the Indians to self-support.

There was abundant evidence offered to show that the experiments already made in respect to education and self-supporting industry have had a most encouraging success. The testimony of Miss Fletcher and of Gen. Milroy, direct from their devoted labors of many years among the Omahas and the Puget Sound Indians, was especially valuable on this and all other points which came up for discussion. Miss Fletcher struck the key-note

of the solution of the Indian problem, when she said, "The only way out for the Indian is right out into the midst of our civilization." And Gen. Milroy hit the philosophy of the method in saying: "The Indians have capacity enough, but they lack culture and the desire for accumulation. One word is the key to Indian civilization and to all civilization,—*Want*. Increase the Indian's wants, and you increase his civilization."

It is to be hoped that the results of this excellent meeting will not be entirely lost in the turmoil of present political strife. It is a sign of a new era for the Indian in our country. Here is no party question. It is a question of simple justice, honor, and enlightenment to a wronged race. And, whichever party shall succeed in the approaching national election, Congress should be besieged with petitions to put such recommendations as this Conference has made into laws.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PRAISE OF CITIES.

I.

The controversy of the town and country mouse is old in literature, and is continually recurrent in our modern life. If its merits were to be decided by an appeal to the poets or to the literary class in general, to get a verdict for the country side would be an easy matter. The poetry of the country is an infinite quantity and has an infinite variety. The poetry of the city—one could read all the best of it in half an hour. Bryant's "Hymn of the City" is but a poor companion for his "Forest Hymn"; and it is a poem by itself, while the "Forest Hymn" is one of many of the closest kin. Wordsworth has left us hardly anything more perfect than his "Early Morning on Westminster Bridge."

"Earth hath not anything to show more fair.
Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty:
This city now doth like a garment wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields and to the sky;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendour valley, rock, and hill;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!
The river glideth at his own sweet will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still."

But here, again, we have a poem by itself; while of Wordsworth's nature—poems the name is legion, and their beauty is "too great for rivalry, too high for praise." It is true that Wordsworth and Bryant are pre-eminently nature poets; but, in the total range of modern poetry, the proportion of the city's to the country's praise is hardly greater than is to be found in theirs. But there have been men of letters who have loved the city well. Sir Walter Scott was sure that he should die if he couldn't see the heather now and then. Charles Lamb was equally dependent on the sights and sounds that made the London of his heart. He was homesick for these in the lake-country of Wordsworth's habitual admiration. Grasmere and Windermere could not detain him long. His happiest hour was when he stood again within the shadow of St. Paul's. And Thackeray was a man of cities, and Dickens was just London incarnate. What one of all its queerest nooks and corners did he not know and love? And, in his novels, their queerness will delight a dozen generations, who will seek in vain for the originals, swept into nothingness by the remorseless tides of change and progress and decay. Indeed, the modern novel is seldom, with some great exceptions, pastoral or idyllic. It is an affair of cities. Its situations are the dining-rooms and parlors of the city house. There is covert praise in this. It means that in the city there is

better opportunity to study life and character than in country neighborhoods. And where there is most life and character is pretty evidently the place where a live man or woman would prefer to be.

The inference is common from the praise of country scenery and country life, in which modern poetry abounds, to the superiority of country life as compared with that of cities. It is a hasty inference. The loveliest or the grandest scenery does not imply the happiest and most successful life.

"The God that made New Hampshire
Taunted the lofty land with little men."

This contrast has not been uncommon. It was Buckle's theory, and there was much to recommend it, that the most imposing scenery is fatal to the growth of character. It is too potent for the imagination, and it is the nurse of superstition. The application here, of course, is to the humbler races of mankind, and not to those who go to nature fortified with the arts and sentiments of an elaborate civilization. In our own time, it is not clear that natural beauty either creates or cultivates the sense by which it is enjoyed. Witness the slaughter of the innocents against which every summer I expostulate in vain. No sooner is the summer haying done than the heart of the farmer is seized with an incomprehensible Berserker rage against all roadside beauty. Down, down it goes before his axe or scythe. In fifteen or twenty minutes, he thanks God, he can destroy a tree that it has taken the economy of nature fifteen or twenty years to grow. If he could reduce the mountains to an equal ruin, he would not for a moment hesitate. Their beauty does not generally exist for him. He approves the taste of that eccentric Englishman who, with the loveliest site in England at his command, built his house without a window on the viewsome side. With a view beseeching admiration, how not to see it is apparently the New England farmer's dominant idea. But, in truth, he doesn't think of it at all. Such love of nature, such delight in her, as exists for country people is not indigenous to the soil. It is imported from the cities. It would be an interesting matter to discover how much of the praise of country scenery and country life has been written by habitual dwellers in country towns and villages and ruder places. One who is himself a country poet testifies that

"Only those who in sad cities dwell
Are of the green trees fully sensible."

Too sweeping this, but a sufficient symbol of the fact that natural beauty finds its commonest and best appreciation among those who are not to the manner born, or who have been taught by absence better to understand the power and beauty of those things which had for them, at first, no potent charm. One of the most important items in the praise of cities is this amusing paradox, that the life of cities is the happiest preparation for the enjoyment of that natural beauty of which the country is the grand purveyor.

But those who live in cities are too quick, I am persuaded, to concede to the country all the beauty that there is. After my first pleasant Sunday here in Brooklyn, I took a steamer at the evening's quiet end, and started on my journey back to Western Massachusetts. Thousands of many-colored lights sparkled and gleamed along the shores and on the craft that crept or hurried by. They seemed almost as many as the lights that glittered overhead. But the most magical effect of all was when we swept with easy, noiseless motion into the lights and shadows of the bridge. Preternaturally dark and bright, they gleamed and gloomed upon the broken surface of the tide, and the great towers loomed above us like two mighty

sentinels guarding the vast and solemn cities in their sleep; and it seemed to me that all my summer's joyance had not brought to me so fair a sight, that I had never been so touched, so thrilled by any purely natural beauty. This was not purely natural. It was a sweet conspiracy of earth and heaven, man and God. It is habitually at night, when the beauty of the country sleeps, save when Diana wakes Endymion with her kisses, that the beauty of the city is most strikingly revealed. Then everything that is harsh in outline, tawdry in decoration, is subdued and chastened by the infallible genius of the dark. And, when the rain is coming down in torrents that would make the country night a terror to the heart, the beauty of the city grows and grows. The lights and shadows and the reflections of the flooded streets make up a wonder that is almost enough to drive an artist mad as he attempts to reproduce its brilliant phantasy. And then, too, in addition to all these uncalculated and unbought perfections of the city are the beauties of its music and its art, the former bringing to our city weariness such melodies as are beyond the reach of any bird or stream, the latter making forests green for us and rivers warm and bright, when all the country woods are bare and sere and all the streams go creeping under icy roofs down to the cheerless sea.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE COST OF MAN.

I.

Thou, thyself, O reader (who art an achievement of importance), over what hair-breadth bridges of accident, through what yawning perils, and the man-devouring gulf of centuries hast thou got safe hither from Adam all the way.—*Carlyle*.

From *Adam*? Thou mighty, sombre shade,—from the Ascidian. A man comes, crossing more bridges of accident than Carlyle ever dreamed. *Man* came, and his way hither was bridged by a miracle. So dreamed the ancients. And so the face of nature seemed to teach. For this body,—so complex, and so adjusted, member to member and structure to function,—does it not imply a maker in the same sense as a watch? Look deeper. The eye seems the most perfect of organs, and to Mill it seemed the thought-work of a mind high in the science of optics. But the most perfect human eye has at least seven defects. Assuming what Spencer calls "the carpenter theory of creation," some of these defects imply lack of knowledge in the Supreme Mechanic, others imply lack of care, and others lack of power.

The ear seems hardly less divine than the eye; but, under the scrutiny of science, it is shown to be almost as defective.

The heart, veins, and arteries,—no pump invented by human thought and no irrigating pipes or canals would bear comparison with this wonderful mechanism. Even the valve which man puts in his pump implies knowledge of hydrostatics. The valves in the heart, veins, and arteries,—they must have got there through knowledge of the science which man is learning?

Consider the matter more closely. If valves are needed at all in the veins and arteries, it is where they are vertical, not horizontal. In the intercostal veins and arteries which are horizontal there are valves, but they do not function. In veins and arteries of the limbs which are vertical, valves occur where, theoretically, they should be. These vessels extend from the limbs through the trunk to the heart; but within the trunk, although still vertical, they are without valves. A thinker of the Paley School, if such were now possible, would be sorely perplexed.

That system through which the miracle of creation is wrought on each individual is not so invit-

ing to the teleologist. Woman, the books used to say, was struck by a curse. "Unto the woman," he said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrows: in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children."

From the erect position of the body, to prevent prolapsus of the seat of suffering, the attachments should be such as to hold the organ up. It is such, rather, as to pull it downward. It is held by firm ligamental bands attached to the pelvic girdle. We are perplexed, and turn for fuller light to bodies not human. The deer or horse, any quadrupedal mammal, may help us. Here, we find the same vascular system as in man. The human heart is no improvement on that of the deer. The intercostal blood-vessels have valves, as they should, being vertical. The vessels which traverse the limbs vertically have valves. Entering the trunk, they become horizontal and have no valves. All this is as it should be.

The uterus is held in place by the same ligamental bands as the human. The deer is prone; and, from the movement of the body, the tendency of this organ is forward. The attachment by bands of ligament to the pelvic girdle holds it back. Suppose, now, that a prone, quadrupedal body becomes erect and bipedal, the vascular and uterine systems not undergoing responsive modifications. The seemingly anomalous facts we have considered would be luminous. If such a thing has happened, man is not synchronous with certain structures of his body, nor are the parts of his body synchronous with each other.

The renal system is corrective of the vascular and therefore younger. Urea is made in blood-making. Its presence in the blood must not be tolerated. The function of the kidney is to withdraw it. It has lately been shown that this action is mechanical. So much pressure on the blood, so much urea is pressed out. But the mechanism which takes urea from the blood takes albumen too. This must not be, for blood must have albumen. The tracts of epithelia in the kidney return the albumen to the blood. If the function of the epithelia is impaired, Bright's disease ensues. The kidney is an act to supplement and amend an act. The epithelia are an act to amend the amendment of an act. So reads, like a volume of human laws, the human body.

Facts like these, and facts of still deeper import, seem to strike at the very citadel of teleology. Very perfect and beautiful seems the adaptation of each organ and member to its function. Here, if anywhere, is design. But, if we consider well, we will see that no organ functions as the first draft of that organ must have functioned. The wings of a butterfly are differentiated from the tracheæ, and therefore they began to develop as parts of the respiratory system. Veins and arteries began as chyme-bearing tubes, which branched from the stomach. The lungs of a vertebrate began as diverticula from the gullet, and their first function was hydrostatic. In the fishes called *dipnoi*, they are assuming respiratory functions, although they are not yet the sole organs of respiration. In the human embryo, they are in abeyance, the liver performing their function.

It is clear that the framework of man has come hither over seeming "bridges of accident" and through "yawning perils."

How strangely tortuous the bridges over which each body passes in coming hither "all the way from" a jelly bleb! In an early stage, it is fish-like. It has four gill clefts and arches. In brain as in gills, it is fish-like. Time passes, and the little body escapes fishdom by growth of the anterior lobe of the brain and by losing its gills. The fourth cleft closes, and every vestige is effaced. Parts of the first, second, and third remain, and pass through

the *strangest* history of any structures in the whole economy of nature. The skeleton framework of a gill, which Nature, in her first fishy thought, has laid, is cut, and the parts are wrought into other structures. From the posterior portion are made the ear bones, called "hammer" and anvil, malleus and incus. The "stirrup" rises from the posterior segment of the second arch. The anterior portion of the first and second is wrought into the mouth skeleton, the upper and lower jaws. The tongue is an outgrowth from the middle portion. The clefts all close except a small segment of the first, which remains as the ear-opening.

This story, if not read from nature, would seem incredible. No magician of the *Arabian Nights* ever wrought such strange transformations. The non-evolutionist who is acquainted with these facts must conceive of his Deity as an infinite magician. Imagine his thaumaturgist in the act of creating a man. He speaks or puts forth his hand,—for, in this night-realm of thought, our conceptions must be anthropomorphic,—and we behold the first draft of a man. But "man" we would never call it. No eye but that of science would see in it even "the promise and potency" of a man. His hand is lifted again, and, lo! a wonder. We had guessed his aim to be fishward. We were wrong. One fourth of his fish work—the fourth gill—he destroys completely. The rest he is transforming into a something as unlike to a gill as a man to a fish. He is making what he began as a gill into the jaws, tongue, and ears of a mammal: we cannot say yet whether mouse or man. Thou thyself, O reader (to speak Carlylese), who babblest thy inanity into ears designed to breathe from the deep the eternal silences, thou clatter-teeth (claque-dents), consider that this tongue and these jaws have come to thee by perversion of a better purpose: consider the silence of the fish.

Two words, freighted with profoundest meaning, have lately come into the language of every civilized people. They are "ontogeny" and "phylogeny," genesis of the individual and genesis of the phylon, tribe or race to which it belongs. If we assume that the first is an epitome of the second, the facts which have so perplexed us in the structure of man, and his growth in embryo, are luminous. The creation of a man types the creation of man. As a germ unfolds through successive animal forms to man, so unfolded through vast geologic ages the phylon which culminated in man. If the body about to be human has gill openings, it is as the memorial badge of a remote gilled ancestor. If this body, in a later stage of the journey toward man, has a caudal appendage and limbs not yet differentiated into arms and legs, it is the memory it holds of a quadrupedal ancestor. And, if the body, when at last erect and human, shall carry animal structures too conservative to have faded out under human conditions, how rich will it be in historic lore! Low down among the tunicate mollusks appears as a sort of adjunct to the mouth a ciliated groove. It traverses the gill region, and carries food into the stomach. It functions in the ascidia,—a mollusk,—and begins to lose its function in the lancelet, the lowest of vertebrates. It appears in some modified form from the lancelet clear up to man, where it is known as the thyroid gland or Adam's apple. The Adam's apple is the most venerable part of the human body. Through what æons has this structure lingered superfluous! It has been on the "retired list" from the very dawn of vertebrate life.

The external ear rose from a prolongation of the edges of the first gill-cleft. It is no longer of use to man. It is surrounded by shreds of muscles which, if they had any function, would move the

ear forward, downward, and upward. They are the heirlooms of muscles which did so function. It is a fact of deep significance that every one of these degenerate and atrophied muscles appears in the gorilla and in the same state of atrophy. Either the gorilla has risen in strength or enemies have declined, since the man-ape has no need "to prick its ear" to catch a danger signal. And man, since his removal from a state of nature when

"Wild in woods the cringing savage crept,"—

man has no need to prick his ear for a danger sound.

As we find all useless structures in the human body to have lapsed from structures which functioned in a merely animal body, we must assert the derivation of man from the animal.

Through what cost in time, in hunger, in war of hungry mouths, life rose from amoeba to mammal will not concern us now. We linger here only to say that, as in human infancy, so in the infancy of life itself, the fate of the individual, the lines on which its development shall move, seem most the determination of accident.

Here is a ciliated gelatinous globule moving freely in water. Nature, which Heine called "the unseen thought," seems to say, "Go to: I will push in a portion of this little sphere on itself, and the cavity formed by invagination shall be a stomach. The opening shall be a mouth." If development stops here, the result is the Olynthus sponge. Whether development stops or not, this is a form of life—first after the egg—through which every organism in the animal kingdom passes. And, now, whether the gastrula goes up or down at one time was a question as uncertain as the sport of the waves. Thrown by a wave against a rock and lodged there, the walls of sarcode thickened, and little canals were developed, and traversed them in all directions from the stomach. They were the beginning of a vascular system. "Accidents" favoring, the gastrula passed from this stage to a higher. Suppose the life to have been a little more sluggish and the gelatinous walls to have grown thicker and the canals to have grown outward till they reached the surface. Such "accidents" occur to-day. Each opening of a canal becomes another mouth; and, the organism having gained a hundred mouths, the physiological importance of the primitive mouth declines. "Business leaves it," and finally it closes up. The canals, having now each its own mouth, rise in importance; and the primitive stomach, having lost its mouth, shrivels and fades out. Our gastrula has sunk and become the sponge, whose colonies unconsciously fabricate that wonderful mechanism known as Euplectella.

To continue were to crowd the columns of *The Index* too much. *The Index* reader, who certainly is an "important achievement," and not ashamed of his ascent, will wait another week.

W. D. GUNNING.

THE PRESENT DUTY OF RADICAL LIBERALS.

Again our country is upon the threshold of a Presidential election.

The position occupied by the two great political parties is a remarkable one; for, while heretofore we have always been accustomed to identify our quadrennial struggle with an effort of the people to carry some momentous issue, believed to be seriously threatening the future welfare of the nation, to a final practical political decision, at present even the most ardent of partisans will hardly pretend that such an issue is before us.

So long as we had the slave with us, the question of the extension or abolition of the "peculiar institution" constituted an issue upon which the

political parties could *honestly* declare and maintain a war to the knife. Slavery is no more, and our great issue is lost. It is to this loss that the corruption of both parties is mainly due. Introduce the new blood of another great issue into their political veins, and both parties will purify themselves. But by what new issue can the one forever lost be replaced? While the problem of slavery was unsolved, it fascinated the political attention. No minor question has been able to do this in the past, and none will be in the future. The new issue must be of even *greater* importance than slavery. It thus becomes a matter of extreme consequence to inquire on what essential motive-peculiarities this fascinating power of the question of slavery depended.

The problem of slavery was pre-eminently an issue of *morality*. As such, it involved the individual happiness of millions, always indissolubly linked with their liberty. It excited the sympathy and aroused the indignation of the noblest hearts of the nation to impassioned opposition. The abolition of slavery is currently believed to have been accomplished by the Republican party, the sole lineal descendant of the Free-soilers, the latter an advanced branch of the old-time Whigs. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that the abolition of slavery was never really demanded by the Republican party, and was only reluctantly carried into effect as a measure necessitated by the events of the late civil war. That war was begun by the South under the influence of serious apprehensions regarding the safety of a vast accumulation of property in slaves. These apprehensions were excited by the bold attacks, in word and deed, of the old Abolition party upon the "peculiar institution," on the ground of its *immorality*.

It is here that we feel bound to call attention to the generally committed error of confounding *political* parties, working for the immediate attainment of a practical purpose, with *ethical* parties,

Sworn to maintain a beacon-light
On truth's and virtue's altar,
With far-eyed flame-crown to the right,
To guide all steps that falter.

The destruction of slavery, this enormous achievement of our time, was the work, not of a *political*, but of an *ethical* party. The Abolition party was a true party of great moral ideas, the *only* such party of *progressive* tendencies this country until recently produced; for the only other moral party known during the same period was its *reactionary* opponent, the party of Calhoun. The Abolition party branded slavery as an *absolute wrong*: it demanded emancipation as an *absolute right*. For a number of years, it placed in nomination men of spotless purity of character, *knowing well that they could not, even by the wildest chance, be ever elected. It did not trim or bargain; it never felt the pulse of the people; it was never in any sense politic, neither was it, in any true sense, impractical; it fulfilled its true mission*; for it must be again and again repeated, It is the mission of ethical parties to throw the radiance of *ideal* issues upon the path of those who are more directly engaged in effecting the immediate changes of politics.

In the midst of the present conditions of political affairs, the radical Liberals have waited in vain for the advent of a third political party to lead them to greater liberty. Yet their disappointment has been, in part at least, deserved; for, if they would be free, they must themselves show the way. *The two great political parties have lost that way for want of a guiding light.*

In the "National Liberal League," we have indeed the tentative beginning of a new progressive ethical organization, which can, if it will, take the place of the old party of Abolition; but the organ-

ization of the League is apparently still in many points defective. To enable it truly to fulfil its mission, it must, we believe, change its method of organization, consolidate its ranks, and take the field an aggressive party of freedom, militant! The radical Liberals of the country must close their ranks in formation of a true ethical party. They must organize in accordance with an ideal method radically different from any and all of the methods hitherto employed in party organization. They must formulate a platform of social ideals based in all its details upon a greater liberty than we now possess or are even likely to attain in a still remote future. They must nominate men of such purity and intelligence as to be absolutely "unavailable" in the political sense. Not among "popular" men, however liberal, but rather among those who are hated for their convictions' sake, they must select their party's candidates. Such men can, I believe, still be found,—men who would die for the right, even though they knew their death to be in vain! They may be known by the insignia of their rank.

The glory of the fool's contempt,
The envious slanderer's pearls undreamt,
The splendors of the villain's hate
(Tis few receive such gifts from fate),—
Gems never sought by baser sight,
The noblest hearts' and souls' delight,—
They shine upon his manhood's crown
Signs of true merits mis-renown.

This is the duty of the radical Liberals of our day. Will they perform it? That is the question. The writer for one will gladly bear his part.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

LABOUCHERE says in *Truth*: "I see it stated that the Church Missionary Society has expended in thirty-three years upward of £120,000 on 'missions' to Jews and Mohammedans in Palestine without making a single convert. The London Jews Society spent £30,000 between 1877 and 1882 with the same result."

Of the Christians in India, the *Indian Witness* says: "The rich are like the rich Hindus, and the poor are like the poor Hindus. Their religion is gross superstition and idolatry. Christianity has not added a spark to their intelligence or respectability. They are closely on a par with Hindus of the corresponding classes in education, and we never heard of any collector or commissioner remarking upon the paucity of crimes among them."

THE writer of the article on "Lights and Shadows of Army Life" in the *Century* tells the following story: "When General Pope was falling back before Lee's advance in Virginia Valley, his own soldiers thought his bulletins and orders somewhat strained in their rhetoric. At one of the numerous running engagements that marked that disastrous campaign, a private in one of the Western regiments was mortally wounded by a shell. Seeing the man's condition, a chaplain knelt beside him, and opening his Bible at random read about Samson's slaughter of the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. He had not quite finished when, as the story runs, the poor fellow interrupted the reading by saying: 'Hold on, Chaplain. Don't deceive a dying man. Isn't the name of John Pope signed to that?'"

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The Index.

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

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For The Index.

The Ethics of the Political Situation.

An Address delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, Oct. 19, 1884.

BY FELIX ADLER, PH.D.

The American people are impanelled as a great jury to decide a contest of momentous significance. It is expected that from nine to ten millions of voters will go to the polls on the 4th of November next. It is believed by many that our country has passed through no such trying ordeal since the close of the Civil War. At such a time, it behooves us to weigh well the duties which we owe to the State as citizens, and to consider in a calm spirit in what manner we may best discharge those obligations.

I do not propose this morning to deliver a partisan speech. I believe it to be in general a wise rule that teachers of religion should not, as such, take sides in the debates of parties, and that for two obvious reasons: first, because by so doing they injure religion; secondly, because they injure the State. They injure religion, because, on whichever side the teacher of religion may enlist as an advocate, he is sure to displease those who have espoused the opposite side, and thus to diminish his influence for good in the community. They injure the State. And here I need not stop to dwell on details. All history is full of examples showing how often the clerical order have pursued their own sectarian interests at the expense of the true interests of the people; how often, also, they have hampered the progress of popular liberty and led the masses in blind subjection to their will. Even where the motives of the clergy are entirely disinterested, it is easy to see how unfair an advantage they possess in being able to throw the authority of religion into the discussion, how strongly they must be tempted to identify their own perhaps biased opinions with eternal truth, and how they can thus disturb the balance of judgment in their favor. Some, though not all, of these objections apply to teachers of religion in general, no matter what the particular religion may be which they advocate. But there are occasions when exceptions must be made to every rule, and I believe an occasion has arisen when an exception must be made to this rule. For the first time since the great anti-slavery struggle, the political contest turns upon a moral question. A distinct moral issue has arisen. Grave moral prob-

lems are discussed in the newspapers, not always with candor or courage. The minds of many men are perplexed as to the course which they ought to pursue, and their conscience is divided between allegiance to party on the one hand or to what are represented as the paramount interests of the country on the other. At such a time, it is not possible for a teacher of ethics to maintain silence. What would you yourselves think of a teacher of morality who should discourse concerning the ethics of the stars at a time when the air resounds with discussions of moral questions that affect the very life of the people, when every patriot's pulse beats faster with hopes or fears touching the future of the country!

We cannot absolve ourselves from the obligation to consider the points of duty involved in this Presidential contest. We ought not to abstain from offering our contribution, however feeble or unwelcome it may be, toward the solution of the points at issue. But here precisely the line must be clearly drawn. We are considering only the ethical side of the conflict. We are assembled here not as Republicans or as Democrats. We have left our party affiliations and party preferences outside this hall. We will sit down together this morning as earnest men and women seeking to learn in what direction the path of duty lies. And I ask you,—yes, even those of you who are most fixed in their convictions, who have grown warm and wedded to their opinions by frequent discussions, who enter into the debate only to convince others, being absolutely determined as to their course themselves,—I ask even these to be willing to look upon the subject as if it were presented for the first time, as if it were wholly new; for only thus can they give a really impartial hearing, and avoid that intensity of feeling which darkens judgment and obscures the reason.

When a practical problem of conduct seems complicated, it is well to go back to first principles. I propose to clear the discussion at the outset by submitting certain political first principles. There has been too much empirical discussion, too much building of arguments in the air, with too little thought of the foundations whereon such arguments should rest. I hold the following to be first principles in political ethics: that parties exist for the benefit of the State, and not the State for the benefit of any party; that there are certain fundamental or primary principles and certain secondary principles of State welfare; that, in the primary principles, all parties are agreed, while the differences relate only to secondary principles. To illustrate my meaning, I will give the following examples of primary principles: Obedience to the laws is one, respect for the right of property is another, respect for the law of the family is a third. Any party which should deliberately adopt law-breaking as a principle, or the abolition of property, or the recognition of free love would thereby extinguish its existence as a party, and would become a seditious faction. The following is the plain distinction between parties and factions: that all parties are agreed in accepting the primary principles of State welfare, while such combinations of men as reject these principles are justly stigmatized by the opprobrious epithet of factions. If there were only primary principles, then no such thing as a division into different parties would be possible; but the whole mass of moral and intelligent citizens would coalesce into a single party. Let me now speak of the secondary principles that are the actual nuclei around which the crystallization of the people into distinct parties takes place. Such secondary principles are protection and free trade. There can be no difference between two parties as to the right of holding property or as to the law of the family, but there may be and is a difference of opinion as to whether the welfare of the State will best be secured by a policy of protection or of free trade. The ardent adherents of either side, indeed, are sure that only their policy will inure to the benefit of the State, while the policy of their opponents is ruinous; but the matter has not been so far settled that difference of opinion should not be legitimate. In the same way, the question of State sovereignty, as opposed to national sovereignty, and the question of the governmental control or ownership of the facilities of transportation, or their control by private corporations, involve secondary principles of State welfare. However deep may be the importance of these principles, however decisive their influence in shaping the destinies of the nation for good or evil, yet, because they are unsettled, they

must be classed as secondary principles concerning which men may honestly differ. It is around these principles that parties cluster: these principles give zest and interest to political discussions; and the individual citizen chooses his party according to the secondary principles for which it stands.

It is now necessary to call attention to a third factor that enters the discussion. In how far is the citizen bound to submit to party rule, to subordinate his own preferences to the authority of the caucus? In our democratic society, a wide-spread sentiment exists in favor of party allegiance; and, whenever such a sentiment exists, there is sure to be some element of truth blended with it, though, for lack of clearness in first principles, the limits within which that truth applies are not perceived, and monstrous and mischievous conclusions are put forward in consequence. Touching the submission of the individual citizen to the party caucus, I believe the following to be a clear and self-evident rule: Having once adopted the principles of a party, and as long as he continues to hold them, the citizen is bound by the party caucus or convention in all matters that relate merely to the application of the common principles; that is to say, in all matters of expediency. It would argue an intolerable insolence and egotism, if any citizen were to be allowed to break through the coherency of parties, simply because his opinions as to the ways and means by which the common principles are to be realized are not adopted by his fellow-members of the same party. Parties are necessary to accomplish the purposes of government. Only by the association of many for great political objects can these objects be fairly tested and triumphantly secured. In all such associations, the sacrifice of individual preference is the essential prerequisite for united action: to refuse such sacrifice is to paralyze the efficiency of parties, to block the machinery of government, and to reduce civil society to a condition of chaos. This proposition, however, does not need to be emphasized: it is commonly overstated rather than understated; and the essential qualification needs rather to be kept in view,—that the authority of the party applies only to questions of expediency. The conclusions, then, at which we have arrived, are the following: in all questions of expediency, the citizen is bound by the authority of his party; in all questions that involve secondary principles of national welfare, the citizen is free to choose his party and free to abandon it at any moment when its principles no longer commend themselves to his reason or when it proves faithless to these principles. And this freedom cannot be pledged away nor bargained away: it is one of those rights that appertain to citizenship as such. How much more, then, if this is true even of the minor principles of national welfare, must it be true of those primary principles by which the very existence of parties as such is conditioned! These primary principles, indeed, are not stated in so many words in any party platform. We are not accustomed to read in the manifestos of parties declarations to the effect that stealing is a crime, that the law of the family is sacred, or that honesty is a virtue. These primary moral truths on which the stability of states depends are not stated, because they do not need to be stated, because they are tacit assumptions implied in every party programme, because a party ceases to be a party whenever it rebels against these fundamental moral truths. These principles are the unwritten planks included in every party platform. But precisely because they are unwritten, because they are not specifically mentioned, it comes to pass that in times of great excitement they are altogether ignored; and the question may arise in the minds of those who think superficially whether parties as such have any concern whatsoever with this hidden foundation of the social structure.

The question before us, as I understand it, in the present Presidential contest, is a question touching the fundamental principles of political ethics. I may be deceived; but I do not believe that the two great national parties which to-day claim our suffrages are divided upon any of the secondary principles, the so-called political issues. We have arrived at a great ebb tide in the political life of the nation. The issues of the Civil War, and those that grew out of the war, have, in the main, been settled: new issues have not arisen, or, if they have, they have not yet acquired such prominence as to be adopted by either of the historic parties, and are represented by leaders in whom we have no confi-

dence and to whose appeals we cannot lend a willing ear. At such a time, it has come to pass that the character of the respective candidates has become the leading issue on which the contest turns; and in this discussion of character, whether we wish it or not, whether we approve or deplore the circumstances which have shaped the issue, the fundamental principles of political ethics have come conspicuously into the foreground. Is a high sense of honor essential in the character of the chief magistrate of this nation? Is a single eye to the public interest, without regard to private gain, essential? Is truthfulness essential? These are matters that ought to go without saying, yet they are points that are now indignantly raised. Is respect for the law of the family an essential in the character of the highest public functionary? This, too, ought to go without saying; but it is a question which is now being discussed.

On the one hand, then, we are confronted, in the Republican candidate, with a public man against whom the gravest charges have been proffered. The case of the Republican candidate is simple, and can be easily despatched. Let no one infer that we are lacking in intensity of feeling, in the profound moral indignation which such offences ought to call forth. I can imagine nothing more alarming than that the chief magistracy of the United States should be intrusted to the hands of one who is really guilty of one tithe of what this man is accused of. I only say the case is simple: the charges are plain. They are: the prostitution of public office for private gain, the espousal of the cause of a gigantic monopoly against the interests of the people, and falsehood on a scale of unparalleled audacity and magnitude. And these charges are made to rest, not on hearsay evidence or on the testimony of the candidate's enemies, but on statements made in his own letters, over his own signature, whose authenticity no one disputes. If a fair interpretation of these letters bears out the charges,—and this is not the time nor the place to pronounce upon that, that the common sense of every reader must settle for himself,—then, all I have to say is that the moral question is an easy and plain one; then, no matter what our party preferences may be, no matter what self-interest may dictate, so far from crowning such a candidate with honor, we should rather repudiate him with scorn, and to make it impossible that such a candidate, so stained and so dishonored, should ever again insult the American people by presenting himself for their suffrage. Public honesty is one of the unwritten planks in every platform. To elect a man to office who has proved himself dishonest is to outrage one of the primary principles on which the welfare of the State depends. If the charges are true, I repeat, then the moral question is settled.

In the case of the Democratic candidate on the other hand, judging from the bias of discussion in many circles, the moral question does not appear to be so plain. He, too, is charged with a grave offence; and, touching the main charge that is proffered against him, there cannot be any doubt; it is admitted; he himself has said, "Tell the truth." And yet many intelligent and moral citizens are arrayed on the side of this candidate,—not by any means, of course, all intelligent and moral citizens,—whose motives we respect and whose character we honor. They see in the most vivid manner the vices with which the opposite candidate is charged; they see the serpent of corruption coiling its deadly folds around our government; they fear that the treasury will be depleted by hosts of public plunderers; they predict that an era of general fraud will set in; that the integrity of young men,—of clerks, cashiers, and men who occupy offices of trust,—already threatened as it is, will be still further weakened if a conspicuous exemplar of these offences is raised to the supreme place of honor. And they think it almost treason that any one who has the welfare of the nation at heart should refuse to help to avert such a danger by polling his vote for the only other candidate who has the remotest chance of success. The Ship of State is sailing to-day into a narrow channel, with Scylla on the one side and Charybdis on the other. The party I allude to see very clearly the perils of Scylla, but do not see the perils of Charybdis, or, rather, they assert that there is no Charybdis. They maintain that we need only steer clear of Scylla, and then we shall be safe; that the offence of the Republican candidate is the only one we need to dread, against which we should rally all the

moral forces, while the offence of the second candidate is one that we may be permitted to ignore. Now, this the very point we are bound to consider. This is clearly a moral question, if there ever was one. Is the offence of the Democratic candidate one which we can or ought to ignore? I shall consider the points advanced in support of this position in order, and give my reply to each.

First, it is claimed that dishonesty in public officials directly imperils the State, while the offence with which the Democratic candidate is charged affects his private character only, with which the State has no concern. But surely there must be a great misconception underlying this statement. The offence with which the Democratic candidate is charged is a violation of the law of the family. Now, the family is the corner-stone of the State, the foundation of the national character and the national strength. If that foundation is sapped, the whole superstructure is certain to totter and fall. You are very anxious that public dishonesty should not be allowed to spread. Have you, then, never heard of the story of the goose that laid the golden eggs, and of the man who was so intent upon the possession of the eggs that he was willing to kill the goose? The golden virtue to which I allude is honesty, but the perennial source from which that and all other virtues come is the family. The family is the training school in which all the qualities essential to good citizenship are nurtured. In the family are developed reverence for authority, that indispensable element of citizenship; the sense of justice; obedience to law; respect for the rights of others, of which honesty is only another name. As society is now organized, and for centuries on centuries to come, the family must remain the only school in which the young can be trained to administer properly the trust of citizenship. Weaken the family, and you withdraw the underpinning of the entire political edifice. Is, then, the violation of the law of the family a matter irrelevant to the fitness of one who aspires to the highest political preferment? Is it a matter with which the State has no concern? You might as well say that it is the business of an army to fight, but that, in sending out an army, we need not trouble ourselves about the provision train which is to supply the soldiers with food while they are fighting. The family is the great commissariat which feeds the moral forces that enter into the political conflict. If you cut off this basis of supplies, your political army is beaten at the outset. The integrity of the family, in as deep a sense certainly as public honesty, is one of the primary principles of State welfare. It is not mentioned in platforms: it need not be. As a tacit assumption, it underlies all party programmes. A party would cease to be a party the moment, either by expressed words or by the selection of improper candidates, it contradicts that principle.

Secondly, it is claimed that the offence of the candidate should be ignored, because, if he is culpable, ninety-nine out of a hundred are culpable, to which I can give only the reply that on the 4th of November next we are supposed to elect, not the ninety-nine men out of a hundred, but the one man out of a hundred,—the one man out of fifty millions worthy to hold the highest office in the land. Have a care, my friends, lest in your zeal for one type of morality, which you deem all-important, you argue away the hope of moral progress in general. I am well aware that, when I hold up the integrity of the family as the vital principle of the State, I am holding up a principle to which the practice of but too many persons does not do honor. As when the deluge swept over the earth, according to the mythical story of the Bible, upon the subsidence of the waters there was formed at first only a thin crust of earth, while the muddy waves continued to heave underneath; but that crust deepened and deepened until at last it hardened into *terra firma*. So in the moral world. The thin crust to which I allude is the outward standard of respectability. We know very well that underneath that surface-cover the vices of society continue to heave, a dark and turbid tide. But these vices have at least the grace to hide themselves: they move under the surface, and that is one point gained. But now these vices seek to penetrate into the light of day, and we are asked to put the stamp of public condonation on that which should be kept under. Let us not do this thing. Let us maintain at least the outward standard of respectability: it is the beginning of better things. Let us not use the word

"hypocrisy": such hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue. Let us maintain this outward standard, so that it may solidify more and more into an inward standard, and become at last the *terra firma* of a new and nobler earth. And now to turn again to the argument of culpability, and the plea that such culpability is general. I cannot concede that this is so. The offence of the Democratic candidate is one that stands apart as peculiar from the common transgressions of the world. In young blood and fervid passions, much may be forgiven; but another judgment should be rendered, when the offender has reached the mature age of thirty-five. Furthermore, the offence was directed not only against the souls of two adult persons, but it was a sin against childhood; and this seems to me to be the most serious part of the charge, that which terribly aggravates the charge. When the mother of two children goes astray, what is it that honor and manliness should dictate to any one who is not bereft of his reason by passion? Why, honor and manliness would dictate an attempt to recall such a mother to the path of right, to remind her of her duty, not only to herself, but to her children. But what shall we say of one who, in the mature years of life, not only does not make any such attempt to recall the mother to her duty, but helps her on the downward path,—helps her to put the brand of shame on those innocent children's brows. Is he a man fit for the Presidency? I cannot believe it. I cannot persuade myself of it. I cannot indorse it by my vote. Do you say that the State has no concern with such actions, that the family is one organism and the State another, with no intimate interdependence between them? Tell me, has the State an interest in preventing the physical degeneracy of its citizens? Does or does not a nation succumb in war and rot in peace, when the citizens grow weaker and weaker in their physical constitution? Has the State an interest in preventing illiteracy, and, above all, the increase of the criminal classes? Are not all these first-rate State interests? Well, then, whenever the law of the family is violated, whenever children in large numbers are reared outside of the family, the unfailing results are the physical degeneration of the race, the spread of illiteracy, the increase of crime. Read the story of Rome under the emperors! Study the causes that contributed to the decline and fall of that proud and splendid civilization, and you will judge whether the integrity of the family is of importance to a State or not. Nay, why go so far? Read modern statistics to convince yourselves. Hear what an eminent French statistician tells us: that, of every four children reared outside of the family, three do not live beyond the twelfth year, and one is almost unalterably dedicated to a life of crime. Read the reports of the Prison Association of New York, where you will find that, of six hundred and thirty-three criminals confined in a certain prison, three hundred and forty-three were brought up outside of the family. Hear again what a statistician tells us: that, of eight thousand youthful criminals in France, well-nigh five thousand were children reared outside of the family. Does this immense increase of criminality not affect the well-being of the State? I say that any one who, by his example, has helped to add to the weight of this great curse upon the State, whatever his qualifications may be in other respects, is in so far and to that extent an enemy to the State, not one to be selected as the chief guardian of its interests.

With some of the minor points of the defence we can now deal summarily, because their logic is too feeble to call for an extended discussion. It is said that, if our objection against the Democratic candidate is valid, it would have ruled out some of the most eminent statesmen of America from our country's service. To this, I reply that there is the greatest difference between the vague rumors of a campaign gossip, which no one can verify, and an offence which has been investigated, proved, and confessed; that, moreover, the present political contest, unlike others in previous times, does not turn upon any great political issue, but upon the character of the candidates; and that, if we are so strenuously asked to pronounce against one candidate, because of a fault in his character, we cannot ignore the fault in the character of the other; that the question for the American people to settle to-day is not whether the one candidate or the other will give us a good administration when elected,—we may reasonably expect that either of them will give us a better administra-

tion than their opponents predict,—the question is not what the candidate will do after he has obtained the office, but whether he is worthy to obtain it; not how he will act after he has entered the White House, but whether he is worthy to pass its gate. It is a great decision on the qualities essential in the candidate which this election is designed to render, a question far transcending in importance the fortunes of our government during the next four years. It is not a man whom we are electing this year, as has been well said in one of the leading partisan journals of this city, "but a national standard of honor." Well, then, it behooves us to say whether we include in the national standard of honor honesty only, or whether our self-respect as a nation requires that we should include the element of moral cleanness as well. Again, it is said that one candidate confesses his fault, while the other seeks to extenuate and excuse it. But I have never heard that, because an accused person enters the plea of guilty, he should therefore be exempt from the punishment that is justly due his offence. It is said that the Democratic candidate is deeply penitent, and we are asked whether it does not argue an extreme harshness and an extreme uncharitableness to be unwilling to forgive him; whether it has not been said, "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall become white as snow." Well, then, to this I will reply that the question of penitence is of the utmost importance in regard to the state of a man's soul; but we, as citizens, are not concerned with the state of the man's soul. He may be penitent or he may not: there are contradictory reports; but the question of penitence is outside the discussion. In a celestial court of inquiry, it would be important: in a celestial court of inquiry, many of those who rank highest with us on earth might be sent to the bottom, and many of those who to us seem guilty might be raised to the top. But we, in our terrestrial affairs, can judge of men, not according to the state of their souls, but according to their actions. We, the body of the citizens, are asked this year to elect "a standard of national honor"; and it is for us to say whether we are willing to include the actions, the record of this public man, as a part of the national standard of honor or not. I remember that a few years ago there came to me a man who had committed the crime of murder. He had done so under great provocation. He had suffered for his crime for years in jail. At last, he was pardoned. I conversed with him often and for hours. So far as I could judge, this man had indeed risen to a higher plane through his terrible moral experience; and yet would it have been right to have offered his name even for the smallest office of public trust? It was right, his record having been what it was, that he should thereafter walk in obscurity and bear the penalties of his transgression as a part of his inward purification.

Again, it is said that all this may be so, but that we are under a mistaken impression; that election to the Presidency does not mean a public coronation; that we select a President because of his special fitness to do certain things,—to execute the laws, to transact the business of the country; that we choose a President as a merchant would choose a clerk. But to this I reply that the chief magistracy of the American people is, in my humble estimation, a very great honor indeed; that it is not only so in my opinion and that of others, but that the Constitution has expressly designated the Presidency as a place of honor. The President of the United States not only executes the laws, but he receives ambassadors, he exchanges courtesies with foreign sovereigns, he presides over the hospitalities of the White House, and thus gives tone to the society of the capital, and through this channel influences the tone of society throughout the country. In all these respective functions, the President is clothed with the dignity of the most exalted office, and stands forth, not as a clerk who does his employer's bidding, but as the living representative of the collective sovereignty of the entire American nation.

And, once more, it is urged that we are demanding an ideal man, but that plain people know that in practical politics we cannot apply the ideal standard, and must be content with something short of that. But we ask whether we are indeed applying an ideal standard when we demand that candidates for the highest office shall not be selected among those who have grossly transgressed, who are deficient in the moral A, B, C, who have violated one or the other of

the primary principles by which the coherency of human society is guaranteed.

Lastly, it is urged—and this is the argument that perhaps appeals to the greatest number—that we may wish, indeed, that we had better candidates, but the fact is we have not; that the government must go on; that one or the other of the two leading candidates is sure to become President; and that we are bound, therefore, that it is our duty as citizens, to vote for either of the two. But consider for a moment what a reflex light this proposition, if it were true, would cast on some of the best pages of American history. Arise, shades of Wendell Phillips, of William Lloyd Garrison, and ye the champions of the Free-Soil party, who went to the polls for years to deposit your votes for candidates of whom you were sure they could not be elected. You were all wrong. You were not the patriots we supposed you to be. On the contrary, according to the wisdom of our new political sages, you were citizens who betrayed their trust. You should have voted for one of two candidates, neither of whom you could approve of. What if, by not so voting, by standing out against party dictation, you infused a higher principle into the politics of the country, what if you caused the politicians themselves to adopt higher standards, and contributed toward the formation of the new party on the nobler platform? You should have foregone all these ultimate results. You should have asked yourselves, in the election now pending, which of the two candidates is the lesser evil, and cast your votes for him.

The argument that the government must go on is indeed a feeble one. There is never any danger that the government will come to a stop; there are always enough persons who will see to it that a President is elected. The true reason why every citizen should vote, if possible, is in order that a part of the people shall not usurp the sovereignty which belongs to the whole. But such a state of things has already come about. A part of the people, a very small part, the political leaders who rule the party caucuses, have in a measure usurped the sovereignty which belongs to all. They are the ones who have prepared for us this so-called choice of evils; they seek to yoke us to this alternative; they are now wielding the party lash to whip us all into the traces. And it is for us to resist this dictation of the politicians, to affirm that the citizen's vote is his own vote to the extent that he must put his own conscience into his ballot, and thus to rescue the principle that the sovereignty belongs to the whole people, to every member of the people, to be used according to the dictates of his reason.

When the caucus of my party has decided upon a matter of expediency, I am bound to submit. When one or the other party proves faithless to a political principle which I consider sound, I have the right to turn my back on that party. How much more, then, when both parties, in the selection of their candidates, prove faithless to those fundamental principles whereon the whole political edifice rests, is it my right and my duty to wash my hands of the uncleanness of both parties, to abandon both parties, even if in so doing I am compelled to stand alone. But I shall not stand alone. In the country towns and villages—yes, and in the cities, too—there are men, not a few, who feel an intense disgust at the predicament in which the political leaders have sought to place us; who feel that, when the charges against the candidates became known, it would have been the duty of those who represent the intelligence and the morality of the community to demand that a new and entirely clean candidate be put in nomination, no matter how the election might have gone in consequence; who feel that the so-called Independent party have missed a golden opportunity in not coming up to their duty in this matter; and who are determined, so far as they themselves are concerned, to vote strictly according to their consciences. There is still something of the Puritanical fibre left in our people. There is a growing though silent revolt of the better moral instincts of the masses going on; and it should have been the part of the intelligent to lead these instincts, instead of to fall below them, as they have actually done.

I love my country. I do not believe the libel which they are trying to put upon her. I do not believe that among her statesmen there could not be found those who are intellectually able and morally clean. I do not believe that, if England can boast of her Gladstone, a man of commanding ability as a statesman and of the most stainless

private life, we, in this country, should be so poor as not to find any one in our midst who is both intellectually vigorous and unexceptionable in character. I believe that such men exist, though it may not be the interest of the politicians to put them forward. But if only the better elements hold together, if we strike out for a higher standard of national honor than that which is commonly accepted, if we show that there is indeed a conscience vote in the country, we may not be able, indeed, to avert the result of the pending election, but we may be able to avert that candidates should ever again present themselves for the suffrages of the people of whose moral fitness there is the slightest doubt.

At such a time, then, as this, I believe it right that we should look about among the candidates; and, if we find any one whose character is strong and whose record is stainless, that we should cast our votes for him, no matter on what party platform he may stand. For, in this contest, party platforms are not at issue, and character is all in all.

I, for one, do not believe that this country is going to be ruined during the next Presidential term, whoever is elected. This giant land that stretches downward toward the Southern Seas and is washed on either hand by the waters of the Eastern and Western Oceans, this Titan America, is too full of the redundant energies of youth to be ruined in a single Presidential term. But this, it is conceded on all sides, is not the question at issue. The question is whether we shall introduce into the blood of this young land the seeds of a moral disease which will eventually poison its entire system, and cause it to sink into that grave where so many republics already lie buried. The one kind of moral disease with which we are threatened is public dishonesty: the other is a weakening of the law of the family. I consider both kinds of disease harmful and fatal. I cannot undertake to decide, as some do, which is the greater evil. I cannot undertake to drive out Satan with Beelzebub. I regard both as detestable evils, and can encourage neither by my vote.

When the armies of Great Britain had at last grown weary in the struggle with the colonies, when peace was signed at Passy and the Revolutionary War was over, the representatives of the States, in committee assembled, issued a proclamation, in which they invited the people to hold a public thanksgiving in honor of the completion of our Independence. That thanksgiving was held on the 19th of October, 1784, just one hundred years to-day. It was a time of unspeakable promise and hope. A golden prospect was opening for the young Republic, but there were also hidden perils lurking in the distance. The hearts of the fathers of the Republic were anxious, and among the things which they especially prayed for in that solemn hour of dedication were these: that the citizens might ever be filled with an earnest regard for the national honor, and that young men might be raised up eminent for their virtue to the service of Church and State. It seems to me that these words of the thanksgiving's proclamation of a hundred years ago should reverberate in our hearts to-day, that the supreme duty of the hour for us is to see to it that the citizens retain an earnest regard for the national honor in its highest acceptation, and that the men who are raised up to the service of Church and State shall not be men who are conspicuously deficient, but men who are eminent in those fundamental virtues whereon the true welfare of peoples and governments depends.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MILWAUKEE CORRESPONDENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

The question of opening the Milwaukee Exposition on Sunday has again been agitated. The management, after consideration of the matter at various meetings, decided negatively. "Let well enough alone," was the final dictum. The Personal Liberty League made a vigorous stand on the question, and sent circulars all over the State, requesting responses with regard to individual opinions as to the desirability of the Sunday opening. The excitement incident to the Presidential campaign has overshadowed this question, and but few responses were received. The League will not let the subject die, and another year will widen the sphere of action. The increasing interest shown each succeeding year indicates a prob-

able future decision that will be favorable to the opening of the Exposition on Sunday. A pressure may be brought to bear by the non-attendance of those opposed to the closing on Sunday. Mr. Herman Boppe, president of the League, introduced a resolution at a recent meeting declaring it was the sense of the meeting not to recommend to their friends to visit the Exposition, which was adopted. A gentleman at the head of a large manufacturing establishment said to me that a weight might be thrown in the scale of such non-attendance by the hundreds of employés in his own factory and other hundreds in other manufactories refusing to attend the Exposition, unless it was opened on Sunday. The right of reasonableness is on the side of the Sunday opening for working men and women, and by continuous agitation of the question such right will ultimately win.

The Personal Liberty League is also engaging in political work. Agitation committees have been appointed in the assembly districts, with instructions to exert their influence upon all parties actively engaged in elections in favor of the aims advocated by the League, and to see that only such candidates are nominated for the assembly who, if elected, will work in their legislative capacity for the interests of the League. Immediately after a nomination for the State legislature has been made by any party, the agitation committees are to call on the candidate, acquaint him with the objects of the League, and ask him for a written declaration concerning his position with reference to the League, and at once report to the chairman of the executive committee that an opportunity may be given to inform voters by means of the daily papers concerning the position taken by the candidates. On election day, the agitation committees are to see to it that representatives of the League are stationed at every poll; circulars are to be sent to all candidates nominated for the legislature, asking them for pledges to oppose all attempts at the passage of Sunday and prohibition laws and to use their influence to secure the repeal of obnoxious laws trespassing on personal liberty. The formation of clubs, as members of which all legal voters might be admitted who, without regard to other party affiliations, favor the election of liberal-minded members of the legislature, is recommended for every assembly district.

Agitation of the question of incorporating manual training in the Milwaukee public school system is being actively carried on. The arguments in its favor are largely based upon the growing demand for skilled labor in the handicrafts, as well as upon the ethical value of a knowledge of the useful arts and the healthier mental and physical influence consequent upon combining manual with intellectual training. In a city which has been second to none in the adoption of needed reforms in its public schools, there is little doubt that the experiment of industrial schools will be tried. Manual training supplementing the secularization of our schools are experiments in ethical culture which rationalists rejoice over as heartily as the churches deplore them. A few days since, at the exercises incident upon the opening of an Episcopal parish school, a Milwaukee divine rivalled Monsignor Capel in invective against the American public school system. "They teach all things," he said, "but the one thing needful,—to make good Christians. In spite of all the years of public schools in this country, crime has been on the increase. Parents are growing more and more anxious concerning the physical condition of their children. Their food, their clothing, their school-rooms, all receive attention; while their religious culture is neglected."

Well, that is exactly what we have been working for many years; and there is this recompense, spite of such behind-the-time ideas,—a minister's indorsement that the emphasis is beginning to rest upon the idea of *physical morality*.

In an atmosphere of rational ideas such as surrounds the supporters of *The Index*, it is sometimes difficult to believe how much of ignorance and superstition remains among fairly intelligent people, in some districts. It would be difficult for you to conceive of a community satisfactorily settled in the old ruts of religious notions, that has never been disturbed by a doubt of the authority and sanctity of the parish parsons, has never questioned their threadbare platitudes, if you had not, like myself, seen such a one and dwelt in the midst of it. I did not be-

lieve such a place was possible in this pushing, progressive State. Still more difficult is it to believe that in a city pervaded with rationalism, and where intellectual culture prevails, seasoned as it must needs be to-day with scientific investigation and liberal thought, a minister over a large and intelligent congregation can remain so deep in the ruts of intolerance and ignorance as to carry into a household stricken with the sorrow of a death parting the torturing horrors of an eternal hell, can hold up to sorrow's eyes the picture of a soul "forever cursing" its earthly friends because it was "allowed to go unprepared to meet its God"! But this, terrible as it is, is true. And such torturing words were inflicted upon a loving family, simply because the dying one was spared by them from talking and dwelling upon death. The dying one, too, was a believer in the Christian doctrine, a member of an orthodox church, and had striven by her light to live a Christian life. What did the parson want more? This family, too, were believers and church attendants. In view of what was said by him under these circumstances, it baffles imagination to guess what his Christian doctrine would furnish by way of consolation to the sorrowing relatives of dying unbelievers. Can we know these things as present and reliable facts, and remain passive under our obligations to promulgate Free Religion? Ought we not, in view of them, to become propagandists of a religion so full of sweetness as well as reasonableness? Should we not spread its gospel, which disarms death of the terrors rooted in superstition, softens the pangs of separation, with or without the hope of immortality, by the knowledge it brings that death in its natural form is not only inevitable, but in harmony with the method of the universe, and the simplest safest solution of prolific life?

The following, found among an advertised list of subjects, comprising a series of Sunday sermons on the future life, are suggestive of the soothing influences that surround the Christian contemplation of death: "The Nature of the Sinner's Future Punishment"; "The Punishment of the Wicked will be Eternal"; "The Justice of God in the Eternal Punishment of the Wicked."

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 6, 1884.

A REPLY TO MR. M. D. CONWAY.

Editors of The Index:—

Returning lately from a visit to the Unitarian Conference at Saratoga, I was on the point of sending you some notes of my impressions on the contrast between American and European organized Unitarianism, when I saw in *The Index* of October 2 the "Apologia" of Mr. Conway; and, dissenting as I do very strongly from some of its positions, would answer the American's notes on England before I send you the Englishman's notes on America.

While I dissent from very much that Mr. Conway says on the reasons which led the Unitarian Association to "give him the cold shoulder," if I may quote his own words, I will, to avoid personalities, leave this question undiscussed, and confine myself to his remark on English theism, on which he says: "Theism means belief in God; and, since then the name of God has been legally and politically defined. The nation has been authoritatively given to know what God means. It means a proud monarch, for not believing in whom a parent must be deprived of a child, men must be dragged from their families and shut up in gaol, members of Parliament must be deprived of their seats, and constituents dishonored, and ladies refused admission into seats of learning." And further, "The name of God has been of late so degraded, it has been so adduced to label public meanness and wrong, that it can never be utilized for any organization that shall represent the supreme ideal and aim of a free and civilized people."

Now, Mr. Conway puts himself outside of criticism in this sentence, because he avoids mentioning the special cases on which he would rely to substantiate his statement, and states a half-truth in such a way that it conveys an inaccurate impression. There are three persons in England, avowed atheists, whose names at once occur to the memory in connection with such phrases as the above. These are Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Bradlaugh and Foote. Mrs. Besant has, I believe, suffered a very great wrong; but, as far as I know, the case was so complicated by non-theological issues that it is not a fair instance. I know theists who are among Mrs. Besant's most

passionate partisans, and atheists who are opposed to her on what they call ethical grounds.

The second statement of Mr. Conway, that theism means a God, for not believing in whom men are dragged from their families and shut up in gaol, refers, to the best of my knowledge and belief, to the case of Foote and Ramsay, who were condemned by Justice North, on the prosecution of the corporation of the city of London, to one year's imprisonment for the publication of indecent and blasphemous pamphlets. Now, I voted with the majority of the members of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in May, 1883, in favor of a petition to Parliament for the immediate release of Messrs. Foote and Ramsay, simply because I am a Christian theist, and believing that I was following the example of Jesus, and, as in the Abner Kneeland case, of William Ellery Channing also. Had I been a Conwayite, I should have said, "This pretended friend of the atheists has irreparably damaged our cause by his atrocious indecency; and, since our opponents have punished him, let us hope that he will learn in future to be more circumspect in his language." I have many friends who are atheists and agnostics, both in Germany and in England, but not one who fails to appreciate the human beauty of Biblical poetry, even though he may regard it as mythical. But Messrs. Foote and Ramsay had chosen Christmas time, which is so intertwined in the hearts of the English people with that domestic poetry of which, alas! they have far too little in their Philistine homes, as a time to send into households of fervent Christians the most disgusting attack on their faith that I have ever yet seen.

I remember particularly two pictures in Foote's Christmas pamphlet. One referred to that passage in which Moses, desiring to see God, is put in a cleft in the rock, and may only gaze upon his hinder parts; and the picture represented an old man turning to the spectator the many-patched seat of a pair of trousers! The man who can thus drag the exquisite poetry of the Hebrews in the mud of the London slums is fit only for a lunatic asylum. The other picture referred to the words of Jesus to his mother, when he had been disputing with the doctors in the Temple: "Woman, what have I to do with thee? knowest thou not that I am about my Father's business?" The picture represented Mary as an old hag, and Jesus as a young hoodlum, with the words, "Jesus jawing his mother." Now, Foote was not an ignorant man. He had education enough to appreciate decency, and he had not the slightest excuse for such gross indecencies as the above mentioned. When we discussed the question, first in the Council and afterward in the annual public meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, I regretted very much that the motion of Mr. Elwin Lawrence, one of the chief supporters of the *Christian Life*, to register the names of those who voted for or against the motion to petition for Foote's release from punishment, was not accepted. It would, I think, have shown that the believers in second-hand Christianity, who are guided by fashion, were mostly opposed to the motion, while precisely those whose theistic faith was the strongest were for letting the men go unpunished, save by the contempt with which most fair-minded men would regard their disgusting indecency; while Chief Justice North, by inflicting upon them a punishment very much heavier than that which Lord Saint Leonards had to suffer for his attempt to commit an indecent assault upon a servant girl, led the working people of England to suppose that the law was severer for the poor than for the rich. But, in view of the fact that the most thorough-going theists of England, the liberal wing of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, petitioned for the release of Ramsay and Foote, it is manifestly incorrect on the part of Mr. Conway to identify theism with their prosecution and punishment.

Then Mr. Conway says that members of Parliament must be deprived of their seats and constituencies dishonored for not believing in God. Is Mr. Conway, after twenty-two years' residence in England, so innocent as to believe that the members of the House of Commons who voted against Mr. Bradlaugh's admission to that House are less atheistical than Mr. Bradlaugh himself? If so, he has a better opinion of them than I have, of such men at least as Lord Randy Churchill and Baron de Worms. Mr. Bradlaugh, as a defender of the rights of the English Proletariat, has advocated the abolition of perpetual pensions and other means of helping useless aristocrats like Lord R

Churchill's brother, the present Duke of Marlborough, whose late appearance as defendant in the divorce court against the suit of his wife was such a peculiar sample of the way in which the British nobility practise the motto, "Noblesse oblige," in order to live in luxury without labor while England's working men and women are starving. Mr. Bradlaugh is the author of a work entitled *An Impeachment of the House of Brunswick*, and so men oppose him to curry favor with our pleasure-loving Prince of Wales.

But I do not think the Prince of Wales is a theist. He must, of course, if he would ever be King of England, subscribe to the act of Parliament Church. But I rather suspect that he is nothing more than a virgin worshipper,—not indeed of her whose name has been idealized in past centuries by poet and painter and saint, but of those ancient virgins, like Sarah Bernhardt, whom from time to time my fashionable countrymen, and yours, too, import from Paris when they are worn out there, whose altar is the stage, their church the theatre, and their liturgy the filthy trivialities of Parisian playwrights. Gladstone, who, however illogical his theological writings may be, is really an honest believer in a personal God, has done all that lay in his power to secure Bradlaugh's admission to Parliament; but those whose chief idea of heaven is a prince's favor vote for his exclusion, and are only too glad to use his atheism as a cloak for their true motives.

The fourth statement, that ladies are refused admission into seats of learning because they do not believe in God, can only refer to the exclusion of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bradlaugh's two daughters from the ladies' classes of University College. Now, in this case, the supposed atheism of these ladies was not even made the pretence. For, when James Martineau, the most spiritual of theists, was proposed as professor of moral philosophy at University College, he too was rejected. And, while I am convinced that the real motive for Mrs. Besant's exclusion was simply a desire to curry favor with the court, the published pretence was her publication, in company with Mr. Bradlaugh, of an alleged immoral or indecent work. Now, I believe that Mrs. Besant's action in this matter was unwise; but the action of the people who excluded her was far more indecent, far more unchristian than her own.

What Mrs. Besant said to the Proletariat of England was, in effect, the following: "Through the selfishness and injustice of a pampered and state-endowed Church, and the dishonesty of an ignoble nobility who pocket the nation's taxes without performing the duties of their feudal ancestors, you are deprived of the bread of life, physical or moral. The shameful self-indulgence of your so-called betters has a more profound influence upon your lives than the lofty Puritanism of the Unitarians and Christian theists. We cannot alter this. So long as such infamous wrong is done in high places, we cannot expect you who have been deprived of all means of moral discipline to practise that self-control which is the condition of all other virtues. At any rate, I will try to teach you at least how to prevent your self-indulgence from killing your wives and giving life to children who, if the popular theology be true, are only candidates for hell in the next world, and, whether it be true or not, are likely enough to raise hell in this. I will teach you to imitate the means used by the slaves of fashion in the so-called respectable classes of society to avoid the responsibilities of parentage."

Not a sweet or noble gospel this, I grant you; but who that has read *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* can deny that even so poor a message as this is infinitely better than the hell to which the mothers and children of the London Proletariat are condemned by the brutish self-indulgence of their husbands and the shameful neglect of our nobility and our priesthood?

To me, the treatment to which Mrs. Besant has been subject seems most unchristian, if Christianity be what is taught by the Evangelists and St. Paul; but Mr. Conway has no right to charge this to theism, Christian or non-Christian.

The Lord whom these sham respectabilities worship is not the Lord God of hosts, but a creature like Lord Saint Leonards or the Duke of Marlborough. And, if I understand Mr. Conway's action aright, I much fear that his teaching in these later days rather encourages this tendency to self-indulgence, and hypocrisy. The worst of all atheism, to my mind, is

the combination of unbelief and conformity; and Mr. Conway, who had for some years past been preaching the Gospel, not of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, or Paul, but that of Saint Rabelais, has seemed to me to be among the forces which emasculate the society of England rather than those which strengthen it.

When Mr. Conway says that he has found the Church more liberal than Unitarianism, the reason is not hard to find. It is because the authorities of the Church, for the greater part Christians or unbelievers, know that Rabelaisianism is far more favorable to acquiescence in false creeds, and all the social hypocrisy that accompanies them, than a clear and honest theism, which, fearing God, is not apt to bow the knee before the princes of London or of Washington. I, too, have felt the enchantments of Church of Englandism. Like Tannhäuser, I have been in her Venus cavern; for I was educated at the Diocesan School of York, and I have only grateful remembrance for my teachers; but all that was best and strongest and most heroic in the modern life of England I have found among the Christian theists or those secularists who had spent at least a part of their lives under the inspiration of theism.

JOHN FRETWELL.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

Editors of The Index:—

There seems to be a misapprehension in the minds of some as to the nature of the declaration of the late Congress of the League. I will state what I think was clearly in the minds of all those who participated in that Congress.

The Congress specially declared that the Nine Demands of Liberalism as adopted at Philadelphia in 1876 should hereafter be the basis of union, and should define our mission as free thinkers and reformers.

What is the meaning of this declaration?

It means that, beyond the Nine Demands, the League is committed to no particular political action. Each member is left to his own personal judgment.

Therefore, whoever joins the League and partakes in its action commits himself only to the Nine Demands,—that is, to State secularization.

On the question, therefore, of repeal or modification, the League now stands where the original Congress of 1876 stood. It leaves the question open for its members to decide according to their private judgment as to the wisest method by which the rights of free thought can be maintained.

On this question, Liberals are divided. It is a question that involves in its settlement principles that go beyond the scope of the Nine Demands. The League therefore cannot declare in favor of either repeal or modification. It is objected that there was no rescinding resolution at the late Congress; and, because one Congress has declared in favor of repeal, therefore the League is permanently committed to this policy.

This is not so. The voice of one Congress is not the voice of a succeeding Congress; and, unless the resolutions of a previous Congress are reaffirmed by a succeeding Congress, they do not stand as the voice of the League. This is the express declaration by resolution of the League itself. It says "that resolutions heretofore or hereafter passed by the annual Congress of the League are no test of fellowship in the League, but simply express the sentiments of those voting for them, and of the particular Congress of which they are a majority."

These words plainly declare that the League is not now committed to the policy of repeal; and, therefore, both those who are in favor of repeal and those who are in favor of modification can harmoniously work together. Experience shows that there is an honest difference in this matter, but that does not prevent an entire unity of action on the basis of the Nine Demands.

SAMUEL P. PUTNAM,
Secretary of National Liberal League.
NEW YORK, Oct. 13, 1884.

[We are glad to print the above official statement that the League no longer asks for the repeal of postal laws against the transmission of indecent literature through the mails, and that henceforth its efforts will be devoted to the work of State secularization. If it shall in good faith confine itself to this work, its past mistakes and inconsistencies will be overlooked, and it will be judged by its fidelity to its

declared objects. During the past six years, through evil and through good report,—chiefly through evil report among the adherents of the League,—we have persistently opposed the repeal folly which wrecked the organization: it is not strange that we have with satisfaction witnessed the total collapse of the repeal movement. The spirit manifested by some of the members of the Cassadaga Congress toward the active opponents of the repeal policy, and the fact that the League is yet to some extent controlled by those who are in actual sympathy with that policy, shall not prevent our recognizing, although with no thanks to them, the practical failure of that agitation which the League, its present leaders declare, has abandoned, nor prevent our noting the official announcement that in future the League will confine its efforts to the original objects of the organization. At the same time, we must say that consistency and honesty demanded the rescission of the repeal resolutions passed at previous congresses of the League. Resolutions are supposed to be expressive of the views and purposes of an organization until rescinded or rendered null and void by subsequent resolutions or by circumstances which make them inapplicable to a changed condition of affairs. The League, in its desire to adhere to the repeal policy, and yet to secure the co-operation and support of those opposed to it, has, at several congresses, done some strange things not to be explained upon any logical or rational principles. Is the particular resolution Mr. Putnam quotes, which was not reaffirmed at Cassadaga, to be regarded as expressing the views of any other congress than the one that passed it? If not, why is it cited to prove that the League is not bound by the resolutions passed previous to the last Congress? If it is to be regarded as expressive of the League through all its congresses, how is it that this one resolution, which is no part of the constitution, can bind all the congresses held subsequent to its passage, when all other resolutions, and even the Nine Demands of Liberalism, in order to continue as a legal expression of the League's position, have to be reaffirmed every year? Perhaps we should not question too closely the past proceedings of the League. Let us hope now that it will keep to the "principles that do not go beyond the scope of the Nine Demands." We do not believe there is any danger of a return to the repeal agitation. It never could have obtained organized support but for the false interpretation of postal laws in the cases of Heywood and Bennett. But there are indications now that the professed objects of the League will be subordinated to the promulgation of the views of its managers on other subjects than State secularization. Already, Mr. Putnam has issued a circular which confounds State secularization with secularism, and which speaks of our "noble secular faith," while calling for the support of all who believe in the separation of Church and State.—B. F. U.]

THE editor of the *Truth-Seeker* writes: "I inferred from your note that you thought the attendance at the League Congress was not quite so numerous as your reporter gave it. That others got the same impression I know, from the fact that I was asked by the ex-president of the League to correct you. If you did not intend to be unfair, I have no further grievance on that point. But your language, and the way you used it, gave coloring to the view taken by Mr. Wakeman, myself, and others. . . . But I have a bone to pick with you for saying the *Truth-Seeker* dishonestly suppressed a certain incident occurring at the Congress. I suppose you allude to the election of a long list of vice-presidents, and the subsequent reconsideration of the vote. In the interests of harmony, I was asked not to print that by all the leading Leaguers, whom you would call the 'better element,' although I do not recognize any such element. All the people, so far as I know, at the Congress, were good enough for me to associate with. If by following the advice and heeding the requests of your 'better element,' I lay myself liable to the charge of being dishonest, hadn't I better the next time listen to the 'unworthy characters' who 'so largely influenced the action of the Congress'? And, by the way, won't you kindly mention the names of these unworthy characters? I have been applied to by several for information as to whom you could mean, but I am unable to even guess. Names, please. . . . As to your charge, that 'it was well understood at the Congress that the *Truth-Seeker* would become the virtual

organ of the League,' I can only say that the *Truth-Seeker* is the organ of no organization. It is not in any way controlled by the officers of the League, and it does not desire to in any way control them. It will help the League as it always has done, but no more, I presume, than the other liberal journals will be glad to do."

[We have given above so much of the letter as aims to correct or explain what we stated recently in regard to the *Truth-Seeker*. 1. The inference that we intended to convey a meaning which was neither expressed nor implied in the language used was unwarranted. Our report gave the number in attendance, and our statement as to the number who were delegates was made on the authority of the *Truth-Seeker*. 2. If the leading Leaguers composing the "better element" (an expression quoted by us from a letter from a member of the League) advised the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* to suppress the truth in regard to portions of the proceedings, knowledge of which was necessary to a correct understanding of the action taken, the fact does not change the moral quality of the act, although the motive may not have been bad. As a free-thinking journalist, the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* should not have been swerved from an honest and fearless statement of the truth by any "element." His duty was to publish a fair and faithful report, or none at all. 3. As to "unworthy characters," the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* has his views, and we have ours. Our reference to some of the persons at Cassadaga was made from knowledge, and was just; but giving their names,—which in fairness would require statements with proof,—when the persons are unknown to the liberal public, and have no influence outside of the League, would serve no useful purpose. 4. That the *Truth-Seeker* is "controlled by the officers of the League" we have not stated, although its editor admits that he suppressed certain facts in the proceedings by their advice. Immediately after the Cassadaga meeting, we were informed by a reliable person who was present that it was understood the *Truth-Seeker* would be the "virtual organ" of the League, and two or three weeks afterwards *Man*, its organ, was merged in the *Truth-Seeker*, as was consistent; for, of all papers, it has been the most prominent and pronounced in advocating the "repeal" movement.—B. F. U.]

For The Index.

WHENCE AND WHITHER.

Leaving the branch of a forest tree,
And falling to earth as the sun went down,
Resting on mosses, alone it lay,
An acorn of green in a cup of brown.

Stooping, I raised up the dormant thing,
And I felt the throb of a heart within:
Fallen so low, it would rise above
The earth and the mould where its hopes begin.

Embryo life of the mighty oak,
Asleep in thy shell, to thee I appeal:
Wrapped in thy silence and solitude,
Oh, what of the future canst thou reveal?

Fathomless secret of birth and death!
I weary my soul in its fruitless quest:
Mystery deep as the realm of truth
Enfoldeth the home of our final rest.

JULIA CLARK CHASE.

MADISON, WIS.

THE executive committee of the North American Gymnastic Union (Turner Bund) have issued a circular address, protesting against "all prohibitory and sumptuary laws." While condemning the abuse of alcoholic drinks and of "each of Nature's other gifts as well," and approving of laws "for the punishment of every offender against the rights of his fellow-beings or against morals and the good order of society," the address says: "We must and do protest, however, against that mediæval system of attempted law-making, which at best destroys the rights and curtails the liberties of the many on account of immoderation and vices of the few; and we hold that, by a natural law, which found expression in our National Declaration of Independence in the words, 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,' all such attempts at patriarchal legislation are forbidden; and that no true power exists in any State or municipality to

destroy the free agency of any one human being, because of the possibility that another may abuse the liberty guaranteed to every one by our national Constitution. Neither do we now place much stress upon the established fact that 'Prohibition fails to prohibit' beyond pointing to it as but another demonstration that prohibition is wrong in principle. No extreme measure can ever live or be enforced in any community without both the moral support of that community and the conviction on the part of those intrusted with its execution that it is right and just in principle; hence the failure. We oppose all prohibitory and sumptuary laws as being: 1. Wrong in principle; 2. A perversion of true governmental functions; 3. Destructive of human free agency, of self-respect, and character; 4. And as but poorly disguised attempts to force the private opinions of one part of a community upon the unwilling minds and rebellious consciences of the other." But, since the abuse of alcoholic drinks is so common and the results so frightful, bearing directly upon the most important interests of every community, society certainly has a right to put such restrictions upon their sale as experience teaches are effective in lessening the evils of the traffic without violating the principle of personal liberty.

THE *Atlantic* for November has an interesting instalment of the autobiography of the late Henry James, under the title "Stephen Dewhurst's Autobiography." Brooks Adams contributes an instructive political paper on "The Embryo of a Commonwealth." Maurice Thompson has an engaging essay, "In the Haunts of the Mocking Bird," the scene being laid in the South. Valuable literary articles are "Mistral's Nerto," by Harriet Waters Preston; "Crude Science in Aryan Cults," by Prof. E. P. Evans; "The Last Stand of the Italian Bourbons," by William Chauncey Langdon; and "De Senectute," by F. Sheldon. An article which cannot fail to attract general attention is "The Negro Problem," by N. S. Shaler; and notes from several specially competent persons are given,—Gen. Armstrong, Col. T. W. Higginson, ex-Gov. D. H. Chamberlain, and others. Another delightful travel sketch, "The Lakes of Upper Italy," is given. J. M. Hillyar contributes a paper on "Malta." Edith M. Thomas has an out-door sketch, "Grass: a Ruminantion." There is a poem by Mr. Whittier, another by Paul Hayne, and a variety of brief essays in the "Contributors' Club."

IN the November number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, Dr. W. A. Hammond, in "Relations between the Mind and the Nervous System," defines mind as a force developed by gray nerve tissue, and maintains that this force is generated wherever in the living organism gray nerve tissue is found. He denies that either the absolute or the proportionate weight of the brain indicates a definite rank in intelligence. In the "Origin of the Synthetic Philosophy," Herbert Spencer replies successfully to recent statements made by Frederic Harrison. Other articles are: "German Testimony on the Classics Question," by Frederic A. Fernald; "The Future of the Negro in the South," by J. B. Craighead; "Pending Problems of Astronomy," by Prof. C. A. Young; "Drowning the Torrent in Vegetation," by S. W. Powell; "What is Electricity?" by Prof. John Trowbridge; "Chilian Volcanoes, Active and Extinct," by Dr. Karl Ochsenius; "Old Customs of Lawlessness," by Herr M. Kulischer; sketch of Prof. James Hall (with portrait).

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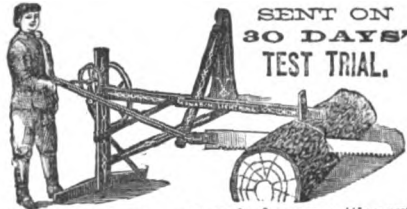
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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Montreal Times*, who is making the rounds of the churches, says that "preachers are so given to using the old terms with new meanings and mental reservations that heresy cannot often be detected in the pulpit. One must talk with them in private to learn their real views."

SAYS an exchange: "The disfranchisement of every leader of the [Mormon] Church under the Edmunds bill is doing quietly its work. The young men are mainly monogamous, and at once are placed in a position of political importance, which is sure to be dangerous to the gray heads of the Church."

VOTERS in Massachusetts are reminded that the next Legislature will be petitioned to tax church property, as well as to repeal the statute by which testimony is liable to be discredited on account of theological disbelief. No party interests should prevent the choice of men who will decide these questions justly.

ARCHDEACON DIXON at the Congress of the Anglican Church in Toronto, the other day, denounced the unsectarian school system, and held that the Church of England should demand that "they be placed in the same position as the Roman Catholic Church in respect to education, having their own schools." He declared that there was a mania for suicides in the United States, and that it could be traced directly to godless instruction in the public schools!

THE celebration throughout Europe and America of the one hundredth anniversary of Sir Moses Montefiore's birthday was a fitting tribute to a man of character and worth, whose love of his fellow-men is unlimited by sectarian creeds, national boundaries, or distinctions of race. Thomas Paine said, "The world is my country, to do good my religion." The broad sympathy and boundless philanthropy expressed in this sentence are pos-

sessed by Israel's noble patriarch in an eminent degree.

At the annual Convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, held in Chicago last August, Bishop Ireland said that the Catholics in our large cities furnish the largest proportion of criminals and paupers. The cause, he said, was intemperance. Too many Catholics were in the saloon business. He wanted the people educated so that they would not run saloons; for liquor-selling, he believed, was doing to the Church more harm than all other causes combined. He argued in favor of both moral and legal means for the suppression of the evil.

MR. PETER ANNET, recently from England where we are informed he did good work in organizing and lecturing to science classes, gave an address last Sunday before the Parker Memorial Science Class. His subject was "The Star-fish." The lecture was devoted to a description of this lowly form of life, its structure, habits, relationships, and the unmistakable proof it offers of the truth of evolution, with interesting statements explaining how by advancing in myriads upon oyster beds, and feasting upon its victims, it directly raises the price of one of our luxuries, and indirectly affects the price of food in general. The lecture was not only replete with information, but by the treatment was made as fascinating as a fairy tale. Mr. Annet, by special request, will address the class again next Sunday at the usual hour, 12.15 P.M. Subject, "The Stars."

REV. H. A. FAVELL, vicar of St. Mark's, Sheffield, Eng., has issued a circular to his seat-holders referring to the Bible classes to be held during the coming winter, in which "gentlemen" and "ladies" are directed to meet at the "vicarage," "men" and "women" at the "parish room." He also states that the attendance of domestic servants will be specially welcomed at the "parish room." The distinction is further emphasized in the circular by having the invitation to gentlemen and ladies on one page and that to men and women on the opposite. "Some one," says the *London Inquirer*, referring to this circular, "once divided the human race into 'men, women, and clergymen.' While there are such clergymen in existence as the Hon. and Rev. R. W. L. Tollemache-Tollemache and the Rev. H. A. Favell, there is occasion for a classification which allows for an epicene order." The clergyman with the long name is vicar of South Wytham, who lately required the villagers, farmers, and the school-teacher of his parish to come into his priestly presence only through the back door of his house.

HENRY WARD BEECHER last week, in defending the private character of Gov. Cleveland from what he declared to be unfounded calumnies put in circulation by "rash and credulous clergymen" who "went to harlots and drunkards" for their stories, concluded his speech with the following words for which honorable men of all parties will respect him, when the excitement of this campaign shall have subsided: "When, in the gloomy night of my own sufferings in years gone by, I sounded

every depth of sorrow, I vowed that, if God would bring the day-star of life to me, I would never suffer brother, friend, or neighbor to go unfriended, should a like serpent seek to crush him. That oath I will regard now, because I know the bitterness of venomous lies. I will stand against venomous lies that seek to sting to death a man and magistrate worthy a better fate. Men counsel me to ponder lest I stir again my own griefs. No: I will not be prudent. If I refuse to interpose a shield of well-placed confidence between Gov. Cleveland and the swarm of liars that nestle in the mud or sling arrows from ambush, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth and my right hand forget its cunning!"

MR. HARRISON is a brilliant writer, but he is neither profound nor accurate. In the recent discussion with Spencer, the contrast between the two men was very striking. It is generally admitted that, argumentatively speaking, there was not enough left of Mr. Harrison to be visible to the naked eye. His statement, now made rather petulantly, that "all the *idées mères*, as the French said, of the Synthetic Philosophy were those of the Positive Philosophy," is an old misstatement revived, and one no thinker can indorse who is acquainted with and capable of understanding both Comte and Spencer. "No English man," wrote John Stuart Mill to Spencer in 1864, "who has read both you and Comte can suppose you have derived much from him. No thinker's conclusions bear more completely the marks of being arrived at by the progressive development of his own original conceptions; while, if there is any previous thinker to whom you owe much, it is evidently (as you yourself say) Sir W. Hamilton. But the opinions in which you agree with Comte, and which, as you truly observe, are in no way peculiar to him, are exactly those which would make French writers class you with him; because to them Comte and his followers are the only thinkers who represent opposition to their muddy metaphysics." In a recent letter, Mr. Spencer, after quoting the above extract, says: "To this I may fitly add a passage contained in Mr. Mill's work, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, issued a year later, in which, distinguishing between that part of the Positive Philosophy which belongs to Comte and that which 'is the common inheritance of thinkers,' he says: 'Mr. Spencer rejects nearly all which properly belongs to M. Comte, and in his abridged mode of statement does scanty justice to what he rejects.' (p. 5.) Now, considering that Mr. Mill was a profound admirer of M. Comte, kept up a correspondence with him, and raised funds to support him, and considering that, when the above letter was written, I knew Mr. Mill only through two calls at the India House, and was an antagonist of Comtean views which he accepted, and had publicly combated one of his own views, it is manifest that any bias he may be supposed to have had was against me rather than for me. Such being the case, most persons will, I think, regard his voluntarily given opinion as decisive."

SOUND CHARACTER THE FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

The question is continually raised, not merely by theoretical reformers, but in the practical experience of life, Where is the cure for the various social disorders and sufferings which afflict mankind? It is, in fact, the old question which has, from immemorial time, been the burden of all religions,—the question of human salvation. But the time is past when any very large number of the world's enlightened and leading minds can accept the old ecclesiastical solution of this problem. Schemes of atonement are no longer available, and a solution which is not to take effect until a future world is not accepted. Hence, in modern days, the question of human evil has been considered in more practical shape; and various plans have been from time to time proposed—plans of legislation, of extended suffrage, of enlarged liberty, of special philanthropies, of political and industrial reform—by which, it is urged, the desired end of human virtue and happiness will be attained. And very good and necessary projects many of these are. They do help to solve the problem. They are steps in the forward march of mankind.

Personally, we have given sympathy and aid to most of these modern philanthropies and reforms. Yet the longer we live, the more strongly we are convinced that there are no reform schemes which can bring any adequate remedy for the moral evils burdening society, unless they reach down to the roots of personal character and begin the remedy there. It is not enough to remove an evil: good must be put in its place. It is not enough to increase liberty: men and women must be educated, intellectually, morally, physically, to the right use of their liberated faculties. It is not enough to fix outward boundaries, as of legislation, upon a vice: pure appetites and desires must be cultivated to crowd out the bad ones that create the vice. The help most needed by human beings to enable them to overcome their besetting temptations, and more faithfully to discharge their duties, is that which in some way quickens their conscience, deepens their love of virtue, inspires in them a profounder reverence for integrity, and thus increases their own moral strength. And, in respect to improving the condition of society in general, there can be no lasting reform which does not supply nourishment to the moral motives, or refine and purify those inner dispositions and tendencies which are the secret springs of conduct. The crying need of mankind to-day is sound, healthful, upright character,—character so firmly grounded in the sense of right that, let come what will of temptation, nothing can sway it off from that rock.

Perhaps it would not be true to say that society is becoming less sensitive on points of moral honor and purity than formerly, that rectitude is less esteemed, that the standard of morality in society at large is deteriorating; though there are good observers of mankind who make these charges. But, possibly, they do not make sufficient allowance for a transient moral aberration through temporary causes. This much, however, in the charges is doubtless true. The temptations that assail character at the points of integrity, probity, honor, purity, are immensely greater than ever before. The stupendous material and financial enterprises of this age; the vast increase of the mercantile interests of society; the growth of enormous moneyed corporations, with powers unheard of in former times, and with treasures largely intrusted to individual honor; the marvellous extension of all that side of life which relates to material comforts and

luxuries; the stimulation and pampering of appetite; the rapid increase of wealth and increased demands of living; the new ways for acquiring riches; and the sharp competitions, fierce excitements, and fascinating games of speculation which attend the new ways,—all these things have brought temptations which former generations, at least in this country, knew little of; and probably it must be confessed that as yet there has not been a corresponding increase of moral strength to withstand the temptations. In the maddening rush of business and of pleasure, the voice of conscience, certainly, does not get the hearing which is its due. The serious responsibility of life is not adequately felt. The character of men elevated to high office is too little discriminated. Smartness is apt to have a larger following than soundness. Bluster takes the place of principle. Not who is the best candidate, but who is the most available, is the question asked in politics. Success in carrying a measure is made of more account than honesty in the means. Partisanship brings almost all the political leaders to the degradation of masquerading on platforms in an exciting political campaign in any other garments than those of simplicity and truth. And the greatest obstacle to reform, both in the political and the business world, is that so large a number of the prominent political and business leaders are a part of the very thing to be reformed.

No remedy, therefore, for this state of things can be effective except through a higher culture and a more vigorous exercise of the moral sentiment among all classes of people. A nation or a municipality, when political corruption has gone too far for its own security, may rid themselves of the evil by an indignant uprising of the people. But, to save themselves from falling under similar corruption, they must see to it by perpetual vigilance that only men of proved character are put into office. Candidates for office must be made to understand, not only that they will be measured by their political principles and their mental competency, but that integrity and purity of character will be regarded as more worthy of trust than fealty to party. In a republic, a good and safe government can only be secured so far as the citizens themselves have a reverence that is stronger than all partisan ties for honorable and virtuous character. A republican form of government will not be more vigilant for the right than is the public conscience which stands behind and guards the government.

So, too, in respect to the various projects which philanthropy offers for improving the outward conditions of existence. As instrumentalities and helps, they are good in their place; but they will prove a delusion, unless they serve to enrich and purify the inner elements of character. There is no genuine social reform which does not mean the reformation of individual character. There is no final safety but just there. No reform is sure, until it has carried that position. There is no insured safety for society, unless that inner citadel of the heart's loyalty to virtue, the keeping of which is finally intrusted to the vigilance of each individual man or woman, can be held by a goodly majority of persons against all forms of assaulting temptation. There is no security, unless, whatever else has to go, individual character can finally rely on its own valorous love of virtue to save its rectitude.

A young man, for instance, goes for the first time away from the restraints of home love and friendly acquaintance and the eye of parental care, to live as a stranger in a great city. He finds a public opinion not over-scrupulous, or he finds that he may let down his conduct from the old home ideal, and yield to the temptations of

gain or the temptations of appetite, and no public opinion for which he cares have any cognizance of the matter. What can save him in that hour but the strength of those unseen ties which, through childhood and youth, have been binding his character in loyalty to honesty and purity, and which, instead of bending helplessly before temptation, will almost welcome it for the sake of the conscious pride of manly power in overcoming it? When a young man feels such a devotion to virtue that he will stand by it as he would defend his own mother, then he may be regarded as morally safe. Nor are these high heroic ideals among young men so rare as some moral cynics would have us believe. And whatever in the customs of business and society or in political action and discussion tends to break them down is a public calamity.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND WOMAN.

I.

The grand ideas of Confucius, Zoroaster, Buddha, Mohammed, Jesus, have been slowly transforming the world from the reign of brute force to moral power, and science has been *as slowly* emancipating mankind from their fears of the unknown; but the Christian Church has steadily used its influence against progress, science, the education of the masses, and freedom for woman. It is often asserted that woman owes all the advantages of the position she occupies to-day to Christianity, but the facts of history show that the Christian Church has done nothing specifically for woman's elevation. In the general march of civilization, she has necessarily reaped the advantage of man's higher development; but we must not claim for Christianity all that has been achieved by science, discovery, and invention.

If we admit that the truth it has taught, as an offset to its many errors, has been one of the factors in civilization, we shall concede all that can be fairly claimed. The prolonged slavery of woman is the darkest page in human history; and she has touched the depths of misery since in Bethlehem the Magi gathered round the child in the manger, who was hailed as the Saviour of mankind. But the life and teachings of Jesus, all pointing to the complete equality of the human family, were too far in advance of his age to mould its public opinion. We must distinguish between the teachings attributed to Jesus and those of the Christian Church. One represents the ideal the race is destined to attain; the other, the popular sentiment of its time.

Had Jesus lived in Russia in the nineteenth century, he would have been exiled as a Nihilist for his protests against tyranny and his sympathy with the suffering masses. He would have been driven from Germany as a socialist, from France as a communist, and imprisoned as a blasphemer in England and America, had he taught in London and New York the radical ideas he proclaimed in Palestine.

I speak of the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant, of the priesthood, the bulls of its popes, the decrees of its councils, the articles and resolutions of its general assemblies, presbyteries, synods, conferences, which, all summed up, compose the canon law, which has held Christendom during what are called the Dark Ages until now under its paralyzing influence, moulding civil law and social customs and plunging woman into absolute slavery.

The worst features of the canon law reveal themselves to-day in woman's condition as clearly as they did fifteen hundred years ago. The clergy in their pulpits teach the same doctrines in regard

to her from the same texts, and echo the same old platitudes and false ideas promulgated for centuries by ecclesiastical councils. According to Church teaching, woman was an after-thought in the creation, the author of sin, being at once in collusion with Satan. Her sex was made a crime; marriage a condition of slavery, owing obedience; maternity a curse; and the true position of all womankind one of inferiority and subjection to all men; and the same ideas are echoed in our pulpits to-day.

England and America are the two nations in which the Christian religion is dominant; yet, by their ethics taught in the pulpit, the ideal woman is comparatively more degraded than in pagan nations. I say comparatively; for, because of the various steps of progress in education, science, invention, and art, woman is now more fully the equal of man in these countries than in any other nation or period of the world. And yet the old ideas taught by the Church in the Dark Ages of her inferiority and depravity are still maintained; and, just in proportion as women are the equals of the men by their side, the more keenly they feel every invidious distinction based on sex. To those not conversant with the history of the Christian Church and the growth of the canon law, it may seem a startling assertion; but it is, nevertheless, true that the Church has done more to degrade woman than all other adverse influences put together. And it has done this by playing on the religious emotions (the strongest feelings of her nature), to her own complete subjugation. The same religious conscience that carried the widows to the funeral pyre of their husbands now holds some women in the Turkish seraglios, others in polygamy under a Mormon theocracy, and others in the Christian Churches, in which, while rich women help to build and support them, they may not speak or vote or enjoy any of the honors conferred on men, and all alike are taught that their degradation is of divine ordination, and thus their natural feelings of self-respect are held in abeyance to what they are taught to believe is God's will. Out of the doctrine of original sin grew the crimes and miseries of asceticism, celibacy, and witchcraft, woman becoming the helpless victim of all the delusions generated in the brain of man.

Having decided that she was the author of sin and the medium through whom the devil would effect the downfall of the Church, godly men logically inferred that the greater the distance between themselves and all womankind, the nearer they were to God and heaven. With this idea, they fought against all woman's influence, both good and evil. At one period, they crucified all natural affections for mother, sister, wife, and daughter, and continued a series of persecutions that blackened the centuries with the most horrible crimes.

This more than any other one influence was the cause of that general halt in civilization, that retrogressive movement of the Dark Ages, for which no historian has satisfactorily accounted. At no period of the world was the equilibrium of the masculine and feminine elements of humanity so disturbed. The result was moral chaos,—just what would occur in the material world, if it were possible to destroy the equilibrium of the positive and negative electricity or of the centripetal and centrifugal force.

For the supposed crimes of heresy and witchcraft, hundreds of women endured such persecutions and tortures that the most stolid historians are said to have wept in recording them; and no one can read them to-day but with a bleeding heart. And, as the Christian Church grew stronger, woman's fate grew more helpless. Even the Reformation and Protestantism brought no

relief, the clergy being all along their most bitter persecutors, the inventors of the most infernal tortures. Hundreds and hundreds of fair young girls, innocent as the angels in heaven, hundreds and hundreds of old women, weary and trembling with the burdens of life, were hunted down by emissaries of the Church, dragged into the courts with the ablest judges and lawyers of England, Scotland, and America on the bench, and tried for crimes that never existed but in the wild, fanatical imaginations of religious devotees. Women were accused of consorting with devils and perpetuating their diabolical propensities. Hundreds of these children of hypothetical origin were drowned, burned, and tortured in the presence of their mothers, to add to their death agonies. These things were not done by savages or pagans: they were done by the Christian Church. Neither were they confined to the Dark Ages, but permitted by law in England far into the eighteenth century. The clergy everywhere sustained witchcraft as Bible doctrine, until the spirit of rationalism laughed the whole thing to scorn, and science gave mankind a more cheerful view of life.

So large a place has the nature and position of woman occupied in the councils of the Church that the Rev. Charles Kingsley facetiously remarked that the Christian Church was swamped by hysteria from the third to the sixteenth century. Speaking of witchcraft, Lecky says the Reformation was the signal for a fresh outburst of the superstition in England; and there, as elsewhere, its decline was represented by the clergy as the direct consequence and the exact measure of the progress of religious scepticism. In Scotland, where the reformed ministers exercised greater influence than in any other country, and where the witch trials fell almost entirely into their hands, the persecution was proportionally atrocious. Probably the ablest defender of the belief was Glanvil, a clergyman of the English Establishment; and one of the most influential was Baxter, the greatest of the Puritans. It spread with Puritanism into the New World, and the executions in Massachusetts form one of the darkest pages in American history. The greatest religious leader of the last century, John Wesley, was among the latest of its supporters. He said giving up witchcraft was giving up the Bible. Scepticism on the subject of witches first arose among those who were least governed by the Church, advanced with the decline of the influence of the clergy, and was commonly branded by them as a phase of infidelity.

One remarkable fact stands out in the history of witchcraft; and that is, its victims were chiefly women. Scarce one wizard to a hundred witches was ever burned or tortured.

Although the ignorance and crimes of the race have ever fallen most heavily on woman, yet in the general progress of civilization she has had some share. As man became more enlightened, she of necessity enjoyed the results; but to no form of popular religion has woman ever been indebted for one pulsation of liberty. Obedience and subjection have been the lessons taught her by all alike.

Lecky, in his *History of Rationalism* and his *European Morals*, gives facts sufficient to convince any woman of common sense that the greatest obstacle in the way of the freedom and elevation of her sex has been, and is, the teaching of the Church in regard to her rights and duties. Women have ever been the chief victims in the persecutions of the Church amid all its awful tragedies, and on them have fallen the heaviest penalties of the canon law.

But the canon law did not confine itself to social relations: it laid its hand with withering touch on

the civil law, and blighted many personal and property rights accorded woman under the Roman Code.

Speaking of the Roman Code before the introduction of Christianity (Gaius), Maine says: "The juriconsults had evidently at this time assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle to the code of equity. The situation of the Roman woman, whether married or single, became one of great personal and property independence; but Christianity tended somewhat from the very first to narrow this remarkable liberty. The prevailing state of religious sentiment may explain why modern jurisprudence has adopted these rules concerning the position of woman, which belong peculiarly to an imperfect civilization. No society which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by middle Roman law. Canon law has deeply injured civilization."

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE COST OF MAN.

II.

Edwin Arnold, in *The Light of Asia*, makes Buddha say that life once begun must run its round of living, climbing up through worm and fish and bird to shaggy beast, from shaggy beast to man. The procession, after a march through what Arnold, in the time-scale of Buddha, might have called a "ninihut" of years, reached the shaggy beast.

A telegram was sent from Australia to the British Association at Montreal, announcing that Mr. Coldwell had just discovered that the monotremes are oviparous. The president of the Biological Section voiced the opinion which all thoughtful naturalists must form, when he said that no words more important to science had ever passed through the submarine cables. The monotremes have been regarded as the lowest of mammals, having affinities with reptiles and birds. The "duck-bill" is bird-like in more significant structures than the bill. It is reptilian in brain. Its dominant characteristics are mammalian. It has mammary glands, although they are without nipples. And now it is found that this mammal lays eggs, and that "the eggs develop very much as those of a reptile." The monotremes are the horizon line on which the bird, the reptile, and the mammal meet.

The full meaning of the telegram announcing that the lowest mammals are still oviparous can be understood only by the geologist who has learned from mesozoic rocks west of the Missouri that birds have descended from reptiles, and that gigantic reptiles in the Jurassic age, in certain structures, were mammalian. The land of the monotreme is in arrest of development. Australia is a faint echo of the Jurassic world. If our Jurassic rocks were to yield mammalian fossils, they would be monotremes. As the earliest were not recorded, we will pass from a hypothetical oviparous monotreme to the earliest of recorded mammals, the Bathmodon, whose remains are entombed in the eocene strata of New Mexico.

The limb of Bathmodon was short. The lower segment was composed of two bones, fibula and tibia, which articulated, one with the heel-bone, and the other with the astragalus, or "turning-joint." The heel-bone was short, and the astragalus and applied tibia were nearly flat, making an imperfect hinge. The toes, five in number, were short, and furnished with little trowel-shaped hoofs. This ancient foot differed but slightly from a pattern still more ancient, that of the reptile. It was plantigrade.

The teeth are in correlation with the feet. Bath-

modon's tooth was cylindrical, and its crown was quadratuberculate.

The brain was smooth and small,—small not only in the cerebral lobes, but in the lobes of smell and sight and sound.

As Bathmodon had but little power of flexing the ankle, its gait must have been slow and awkward. As its tooth was not specialized as insectivorous or carnivorous or herbivorous, its diet must have been general. As its brain, even in the lobes of sense, was small, it could not have been surrounded by enemies quick of wit or fleet of limb. The struggle for life had not yet grown sharp.

If Bathmodon had been wise and vocal, it might have said: "My world is a world of monotony. Its features are few and faintly carved. Over this expanse of plain, I roam in sluggish immunity from foes. I look down through the coming ages, and see the features which now are intensified and other features appearing. Here is a river sculpturing a valley, and here is another sawing a canyon. Here is rising a chain of wooded mountains, and there will stretch a treeless plain. Here will be a zone of frost, and there a zone of heat. My progeny is multiplying. They are pushing out for room. Some betake themselves to the wooded mountains, others linger on the barren plain. Some are wandering up into the icy north, others remain on this fatherland of the south. Change must follow, responsive to change of conditions. That distant child of mine, which springs from crag to crag on the mountain, must differ from that which browses on the plain below, that which bides the icy blast of the north from that which lounges lazily in the south. Looking far down along the ages, I see a member of my line differing from its neighbors in the form of the heel-bone. The change has come from the repercussion of the foot on the ground. The bone is slightly elongated.

"Simultaneously with this change in the heel-bone has come a change in the turning-joint. It, too, has elongated; and it begins to present to the tibia the grooved segment of a pulley, making a more flexible joint. This will be of advantage to an animal wanting speed. And, as the struggle for life begins to grow sharp, speed is of advantage to an animal lacking strength. Generations pass, centuries, ages, and I see on this line the heel-bone growing more and more elongated and the turning joint deeper and more deeply grooved. The creative forces are moving for speed. For this end, one toe will be better than five, and one bone in the lower segment of the limb better than two. I see the toes fading out till only the middle toe remains and a vestige of the second and fourth. The fibula is fading out. Its vestige at last blends with the tibia.

"The tooth is changing responsive to changes in the foot and limb. It is losing the cylindrical form; and the tubercles of the crown are coalescing in pairs, and forming ridges with valleys between. The ridges bend, and the valleys deepen. The animal at the end of this series must drop my name, and take the name 'horse.'

"I see in a far-off age another member of my family which differs from its neighbors in having a slight elongation of the toe-bones and a sharpening of the trowel-shaped hoofs. This would be of advantage to an animal which fights. In this series, the hoofs at last pass into bent daggers. The tooth changes with the foot. The tubercles coalesce, not in pairs, but all four into one, and form a sabre-shaped fang. By these changes and others co-ordinate with them has come the order of 'carnivora.'"

The prevision imagined in Bathmodon is a demonstrated fact in paleontology. From Bathmodon,

in the lower eocene, up through tertiary strata of New Mexico and Wyoming, we find the ruins of a gradated series leading to the horse, another leading to the carnivora, and another leading to the ruminants. What relation does this history sustain to man? In our limbs, we answer to the primitive type. The two bones of the lower segment of the limb remain in the same relations as in Bathmodon. In our feet, we are primitive. Like Bathmodon, we are plantigrade. We have a short heel-bone, a flat turning-joint, and nails half-way between claws and hoofs. In our teeth, we are primitive. We have the old-fashioned quadratuberculate molar. Our digestive system is old-fashioned. Our vascular system is old-fashioned. From Bathmodon, the creative energy moved forward on one line, developing an apparatus in toes and teeth for the destruction of life; along another line, developing feet and limbs for rapid motion over the ground. On neither of these lines did nature reach man. His feet and limbs have not been modified for speed. His teeth have not been modified for tearing flesh or cropping grass. If a generalized mammal like Bathmodon was in the line of man's ancestry, we must seek for the divergence which led to man in another series.

There was a time when mammalian life was not arboreal. Some descendant of Bathmodon may have been the first to climb a tree. If this animal had been illuminated, it might have reasoned in a vein something like this: "The struggle for life has grown very sharp. My neighbors are preying upon each other. They want to eat me. I cannot run as fast as my cousin here, the forthcoming horse. I cannot fight like my cousin there, whose line will end in the tiger. What shall I do? The sanctuary of the weak shall be a tree. I will escape the hungry mouths by climbing. I cannot climb much; but, if I climb at all to-day, to-morrow I can climb better. The act which is occasional with me will become a propensity in my offspring, and in my remoter offspring a fixed habit. And, as my line is becoming arboreal, through what changes is it passing? Nature will not care specially for my feet. A very little modification will adapt them for climbing. And she will not care for my teeth. A little change of the pattern will adapt them for fruit-eating. But the cunning which drives me up a tree, nature will build on that. She will build on the brain, and 'cephalize' the fore-limb to be its servant. If I escape from my enemy by climbing, and become the progenitor of an arboreal race, far down in the coming ages I see my posterity as cunning apes, and at last, in the very fulness of time, as sapient men."

To speak again in Carlylese. There in the cogitations of a eupeptic Bathmodon was involved the fate of a world. Thou, O reader, over what a hair-breadth bridge didst thou pass on thy way hither, when shagginess cogitated whether to run or fight or lie or climb. Consider it well. If shagginess had run and run well, thou mightest to-day be a horse not obedient to a bit. If he had turned on his foe, and fought mightily with tooth and nail, thou mightest have been an heroic tiger with blood of sheep on thy fangs. If he had called into play the low instinct of certain beetles, and escaped death by simulating death, thou wouldst unquestionably be that confirmed liar, the opossum. But he climbed a tree, and thou standest erect on two legs, with somewhat of the tiger and the opossum in thee; and thou art called *Homo sapiens*.

When a branch of mammalian life became arboreal, man was assured. To raise a prone quadrupedal body to an erect bipedal body were im-

possible to any forces or factors known by science. The quadruped whose line was to end in the biped had to become arboreal. The arboreal ape had to come down from the trees to the ground-life of its ancestors. Here was another hair-breadth bridge. The dog-headed baboon which abounds in vestiges of arboreal structures is as strictly quadrupedal as the dog itself. Time was when the forests of the fatherland of this baboon failed; and the animal, adjusting itself to life on the ground, leaped to the form and habits of a pre-arboreal ancestor. "*Facilis descensus, sed revocare*"; to ascend, to become erect, "*hoc labor*."

Comparative anatomy shows that the column of life of which man is the capital rose from the monotreme through the marsupial to the half-apes, from the half-apes through the true apes to the anthropoids, and from the anthropoids to man. The highest of the anthropoids, taken in the totality of structures, is the chimpanzee. The scansorial muscles have been reduced, showing it to be less arboreal than its ancestors. While the dog-headed ape has lapsed, chimpanzee has advanced, and become almost erect. We need not hypothecate an ideal anthropoid as the immediate ancestor of man. That ancestor was a chimpanzee or something very like to it. Every anatomical feature which differentiates man from chimpanzee is in correlation with certain modes of fighting. As long as an animal uses its body for a weapon, so long it must be an animal. Chimpanzee fights with his teeth. His canines are strong tusks. His jaws must be correspondingly large and strong. The muscles which move them must be large and firmly attached. The zygomatic bone must be prominent. The entire face must take a bestial cast from the jaw and its correlations.

In further correlation with the teeth and jaws must be the muscles which move the head. These muscles must be large and strongly inserted on the skull. In gorilla, the temporal ridges coalesce and form a serrated bony crest to hold the muscles which move the head in the act of fighting.

Let us imagine now that when Nature was somewhat younger, and animal forms more plastic, a chimpanzee or a chimpanzoid ape fell into the habit of striking with the hand, and finally with a club. Suppose, the habit became congenital. This is all the imagining we shall have to do. This is the last hair-breadth bridge on our way hither from brutedom. "*Arma virumque*,"—the sequence in Virgil is the sequence in history. Arms preceded man. The teeth were reduced. The canine lost the character of a tusk, although in the lower types of man it still retains a little of this character. The jaw contracted. The muscles which move it shrunk. The zygomatic bone grew less prominent. The serrated crest over the skull faded out. A new factor in evolution had come. It was *mind*. When the mind armed the hand with weapons, the weapons with which the body itself had been equipped began to fade out. When he clothed the body, nature's own clothing of hair began to abort. When mind became a factor, it was a constantly increasing factor. Because of the struggle for life, it grew. When a being threw from its arm a club or stone, it was only a matter of years when man would hurl his projectile from the lips of big-throated cannon.

Other projectiles, even while he is *Homo silvestris*, he will throw from his mind. Painful to the child man were the pelting storm and tiger's claw, but more painful his own dawning thoughts. "His heart forebode a mystery. He named the name Eternity." Into this mystery his brain shot forth, as ours to-day, many a random arrow. It was a fine instinct in the old Hellenes which led them to name man "anthropos,"—the one with an upturned eye.

Man is an upward looker. Contrast the Hellenic spirit with that of a South Sea Island tribe which called man "long-pig." Such a people may have made the transition from the animal body to the human, but it must forever retain the animal mind.

See now what proofs we carry, even the highest of us, of these later transitions. The big toe of the human embryo stands out, as in the arboreal apes; and, if it functioned in that attitude, it would be opposable, and the foot would be prehensile. In the region of the thigh is a vestige of the scissor muscle which has already suffered reduction in the anthropoids. Scansorius and toe testify that back somewhere on our line the body was arboreal. Structurally, our canines are tusks, and the fossil man of the Enghir cave had canines so long that they protruded from the shut mouth like tusks of a boar. The tooth was a weapon. Our teeth and jaws have been reduced, and the facial parts in correlation with them have been deanimalized. The occipital regions have not changed correspondingly. The bony knobs and pits could support muscles more powerful than those required now to move the head.

Our task in the field of anatomy is done. A truth remains to be gleaned. It is *unity*, the deepest word spoken in nature. At the very core of things is one matter, one law, one life. I give ether to chimpanzees. It lulls the nerves; and, though I pull his teeth, he feels not a tinge of pain. I descend on the scale of life to the sensitive plant, and etherize the roots. The drug mounts with the sap, and lulls the leaf to insensate sleep. I go down on the life-scale to the very base, and etherize the yeast plant. It is locked in the same sleep as leaf and brain. The etherial drug has laid the same touch of oblivion on the same fabric of life, from its base in the cell-plant up to its perturbed throne in the brain of man. I am one with the cell-plant, and I am the measure of all the forces which have lifted that common life-stuff to a throne in the thinking and aspiring brain. I count the cost of all that has made me man, and sounded in me the voices syllabled never in the animal mind, "Thou shalt," "Thou shalt not"; and to myself I say with Darwin, "I will never in my own person violate the dignity of humanity."

W. D. GUNNING.

THE PRAISE OF CITIES.

II.

But, even if the country had an absolute monopoly of natural beauty, it would not follow that its advantages as a place to live in are beyond dispute. Man shall not live by bread alone, but a diet of natural beauty would be quite as insufficient for his complex development. A girl in one of Mr. James' stories objects to the omnipotence of scenery that she cannot walk round with a tree. There are other uses to which scenery is equally intractable. What is so commonly esteemed the condemnation of the city is its highest praise of all, and this is its intense humanity. The city is better than the country, because it has more men in it; and, by parity of reasoning, the larger the city is, the better. The proverbial saying, "God made the country, but man made the town," has about as much truth in it as proverbs generally have, which is not much. The country, as we know it, is hardly less a thing of man's device than Boston or New York. The general contour of the mountains and the hills is about all that is at present left to us of nature's pure originality, for which God's making in the proverb stands. Everything else has been made over by the device of man for better or for worse. The forests are not the same

forests, the rivers are not the same rivers that would have stood and streamed, had never man arrived. And, much more obviously, the cultivated aspect everywhere is human utterly. There are two fields I often see upon my summer drives, which are a brief epitome of man's relation to the earth. One is as rough and jagged as it came from nature's unassisted hand, strewn thick with boulders which the glaciers dropped upon their way: the other, close beside it, is a patch of velvety soft green, without a visible stone to mar its gentle undulations. The labor necessary to tame the rudeness of this field, which once was like the other, and make it what it is, is representative of, and it does not exaggerate, the labor that has everywhere subdued the original rudeness of the planet to the use of man. That God made the country any less on account of this impression which man's work has made upon it only the foolish will conceive. Men are not less his ministers than winds and waves, the cleaning frost and the destroying fire. He is the master architect and builder of every house and pyramid and temple that the journeying sun has seen, the chief surveyor of all city streets, and the deviser of all stores and dwellings, palaces and churches, that shut in their human tides. But, if the city is not less God's workmanship than the country road or farm, it is much more conspicuously the product of the energy and skill and patience of mankind. The country segregates, the city aggregates the proofs of man's intelligence and resistless will. The city is the grandest monument of human power. It is inscribed with Shakspeare's magic phrase, "What a piece of work is a man!" Nowhere do I find myself disposed to say so proudly, "I also am a man," as in our city streets, when by some happy accident the might and wonder of it all are delivered on my imagination with incalculable power. What a commentary here upon the low opinion, the contempt, of theologians for the mind and will of man! The mountains and the sea, the pleasantness of country fields and lanes, the sight of green things growing,—I yield to no one in my satisfaction and delight in all these things. But they never quicken me with such tumultuous joy as the spectacle of human energy which is presented to me by the plenitude and multiformity of life in these great cities; they never make my heart leap up as does the many-throated voice of these. The hurrying crowds; the merchandise which the great drays and wagons carry to and fro, and which represents the industry and skill of every people under the cope of heaven; the enginery and machinery that multiply more than a hundred-fold the natural energy of man; the handsome ships; the steamers, great and small, flying like merry shuttles to and fro, weaving the towns and continents together; the theatres and churches; the miles of shops, noble and gay with their provision for the simplest uses and the costliest tastes; the galleries of pictures; and the music of the masters rendered so that it might lure them back from heaven to listen and be glad,—these things and many hundred more make up a spell that only the most dull of sense and heart can fail to feel and know. "It is good for us to be here,"—here where there is more of human life, throbbing warmer and faster, than anywhere beside in this new world. Yes, it is something even to be a fly upon this mighty wheel whose revolutions urge the comfort and the happiness of half a continent to better ends with each revolving day.

The moral aspect of the case remains to be considered. The popular impression is that cities are the haunts of vice, but that the virtues are as friendly to the rural districts as the nymphs and

dryads were supposed to be of old. The impression is not one that will bear examination in the light of history or of the statistical results accumulated by the patient cultivators of the field of social science. In the light of history, the cities do not appear at any disadvantage as compared with the agricultural regions. Quite the contrary. And the superiority is not merely intellectual. It is moral equally. Certainly there were aggregations of vice in the ancient city as there were not in the country. This was inevitable. The white sheep have more wool than the black ones, because there are more of them. But the ancient city was the centre from which light and strength and use and beauty streamed into the world beyond. The rhetorician has often wreaked himself violently upon the luxurious vices of the rich, the meaner vices of the poor, of ancient Rome. Nevertheless, for hundreds of years Rome was the moralizing principle of the ancient world, the fountain of all best and noblest things; nor did she perish till she had prepared a matrix for the germ of Christianity, without which the new religion never could have come to birth. And, when it had come to birth, its earliest conquests were always in the cities. One little word lets the whole secret out,—the word *pagans*, of which the Latin correspondent is *pagani*, villagers. And how did *pagans*, villagers, come to be the word for people outside of Christianity? Simply because the villagers clung to the old religion long after the cities had succumbed. It was not till the year 529 that the last rural temple of the ancient gods went down in Italy, and the monastery of Monte Casino was erected in its place. To-day, in Belgium, we see the same opposition of the country and the towns in the religious crisis that is shaking society to its foundations. The country stands for the old darkness, the towns for the new light. The rise of the free cities of Europe is the theme of one of the most interesting and important chapters in the intellectual development of Europe, and its moral development as well. In these free cities, the new arts and sciences were fostered, the passion for the new learning had its fullest swing, the pretensions of the Church and of the feudal system were for the first time successfully rebuked, and the political aspect of the modern world showed its first vigorous shoots. In a few years, we shall arrive at the centennial anniversary of the most important circumstance of modern times,—the French Revolution, "the only absolutely unmixed good," said Wendell Phillips, "that God has ever vouchsafed to mankind." That is a trifle strong, but it is true that no event since the Protestant Reformation has brought so many blessings in its train. The political history of Europe from 1789 to 1884 has been the progressive working out of the ideals of the Revolution. And this Revolution was an affair of cities, of Paris most of all. The country districts were a drag upon the wheel. Witness the trouble the Republic had with La Vendée alone. And it is still from Paris, London, and New York that light is streaming out into the world beyond. The vices pertaining to overcrowding are conspicuous in our great cities, but it may well be doubted whether they are greater in the aggregate than those pertaining to the loneliness of the remoter country-places. These, not the cities, have been the most fruitful mothers of insanities, if the statistics do not lie; and they have bred the most abominable and monstrous and distressing crimes that have shocked and paralyzed the common heart. But, even if upon the side of positive crime the comparison of the city with the country were wholly to the advantage of the latter, the morality of the country as a whole would not be thus approved. The comparison of positive virtues

would still remain to be made; and, in respect to these, the city always leaves the country far behind. Public spirit, intelligent benevolence, the passion for political justice and reform,—these virtues house with those who live in city streets, and not with those “who glory in the goad, and whose talk is of bullocks.” We must not wilfully deceive ourselves in regard to the universal elements that abound in the life of our great cities. They are innumerable, and some of them are passing foul. All the intelligence and patience that we can command are necessary for our successful coping with these social elements. But why should those who live in cities take to themselves unnecessary shame? Let them believe that they have in themselves not only force enough to cope with these enormous evils, but something over and beyond that shall avail to thrill the lethargy of rural denizens with intimations of a fuller, larger, warmer, richer life than any which they yet have known.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

CONVENTION OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

There will be a Convention of the Free Religious Association in Cosmian Hall, Florence, Mass., Wednesday evening, November 19, and Thursday forenoon, afternoon, and evening, November 20. Full particulars hereafter.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Secretary.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Freidenker* for October 9 and 16 quotes with cordial comments the article in praise of Mr. Salter's work in Chicago, recently contributed to the *Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes* by that able writer on ethics, Georg von Gizycki.

BISHOP HERBERT VAUGHN, in describing the religious condition of England, says: “It would appear that considerably less than half of the population of this country frequents any place of worship on a Sunday, and that the minds of men are becoming silently alienated from the Christianity of their fathers. Doubt and unbelief are spreading, even among the young, and girls in their teens prate about infidelity. We are witnessing the gradual dechristianization of society.”

THE *Radical Review*, one of our best liberal journals, published at Chicago, is not receiving the support it deserves. The Liberals of the West ought not to allow this able and independent paper to be published at irregular intervals, even for a while, from lack of money. The ability, courage, and earnestness of its editors, Mr. and Mrs. Schumm, should receive appreciative recognition; and the best way to show this is to subscribe for the paper, and assist in increasing its circulation and putting it upon a firm business basis.

A MINISTER in the Highlands is credited with the following prayer: “An' noo, Lord, that we're prayin' for a' sorts and conditions o' men, dinna forget the puir auld deil that's lying chained in the inner neuk o' hell! Lord, let bygones be bygones; an', gin ye tak' him to yoursel' again, mak' him cut off his horns and his hoofs, and gar him look like anither mon!” This large-hearted and compassionate prayer reminds one of the last verse in Burns' “Address to the Deil”:—

“But fare ye weel, auld Nickie-ben!
O, wad ye tak' a thought and men',
Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a stake.

● I'm wae to think upon yon den,
E'en for your sake.”

THE *Catholic Review* mentions the addresses on Emerson delivered before the Concord School last summer, and adds: “No miracles have yet been claimed for their patron except in a transcendental sense, but they are not slow to insist that he possessed the Christian virtues in an heroic degree. True, they say nothing about the slight circumstance of his life-long connection with and encouragement of the Free Religious Association, of which our esteemed contemporary, *The Index*, is the organ, and which, whatever else may be said of it, cannot be accused of an overweening admiration for or zealous devotion to the principles of Christianity. Yet Dr. Bartol says: ‘That Emerson was a pious man, and that religion was a feeling in him raised to the highest power, was proved to me by the rapture in his look, after a service in his house nearly half a century ago. His eyes let out more light than they took in.’”

MR. HARRISON is in error, and it is a strange error for a Positivist, when he reproaches his opponent for employing the term Unknowable instead of Unknown; for the Unknown embodies a knowable element,—the sum of all the phenomena and laws which still escape our faculties, but which we are capable of knowing, and which we shall certainly more and more fully know. The Unknowable, on the other hand, stands for what must always lie beyond human knowledge in virtue of our intellectual organization,—the first Cause, the Noumenon, the Essence of things. . . . Thus, Littré, for instance, says: “Immensity, regarded in its material as well as in its intellectual manifestations, appears under the double aspect of reality and inaccessibility. It is an ocean which rolls up against our shores, but one for which we have neither barque nor sail; and yet the clear perception of its existence is as salutary as it is overwhelming.”—*Count Goblet d'Alviella, in Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.

THE American *Israelite* thus refers to the superiority of the French Republic over the Empire: “Ten years ago, France was crushed politically and financially: to-day, her prestige is restored, more than restored. She can cope now with England as the mistress of the sea, has established the nucleus of two new empires in Africa and in Asia, has secured domestic peace and political unanimity at home, and is to-day the wealthiest and most advanced nation of the European continent. All the Kaiser meetings, military parades, and political manoeuvres are inadequate means to hide this fact from the eyes of the nations. They cannot help seeing the marked superiority of the republic over the empire; and, seeing it, they will have to come to the conclusion that Europe's hope of regeneration is in the European republic. The elements of a European revolution are at hand. Whenever they will be toned down to the sober idea of the democratic republic and be purged of their infamous race theories, the end will be at hand.”

ACCORDING to Mayo Powell, the Wintun Indians of the Sacramento Valley believe in three worlds, and that each has its peculiar class of inhabitants. The sky is smoke, while to the majority of Indians it is ice, and a few think it is quartz crystal. Mountains were made by the burrowing of the mole-god. Light and darkness are maiden goddesses. Rocks and other inanimate things were once living, and some rocks now live and speak, this being the Wintun explanation of echoes. Whirlwinds are little spirits seeking water to drink. Diseases are caused by mythical animals. Bits of negro folk-lore are found among many tribes of Indians, from whom the slaves must have obtained them.

GEN. BUTLER is not unfit for the Presidency from any lack of knowledge as to the methods of

machine politicians. In one of his recent speeches, he said:—

One of the parties nominates one man, and another party nominates another man, and then they ask you in the name of one of the two parties to vote for one of the two men; and, however you may think them unfit, you are told that you are renegades, and you are called all sorts of hard names, if you do not walk up and vote according to the behests of party. Well, now, who nominates those men? How can they be nominated? A few men get together in a ward caucus, for example. Some of them get in early, and get round the platform or the desk; and then, the moment the hour arrives, one man steps inside the railing and calls out: “This meeting is organized. I want to hear names for chairman.” A dozen voices call out names, but he only hears one; and that, of course, is the predestined one. Then he nominates a committee, and submits a list of delegates, and rules out of order any other men [laughter]; and the list of delegates is brought in. Then they are chosen; and, if anybody makes any protest, the chairman calls for a policeman to put him out of the hall. Do not think I don't know, when I have been attending caucuses all my life. Then you have delegates chosen, not by the people, but by party machinery; and, ten to one, that chairman is a paid servant and an agent of the opposition party. Then those delegates, so chosen, go and nominate somebody else for office, some one else of their own kidney; for like seeks like.

REFERRING to the removal of the czar's portrait from public places in St. Petersburg, to avoid a repetition of disrespectful treatment, the execution of six army officers and two ladies, and the discovery of a plot to blow up a fortress, events following in close sequence, the Boston *Transcript* observes: “As long as conspirators are obscure wretches, their revolts the sporadic risings of misery driven desperate, society can afford to ignore them and their doings as things unpleasant, but not unusual; but when officers of the army and navy, men of talent and means, whose interests are apparently with the maintenance of existing institutions, plot the overthrow of government, and detected go to the scaffold full of faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause, society is only in doubt as to whether the volcano will give out warning rumblings or will at once send forth the burning lava of revolution. Many officers have been shot or hanged since the close of the Russo-Turkish war for the vague offence of ‘Nihilism.’ But ‘Nihilism’ would not inspire men of their character, many of them distinguished, and not a few of them young; and their real offence is that they have plotted the establishment of free government. The czar may send scores to death, and hundreds less happy to the mines; but the movement which neither the scaffold nor exile can daunt will go on, and persecution will simply intensify the fury of the outbreak which is inevitable.”

PREMONITIONS. For The Index.

Though earthly natures, love of dross,
To future fate our vision blind;
Though in our usual moods at loss
How we shall leap death's gulf across,
Or meaning in life's struggle find,—
Moments, and sometimes hours, there be
Of clear, exalted sight, when we
Beyond the barriers seem to see
Of life the grand and lucid key,
The solving of all mystery.

Then fancy o'er the dark abyss
A bridge of radiance bright extends,
That with the farther boundary blends,
A pathway from yon world to this.
And we, un'ware of sin and evil,
In hope's delightful visions revel,
And in our inner spirits feel
That surely all we dream is real;
That life but as a fleeting night
Precedes the everlasting light;
And, when from time's stern durance freed,
In bliss we drop each ill and need.

TUDOR WILLIAMS.

BROOKLYN, L.I.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JONES.

V.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS.

The Ethical Teaching of Jesus.

The ethical teaching of Jesus finds its highest illustration in the Golden Rule and the collection of aphorisms, beatitudes, and allegorical sayings known as the Sermon on the Mount.* Perfection in practical righteousness is herein held up as the end and object of all human endeavors. Happiness and misery, here and hereafter, are declared to depend upon the character and actions of the individual.† By these he will be judged and known, as the tree is known by its fruit.‡ The teachers of religion are to be tested, not by their professions, but by their practical works; and the people are warned against "false prophets who come in sheep's clothing, while inwardly they are as ravening wolves."

Everywhere, the inward motive and purpose of the heart is regarded as the supreme test of character rather than outward observance or appearance. It is not the act alone, but the sinful thought which constitutes adultery.§ Not he alone who kills, but he who is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment.¶ Gifts placed upon the altar while anger is in the heart are of no avail. "First be reconciled to thy brother, then come and offer thy gift."‡ The formality of an oath adds nothing to the simple majesty of the truth. "Let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."** Alms given in the

sight of men possess no saving virtue. "When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. I say unto you, They have their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father, who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly."* A like secrecy, as we have seen, was commanded in prayer, as it was also in fasting.†

The honest scorn of pretence and hypocrisy which characterizes the teaching of Jesus, his virile denunciation of evil in high places,—of the scribes and Pharisees, who sit on the high seats in the synagogues and devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers,‡—is little like the conventional meek and lowly Saviour of the current emasculated Orthodoxy of the present day, but resembles rather the lofty courage and fearless preaching of the ancient prophets, or the plain-speaking of the American Abolitionists, and justifies the fine conception of Thomas Hughes of the "manliness" of Jesus.

Yet on his tenderer side, as illustrated in the beatitudes and many of the parables, there is a felicity of presentation, a gentle persuasiveness and "sweet reasonableness," which must have been most winning and attractive. It contrasts strongly with the dry, metaphysical reasoning of the philosophers, appealing only to a few cultivated intellects, or with the sublimated mysticism of the Brahmanical schools; and no less strongly with the hair-splitting logic and dogmatic appeal to traditional technicalities of the contemporary rabbis. Jesus was no philosopher; his simple idealism was free from the mysticism of the schools; he propounded no logical or deeply reasoned system of belief. He accepted the crude cosmogonical and cosmological notions of his time and nation without question. He taught the simple, strong, natural morality of an exceptionally fine ethical nature, fed by the nourishing stimulus of the Hebrew prophets. He did not stop to argue the question with his hearers: his vital words were spoken with the straightforward earnestness of one who stood upon the firm foundation of assured inner conviction. "He taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

His Doctrine of the Forgiveness of Sins.

Upon one point only, besides his belief in future punishment, he appears to have been in concurrence with the dogmatic statements of modern Orthodoxy: he accepted, apparently, the current Jewish doctrine of the divine forgiveness and remission of sins,§—the natural and humane accompaniment of an arbitrary system of morality, based upon alleged revealed commandments of the Deity. To this he added the belief that this power of forgiving sins and cancelling the natural results thereof was committed by the Father to the Messiah, or "Son of Man," as his duly appointed representative or servant.¶ This doctrine, however, in his mind, did not descend to the grossness of the modern theory of a vicarious atonement. The forgiveness of sins was conditioned, not upon the acceptance of any dogmatic belief or the substitution of an innocent victim for the guilty, but solely upon repentance,—an inner moral change in the direction of righteous living, attested and assured by the free and full forgiveness of their enemies on the part of the sinners.¶

* Matt. vi., 1-4. † Matt. vi., 5, 6, 16-18.

‡ Matt. xxiii.; Luke xi., 37-54.

§ See Ex. xxxii., 32; Ps. lxxviii., 38; xcix., 8; ciii., 3; Jer. xxxi., 34; Isa. xxxiii., 34; Dan. ix., 9, etc.

¶ Matt. ix., 1-6, etc.; Mark iii., 29.

¶ Matt. vi., 12, 14, 15; Luke vi., 37; xvii., 3, 4.

Modern Criticisms upon the Ethical System of Jesus.

The ethical teachings of Jesus have been criticised from two quite different stand-points, which may be distinguished as the practical and the ideal. On the one hand, it is affirmed that his moral instructions are unpractical and impossible to apply to the affairs of our every-day life, because they are too exclusively altruistic. Modern society, it is claimed, could not exist, if we were to leave evil unresisted, if we were to turn the other cheek to the smiter after having been once unjustly stricken, if we were to give our cloak unasked to the beggar who had demanded and received our coat or to the thief who had stolen it.

It appears quite evident, however, from our previous consideration of these questions that this extreme altruism was not intended for application during a long continuance of the natural social order. It is due almost wholly to the erroneous belief of Jesus that the present order of society was to endure but for a day; that a new, divine, and eternal order was soon to be established in its place. Had he looked forward to what we may now look back upon,—to many centuries of continuance under the old social order, to a natural evolution in human affairs instead of the supernatural revolution which he anticipated,—his teaching might, and doubtless would, have been greatly modified in some of these particulars.

Nevertheless, we have reason to be profoundly grateful for the vision of a perfect social order which is suggested by these ideal conceptions of the Prophet of Nazareth. It is by such visions as these that the world is lifted up and led onward to higher planes of thought and life. Like a rift in the clouds through which the sunlight streams, they gladden the hearts of men with the promise of diviner possibilities in the life that now is. In our way, we also may look forward to a higher order of human society to be established upon the earth. Each and all of us may in some manner so live as to hasten the period of its fulfilment. We, too, may pray with the disciples of the Nazarene that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Prof. Francis W. Newman and other able writers have criticised the ethical appeals of Jesus from quite another stand-point,—because they are not sufficiently altruistic in their foundation. It is affirmed by this class of critics that they are almost universally based upon self-interest instead of a desire to benefit society as a whole or to do right because it is right. Even the Golden Rule, it is alleged, would measure the love for the neighbor by the love for self. The beatitudes are each accompanied by some promise of selfish reward,—the offered attainment of some future happiness. The entire moral system of Jesus rests upon the accompanying assurance of eternal happiness in the heavenly kingdom for the workers of righteousness, and the co-ordinate threat of eternal misery for those who in this life fail to accept the conditions of salvation.

The most recent attempts to establish morality upon an assured scientific basis, however, recognize the necessity of giving due weight to the egoistic as well as the altruistic side of human action. An extreme and unqualified altruism would defeat the rational end of all moral action by speedily destroying the life or health of the agent. Action without regard to ends, ultimate or immediate, is everywhere properly regarded as irrational; and action which does not have explicitly in view the ultimate happiness of all, including the actor, can only be regarded as moral when, by previous analysis and comparison, we have been enabled to subsume all moral actions under

* Matt. v., vii. † Matt. vii., 16, 21, etc. ‡ Matt. vii., 15-20.

§ Matt. v., 28. ¶ Matt. v., 22. ¶ Matt. v., 23, 24.

** Matt. v., 33-37.

a universal law which has been proved to result in the security of universal happiness, and we are therefore impelled to obey the law without regard to its special or ultimate consequences.*

To no such profound philosophical view of morals, however, had the prophet of Nazareth attained. His ethical appeals were direct, simple, personal, devoted to the production of immediate results. Viewed broadly, except as they were affected by the erroneous expectation of the speedy coming of the heavenly kingdom, they do not suffer or lack in impressiveness, as tested by the rigid rules of an abstract moral philosophy. The ethical element was everywhere dominant in the religion of Jesus. His "heavenly Father" was a moral ideal personified,—a conception not inferior, but superior to that of the Hebrew prophets and law-givers. God to him was still, and ever more supremely, the "Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." The test of morality was at once and inseparably theocratic and utilitarian: the two ends were in no wise differentiated in his thought. To do right was alike conceived as perfect obedience to the divine will and as the means of securing happiness among men.

The Religion of Jesus as related to Judaism.

What, finally, was the relation of the religion of Jesus to Judaism and its system of morals as enunciated in the Torah? This question can hardly be answered more satisfactorily than in the language of one of the most lucid and rational critics of the gospel literature, Ferdinand Christian Baur.† "Jesus," he says, "declared at the outset that he was not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, and might thus appear to have taken up an entirely affirmative position toward the Old Testament. It might be said that the difference between the teaching of Jesus and the law, or the Old Testament, was not one of quality, but of quantity. On this view, no new principle is advanced in his teaching: all that is done is to widen the application of the moral precepts which the law contained, and assert their authority over the whole extent of the moral sphere to which they are capable of referring. That is given back to the law which should never have been taken away from it. The law is declared to be capable of expansion in its meaning and its range of application, and this is said to be done.

"This interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount appeals to the fact that, in the further discussion of the subject, individual injunctions of the law are taken up, and each of them brought back to the original meaning of the law or interpreted in a sense which satisfies the moral consciousness. But, though there is no enunciation of a general principle which is to apply to all cases alike, yet, when we consider what is said to be the true fulfilling of the law in each separate instance, and see how in each instance what is done is to contrast the outward with the inward, to disregard the mere act as such, and lay stress on the disposition as that which alone confers any moral value on a man's acts, we cannot but recognize in this a new principle, and one which differs essentially from Mosaicism. What the law contained, it is true, but only implicitly, is now said to be of most importance, and enunciated as the principle of morality. The expansion of the law quantitatively amounts to a qualitative difference. The inner is

opposed to the outer, the disposition to the act, the spirit to the letter. This is the essential root principle of [the religion of Jesus];* and, in insisting that the absolute moral value of a man depends simply and solely on his disposition, the [religion of Jesus] was essentially original."

Historical Verity of the Man Jesus.

And now, as we pass on to a consideration of the later phases of the development of the Christian faith and doctrine, let us bear onward with us this sublime picture,—not indeed of a God or a supernatural being, but of a man,—a man loving in all ways to identify himself with his fellow-men, even the poorest and lowliest among them. More frequently than by any other designation, he refers to himself as "the Son of Man," a common designation of the prophets, and at the time of Jesus probably not regarded as a Messianic title. Urged by an irresistible affection for his fellow-men, he gave the best labors of his life for their moral inspiration,—for their salvation from sin and preparation for the life of ideal perfection in the heavenly kingdom. Viewing his character in this purely natural and human aspect, we need not and will not consent to the uncritical judgment of those destructive writers who would deny to the gospel stories all historical validity or regard Jesus as the servile imitator of the founder of another and widely different religion. After separating from them the legendary and mythical accretions of an unscientific and credulous age, does there not yet remain to us the "saving remnant" of the New Testament narratives? Looking upon this picture, with all its lights and shadows of a noble yet fallible humanity, may we not say of the Prophet of Nazareth,—

"He was a man:
Take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again!"

Would it then be just to conclude, with Christendom, that the career of Jesus presents phenomena wholly unique in the world's history? Such is, perhaps, the natural impulse of the human mind, after contemplating a life of heroic self-abnegation and devotion to the welfare of human kind. With a like thought, we have doubtless risen from the perusal of the noble tribute to the founder of another of the world's great religions in Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*.† We are touched in a similar manner by the contemplation of the noblest characters of fiction,—the Jean Valjeans and the Romolas, ideal exemplars of this religion of lofty self-sacrifice. But sober second thought should lead us to question whether we ought not rather to bear in mind the human limitations of even the noblest of those who have lived and died for man, lest we fall into a species of idolatry and hero-worship inconsistent with the mandates of rational religion. At least let us not exalt one unduly by the disparagement of all others. The orthodox doctrine of "total depravity," the dark background against which the ideal picture of the supernatural Christ is limned, has no place in the healthy creed of rational religion.

Old Father Taylor, of Boston, the seamen's missionary, whose abundant humanity outweighed the depressing implications of his creed, when he

* We substitute this phrase for "Christianity," in order to obviate the confusion which might arise from the use of a term which ordinarily implies certain doctrinal beliefs not found in the teaching of Jesus. As a matter of fact, this term was not applied to the new religion during the lifetime of its founder.

† We cannot protest too strongly against the systematic depreciation and condemnation of both Jesus and the Buddha in such works as Dr. Oswald's *Secret of the East*, of which more hereafter. Making all due allowances for theological errors, due largely, as we have seen, in the case of Jesus, to the failure to give due weight to a single mistaken belief, the noble personality and fine moral insight of those two great teachers are influences for good that the world will not willingly let die, or consent to see misrepresented or undervalued.

was asked, "Do you think there ever was as good a man as Jesus?" instantly replied, "Yes, millions of them!" Have not you and I also known hearts as true and souls as full of manly courage?

Let us not deny Jesus his proper place in the world's history, nor place him so far above the level of our common manhood that he shall fail to be to us always a rational example and inspiration to all noble things. Let him live in our hearts and minds a heroic, manly character, "not too saintly to be human." Is this indeed so difficult?

"Long fed on boundless hopes, O race of man,
How angrily thou spurn'st all simpler fare!
'Christ,' some one says, 'was human, as we are.
No judge eyes us from heaven our sin to scan.
We live no more when we have done our span!'
'Well, then, for Christ,' thou answerest, 'who can care?
From sin which heaven records not, why forbear?
Live we like brutes, our life without a plan!'
So answerest thou. But why not rather say,
'Hath man no second life? Pitch this one high!
Sits there no judge in heaven our sin to see?
More strictly than the inward judge obey.
Was Christ a man like us? Ah! let us try
If we then, too, can be such men as he!'"

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONDITIONS OF TRUE GROWTH.

Editors of The Index:—

The aim and object of each individual should be to attain to the finest manhood and womanhood: first, in the earthly surroundings where we in our spiritual infancy are placed, as the child in his kindergarten; and, afterward, in the continual developments of our spiritual nature, which brings out the capacities of the spiritual *man* which is to be, as the ultimate of this prior and developing process. All the education the spirit obtains through its mortal and immortal (two conjunctive states) existence is to this purpose, and is received through the experiences attained by contact with circumstances.

The body of the child must grow to the stature of the man before the responsibilities of that state naturally inhere in him, and he may properly exercise the functions of that period; and the soul of the child must develop to a condition of manhood before it can properly take cognizance of its responsibilities and faithfully perform its duties. It is by no means certain that the man's form contains the man's soul; for, by birth or after-conditions, it is often the case that the interior spirit is yet rudimentary and unformed and child-like in its growth, even when the adult size of the body has been reached.

Through the natural up to the spiritual is the legitimate law of our growth; and to remain in the natural, and not pre-eminently aspire toward the spiritual, is not even natural, but is decidedly unnatural and materialistic. There are capabilities and pleasures attainable by the man whose eyes are spiritually opened to discern the qualities of things which are wholly unknown and unsupported by him who is a novice in spiritual perception. Many a man remains in ignorance of his highest happiness and good and in love with the glories of earth just for need of a quick ray from the candle of some one who has climbed a step farther than he up the winding stair of progression toward the Life, to illuminate his condition, and assure him of his own heaven-born faculties. The rays of the sun of Truth are continually seeking for lodgement in our hearts; but, alas! we shut ourselves up so closely in our own self-complacency that they find no crevice whereby to enter. Let us make ourselves as open as the day to all sweet and elevating influences, using our own reason as a guide by which to criticise their sweetness and wholesomeness, making ourselves receptive and negative, while yet we are positive in our determination to appropriate only the best and highest to our use.

The union of the body and spirit is vital, and proper relations are essential to the well-being of both. The hand cannot say to the foot, "I have no need of thee," neither can the spirit or body of man say the same of either. They are interdependent; and the spirit cannot act through its subordinate mental processes, unless the body provide a healthy, clean house of heart and brain by which it may be assisted to do itself justice. Therefore, for the future

* See Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, Savage's *Morals of Evolution*, Prof. Everett's essay on "The New Morality," etc. See also John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*. Mr. Mill even lays down the principle that the greatest happiness cannot be attained when it is consciously made an end and object of pursuit.

† The *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, by Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, late Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen.

and present good of the spirit, which is the true man whose good we seek to attain, the body should be properly cared for, though not pampered, and should be taught and induced to follow in the paths made productive of these results. All the appetites and functions of the body should be properly used, but not abused. When these divisions of our nature are gratified in the hope of the interior growth of the man himself, and not merely to minister to the entire use of the body, they are sanctified by such intention, and serve the last use much more perfectly than if directly intended only for that purpose. The body is fed and made finer and better, while the spirit receives new growth and strength to hold itself still more superior to the clogs of earth.

There is a very great difference in the results attained by the proper regulation and allowance of all the normal needs of the body, with reference to their effect upon the immortal spirit, whether here or hereafter. If these are made the end and aim of life, the man or woman grows sluggish and heavy and gross in nature. If they are made a means to growth, they help to throw off this sluggishness and torpidity, and to vitalize the whole man and render him clear and logical and far-seeing and spiritual. It is the spirit that is clear-seeing; and, if we minister to its highest needs, we not only induce this desirable condition of things here, but we clear and purify and render healthy the temple in which the man, for the nonce, resides. All material wants should be subordinated to spiritual needs, as the surest and speediest method of rendering our bodies strong and self-poised and healthy and enduring.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES.

AN ETHICAL CLASS IN BIOGRAPHY.

A Visit to Prof. Felix Adler's School in New York.

The readers of *The Index* know Prof. Adler's work as founder and leader of the Society for Ethical Culture. His direction of the practical philanthropies connected with that society is marked by a rare union of enthusiasm and practical sagacity. His Workingmen's School gives technical instruction to more than two hundred pupils, chiefly of the needy class. He supervises a society for the relief of the sick poor, and has organized together a number of benevolent men who intend building improved tenements for the poor at a very low rate of interest.

In teaching the younger members of his society, his lessons comprise a series: 1st, of cases of conscience; 2d, biography; 3d, history; 4th, philosophy of life. A visitor to one of his classes in biography thus describes its method in the *Montreal Star*: "We were shown into a class-room where Prof. Adler sat encircled by a group of about twenty young girls. The theme was the biography of Margaret Fuller. Every member of the class had read the life of that remarkable woman, so as to be prepared for the teacher's questions. Without hesitation, the young misses soon told the time and place of Margaret Fuller's birth, her early education by her father, who taught his little girl at six both Greek and Latin. Her remarkable precocity, stimulated rather than restrained, was commented upon; and the injurious effects on her mental and bodily health were pointed out. Margaret, after learning all her father could teach, was sent to a boarding-school. There, her force of mind and will, together with unusual powers of pleasing when she chose, had some very singular results, which a bright little German girl narrated admirably.

"In taking part in amateur theatricals, Margaret once resorted to rouge to heighten the color of her pallid cheeks. The improvement in her looks was so decided that she continued the practice. Of course, this was more than the lady principal and the teachers could bear. So much, however, did they dread Margaret's anger that they could not summon up courage enough to tell her to desist from the practice. They resorted to a species of reproof which produced a much worse scene than a frank rebuke would have done. One morning, when Margaret came to breakfast, every girl's cheeks showed a flushing circle of rouge! She ate her breakfast in silence, and went to her room, where, in a tempest of passion, she struck her head violently against the wall, bruising herself badly. More bitterly than the ridicule cast upon her did she feel the faithlessness of her school-girl friends. Constant in their professions of admira-

tion and attachment, not one had spared her humiliation by disclosing the stratagem of the rouge-pot. Stung by hate and fury, Margaret for a time sought revenge by fomenting discord in the school. Possessed of many confidences, she found her task an easy one. At last, so serious became the contentions among the pupils that the principal instituted a searching inquiry into their cause, and convicted Margaret of being that cause, and of using falsehood to aid her mischievous plans. The culprit admitted her guilt, and passionately sought forgiveness with ardent promises of reform. Her mind had received a lesson in discipline which it needed. She soon was reinstated as empress, and never again committed an act unworthy her throne. Her power of fascination was remarkable: it was not based on attractions of personal beauty, but on the quickest and warmest sympathy and profound intelligence. One poor little girl at school worshipped her idolatrously, constantly endeavored to serve her, and almost intrusively sought to be always in her radiant presence. This Margaret disliked. One day, the timorous little devotee worked herself up to the point of throwing her arms around Margaret's neck, and sobbing, 'O Margaret, I wish you would love me.' This incident afforded Prof. Adler an opportunity of pointing out to his class the danger of being over-impressed by force of personal or mental endowment. Self-respect would forbid unreasoning worship, which may have a sad awakening when attractions wane and defects of character appear. The instinct by which we look for leadership, friendship, and love must be carefully guided in the selection of its objects, or disappointment and heart-breaking may be the consequences.

"The class then traced Miss Fuller's public career, told of the fame which early made her the friend of Hawthorne, Channing, and Emerson. We learned how she became the successful principal of a school at Providence, and then editor for four years of the *Dial*, the organ of Transcendentalism and advanced thought in New England. Miss Fuller's powers as a conversationalist were then remarked upon. So great were they that for five sessions she led a conversational class of the most cultured ladies in Boston, treating art, mythology, literature, and reform as her themes.

"The next phase of Miss Fuller's life came home to the class. It was that which included her connection with the *New York Tribune*, when she was an inmate of Mr. Horace Greeley's household. This passed, the class spoke of Miss Fuller's visit to Europe, her sympathy with the struggle for liberty in Italy, and her romantic marriage with Count Ossoli. Little then remained except to tell Margaret's mournful end. With her husband and babe, she perished in the wreck of the bark which had brought her within sight of home. The 'Elizabeth' struck a reef on July 19, 1850, off Fire Island, near New York; and the greatest woman America has known was no more.

"In his fine analysis of her character, Prof. Adler showed the play of impulse as opposed to conscience, of waywardness as opposed to judgment and good sense. He pointed out that, remarkable as Miss Fuller's natural gifts were, they had only been perfected by matchless industry and the tireless pursuit of ideal aims. She was not satisfied with the consciousness of power. She felt moved to exert it for the good of her sex and the world."

THE *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, in an able three-column editorial on the "Promotion of Psychical Research," says: "The very scant allusions incidentally made in the editorial columns of the *Journal*, and by its editor during his summer travels, concerning a society or institution for psychical research, have been widely noticed and treated in a most friendly way in various non-Spiritualist quarters. A number of papers have quoted what has been said or published, and seconded the suggestion. Quite a number of scientific and literary people, together with many progressive men in the ministry, have written the editor or approached him in person upon the subject. The very general encouragement of the plan is indicative of the universal interest in the matter involved and the readiness with which hearty co-operation will be forthcoming, and powerful allies obtained in quarters most influential and desirable. . . . One of the most thoroughly accomplished and painstaking essayists and lecturers of New England wrote us, immediately after seeing Mr. Underwood's article in *The Index*

of the 9th inst., as follows: 'I do not, as you doubtless know, have much confidence in the Spiritualist hypothesis as one likely to be of service in explaining the various phenomena which it is sought to explain by it, but I am glad to see it tested reverently by every sincere person to whom it does commend itself. And permit me to say in simple frankness that I know of no one else who is working in that direction with spirit and method so commendable and so interesting as your own. I am glad to see you favor the establishment in this country of a Society for Psychical Research, like the English society. I should heartily welcome such a society as that, and I sincerely wish that Stanley Hall and some other of our psychologists would take to it.'" The editor of the *Journal*, with confidence in the truth of Spiritualism, but with a desire to have its claims fairly tested, adds: "Very many representative Spiritualists, as well as people of wealth and prominence who, while believing in Spiritualism, have refrained from identifying themselves publicly with it, together with the body of acute, critical, and fearless Spiritualists and investigators constituting the bulk of the *Journal's* constituency, deeply feel the need of more thorough scientific effort and the imminent importance of constructive work, which, thoroughly grounded upon a scientific basis, shall steadily lead onward and upward, dealing more and more with the higher aspects of Spiritualism. It will be seen that in the movement for a psychical research institution there is a community of interests among those who, while widely differing in many respects, are all equally anxious and ready to find the truth. The benefit of an institution for psychical research will be realized as much by those already Spiritualists as by the world at large. Indeed, the intelligent Spiritualist will say that Spiritualism as a distinctive movement will be the greatest gainer."

THE *Radical Review*, agreeing with *The Index* as to the action which honesty and consistency demanded of the National Liberal League at its late Congress, says: "The reaffirmation of these Nine Demands was good enough so far as it went, as all Liberals subscribe to them; but this was not sufficient to effect the unification of the two great factions among the Liberals of this country. On several previous occasions, the National Liberal League had pledged itself in favor of the total repeal of the national law for the suppression of obscene literature,—not because it in any wise countenanced obscenity, but because the law had been perverted into a weapon against the liberty of the press by that religious fanatic, Anthony Comstock. The more conservative Liberals, while they condemned the ecclesiastical assaults on the free press of this country as strongly as any one, were yet unwilling to join in the popular demand among their fellow-thinkers for the total repeal of the national obscenity law. Instead, they demanded its modification in such manner that it might not again become a menace to the liberty of the press. With the watchword 'Modification' on their banner, they seceded from the body of the Liberals whose watchword was 'Repeal.' Instead of pursuing their common cause, the Liberals wasted much time and energy in fighting each other. To put an end to this and bring about a reconciliation of the hostile factions was one of the objects of the Cassadaga Lake Convention. The reaffirmation of the Nine Demands of Liberalism was a step in that direction, but it was not large enough. If reconciliation was indeed desired, the Convention ought to have done what was really required to effect this end. It ought to have rescinded the action of the League pledging it to the policy of repealing the national obscenity law. This would not have meant that the 'repeal' policy is in itself false, but simply that it is not proper to the National Liberal League policy, instead of passing the whole matter over in silence. That would have been honest; that would indeed have lifted the Liberal League 'into the realm of universal principles'; and that would have secured the co-operation of all Liberals in the great work before them."

THE PUNISHMENT OF ATHEISTS.—The *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, conducted by David Brewster, LL.D., says that, "when the denial of a God is openly avowed, we believe the most suitable punishment would be to devote the offender, as a dangerous maniac, to solitary confinement." This leads the *Ottawa, Ont., Free Press* to say: "That the views of an atheist can be reformed by incarcerating him within four ugly

walls made by man, and shutting out the contemplation of the greater manifestations by the Supreme Power lying in the world beyond and the universe throughout, before which even the inquiring spirit of Thomas Paine fell down in worshipful awe, is a declaration open to serious questioning. The suggestion of civil punishment for alleged errors in what are matters largely of speculative thought is a modern survival of the hell-born bigotry and cruelty which incited a Claverhouse to sodden the moors and glens of Scotland with the blood of noble Covenanters, which made the European kings and authorities of the Middle Ages anticipate as holidays the *auto-da-fé* upon whose flames the noble spirits of Catholic and Protestant martyrs soared to heaven, and which in the gloomy vaults of the inquisition trained Torquemada's ear to recognize in the shrieks of the poor wretches on the rack the most melodious of Te Deums. With us in these modern times, that recognition of civil and religious liberty in the fullest understanding, which underlies the exercise of true political liberalism, is a trust too sacred to be lightly regarded."

BOOK NOTICES.

AN APPEAL TO CÆSAR. By Albion W. Tourgee. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1884. pp. 422. Price (until November 15) \$1.00.

This is a stirring and vigorous showing of the dangers apprehended in view of the present aspect of political affairs in the South, resulting from the enfranchisement of the slaves, the constant increase in the numbers of the colored race, and the antagonism of the whites to any political recognition of their equality. Among these dangers, Judge Tourgee thinks a war of races imminent. He says that "these masses of population, which nature and a wonderful sequence of events have arrayed against each other in seemingly unavoidable antagonism, are likely to be precipitated into a conflict which, for savage horror, would have no parallel in history, by the folly and inconsiderate prejudice of vast bodies of the ignorant and reckless of both races." One of the chief factors in developing such a state of affairs he considers to be "the prevailing illiteracy of the Southern people of both races"; and the only preventive of such collision is in the encouragement and enforcement of education in the South by government interference and national provision. The "Cæsar" to whom the author appeals is "The American People," whom he wishes, by their votes, so to influence the national government as to cause this remedy to be speedily applied. He argues the case strongly and feelingly, and supports his arguments step by step by tabulated and unimpeachable statistics on every mooted point. The fact that this book is issued in the midst of a Presidential campaign, and that the author is an ardent believer in the efficacy of one special political party to undertake and carry out his scheme of free education for the South, making the "Appeal" in a measure a campaign document, will have some effect to lessen the influence of its statements as to the impending peril.

UNITARIAN CHURCH DIRECTORY AND MISSIONARY HANDBOOK. 1884-1885. New York: Thomas R. Knox & Co.

This little publication is something new among the Unitarians. Its editors are Russell N. Bellows, of New York, and Albert Walkley, of Keene, N.H. Mr. Bellows (son of Dr. Bellows) is the secretary of the National Unitarian Conference. Yet the handbook is a private enterprise on the part of the editors and publishers. The preface says, "Frequent inquiries for facts and figures, showing in compact compass the history, aims, beliefs, hopes, and present actual condition of the Unitarian Church in the United States, suggested to the editors the preparation of this little Directory and Missionary Handbook." Its lists of ministers and societies are the same as those in the "Year-Book," as now issued by the Unitarian Association, but they are arranged in more convenient form; and, on other points, the information given is much more complete. The little work is edited in a broad and liberal spirit. Theodore Parker is generously mentioned among the leaders who have brought the Unitarian movement to its present position, and even *The Index* is named among publications representing the movement! The latter can be a true classification only on the basis of a very broad def-

nition of the Unitarian movement,—broader than any Unitarian organization has ever made. The handbook can be obtained through *The Index* office.

TEXT AND VERSE FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. Scripture Passages and Parallel Selections from the writings of J. G. Whittier. Arranged by Gertrude W. Cartland. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price 75 cents.

Considerable ingenuity is displayed by the compiler of this pretty little volume in making the poet Whittier seem an unconscious paraphraser of Scriptural texts. Still, in spite of Miss Cartland's evident painstaking study and research, in many cases the parallelism between the text and verse is far-fetched and doubtful. It makes, however, a pleasant variation from the common devotional year-books, which are wholly Scriptural.

OVER THE SUMMER SEA. By John Harrison and Margaret Compton. New York: John W. Lovell & Co. Price 20 cents.

We have here a pleasantly told story, cleverly done into verse, of the experiences, love affairs, and comical happenings occurring to a party of tourists on a steamer voyage between New York and Liverpool. It will serve very well to while away a leisure hour on just such a trip as that described.

THE Century for November begins the series of papers on the Civil War by Gens. Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans, and others in high rank. "The Battle of Bull Run" is contributed by Gen. Beauregard, who adds to his description a postscript on the consequent conduct of the war and his own relations with Jefferson Davis. The first part of the "Recollections of a Private" begins with the enlistment of the soldier, and continues the description of his life, including Bull Run, thus supplementing Gen. Beauregard. The frontispiece is one of Elihu Vedder's illustrations of the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám, the Persian poet, five others of which are reproduced, with text by Horace E. Scudder. "The Chinese Theatre," by Henry B. McDowell, is an interesting paper. "The Sculptors of the Renaissance" is by Kenyon Cox. Joel Chandler Harris tells a new story of ante-bellum days in the South, entitled "Free Joe and the Rest of the World." A story of Colorado, by Mr. T. A. Janvier, is entitled "The Lost Mine." The fiction comprises "A Tale of Negative Gravity," by Frank R. Stockton, and the beginning of a new novel, by Mr. W. D. Howells, dealing with the life of an American business man, and called "The Rise of Silas Lapham." Col. Waring contributes the first of two papers on "The Principles and Practice of House-drainage." Mrs. James T. Fields recounts "An Acquaintance with Charles Reade," with hitherto unpublished letters. Bishop Potter discusses "A Phase of Social Science," and George Ticknor Curtis makes some suggestions as to "How shall we elect our Presidents?" "Topics of the Time," "Open Letters," and "Bric-à-Brac" are all readable. [For sale by Cupples & Upham.]

THE Freidenker Almanach for 1885 opens with a calendar giving not only the usual astronomical information, but an elaborate list of chronological eras and a vast amount of biographical and historical dates. The Jewish, Moslem, ancient Egyptian, and Greek Catholic calendars are also printed at some length, but not the Positivist or that of the first French Republic. There are about a hundred pages of reading matter, among the most interesting articles being the poem of lofty tone, "Suchst du das Göttliche?" the chapter of autobiography entitled "Would it not be better to leave People in the Old Faith?" by Edward Schröter, a noted speaker in the Free Congregations, or *Freie Gemeinde*, and an argument for the abolition of the Presidency in nominating Blaine, for which office the Republican party is charged with having shown itself morally bankrupt. The maxims and other brief quotations also make this Almanac extremely valuable as a means not only of learning German, but of spreading advanced ideas. It may be obtained for twenty-five cents of the *Freidenker* Publishing Company, Milwaukee.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. make the annual catalogue of their publications a very desirable addition to any library by the large collection of excellent portraits given of the many well-known writers whose works they publish. Several new portraits are added to their latest catalogue just received at this office in

addition to those given in previous numbers, among them those of Louis Agassiz, Alice and Phoebe Cary, Joseph Cook, James T. Fields, John Fiske, Celia Thaxter, Sara O. Jewett, Lucy Larcom, James Parton, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Thoreau, E. P. Whipple, and others. Small as these engraved portraits necessarily are, they are all excellent likenesses and finely finished.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE item in the papers stating that Miss Anna E. Dickinson celebrated last week her forty-second birthday may serve to remind many who saw her in her youthful beauty, and listened to her eloquent words in 1861-62, that they are no longer young.

SAYS the *Presbyterian*, "Most of the theologians of the present time or of the time just past have read Archdeacon Paley's books on the Evidences or recited his *Natural Theology* in the class-room. One of his descendants, Prof. Paley, went from the Anglican Church to Romanism in the first fervor of the Puseyistic movement. Now, he has swung to the other extreme, and is clamoring for free thought; is, in truth, among the broadest of the 'Broad.'"

IN his recent speech to the preachers at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Mr. Blaine declared that the tariff "is the issue which lies at the very foundation of the prosperity of the American people, and the very foundation of the success of the Christian religion." Quite different from this view is that of Mr. Fiske, who in his latest work incidentally remarks, "Our robber tariffs, mis-called 'protective,' are survivals of the barbarous mode of thinking which fitted the ages before industrial civilization began."

THE New York *Sun* thus refers to some remarks of Rev. Dr. G. H. Smyth, of Harlem, to the effect that the prevalence of dishonesty and sin is due to decay of faith in the Bible and belief in Herbert Spencer: "We are not now concerned with Dr. Smyth's criticisms on the attitude of the pulpit toward commercial dishonesty, but it is proper to call attention to the injustice of the assumption involved in his remark in regard to Herbert Spencer. The idea which it conveys is that the study of Mr. Spencer's philosophical writings is conducive to laxity of morals. Nothing, in our opinion, can be further from the truth than this suggestion. If anything is distinctly taught in his philosophy, it is the absolute necessity of doing right in order to live happily, and the certainty

that punishment will follow sin. We do not believe that any one intelligent enough to comprehend the author's meaning was ever made worse by reading the works of Herbert Spencer."

SAYS the *Boston Transcript*: "M. Renan's visit a month ago to his birthplace in Brittany has raised a storm in the clerical teacup. M. Renan was anxious to sleep during his stay at Tréguier in the very house in which he had been born, and which is now inhabited by several different tenants. But the difficulty was that these good folk were all devoted sons of the Church, and by no means inclined to offer hospitality to the author of *Vie de Jésus*. One of them, however, was more tolerant, and lent his room. For this act of courtesy, he has been so bitterly assailed that he has felt compelled to publish a *pièce justificative*. It was quite true that he had lent his room to the infidel, he said, but then he had also lent it on a previous occasion to another distinguished man of unimpeachable Orthodoxy, whose good influence might perhaps have haunted M. Renan. Besides, was it not worth while trying whether the revival of all the surroundings of his youth might not reawaken also in the heretic his early faith?"

IN a notice of an excellent little work (which was reviewed in these columns some weeks ago) entitled *The Development Theory, a Brief Statement for General Readers*, the joint production of Joseph Y. Bergen, Jr., principal of the high school at Peabody, Mass., and Fanny D. Bergen, his invalid wife, the *Springfield Republican* says: "Prof. Bergen is an Illinois man, a graduate of Antioch, then principal for some years of the old Deerfield Academy in this State, and afterward Professor of Natural Sciences at Lombard University, Galesburg, Ill., whence considerations of health again induced him to come East. He is a man of fine moral and intellectual perceptions, to which he is loyal; and this statement of the development theory will be found of value to all who want a concise and precise conception of it. Prof. Bergen is a thorough disciple of Darwin, and does not undertake to reconcile religion with science. He doubts whether science admits of reconciliation with the existing historic religions. The work is a convenient 16mo of 240 pages, and evinces scholarly labor."

WE have not in these columns cared to discuss the political situation or to define our position in the contest just ended. The campaign has been a very bitter and exciting as well as an extremely scandalous one. A paper like *The Index*,—non-political in its character,—which is open to the presentation of all sides of questions considered in its columns, must be very careful, even in treating the ethical aspects of such a contest, lest it invite controversy sure to go beyond the proper and legitimate province of the paper. This has been done very judiciously by our colleague. An opportunity has been given for a few words of defence and criticism of all the parties, and happily none of the virulence of the campaign has entered these columns. The result of the election will probably be known to all our readers before they see this

paragraph. Our own vote this year is for one of the two candidates whose election is regarded as possible, and for the one who, if elected, will we believe make the best President. *The Index* goes to press this week before any election returns are received.

WE have learned with sorrow of the death of Hon. Wolcott Seymour, of Danville, Iowa, who died at his residence, October 19, aged seventy-one years. Mr. Seymour was a man of character and worth, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had filled many positions of trust and honor. Twice he had been elected to the State legislature. At the time of his death, he was President of the Burlington Insurance Company, an office he had held eighteen years. He was a free thinker, interested in the progress of liberal thought, a subscriber to *The Index*, and always ready to support liberal lectures in his town by his money, influence, and presence. The Directors of the Burlington Insurance Company, the Thursday following his death, passed resolutions "that in the death of the Hon. Wolcott Seymour we are called on to mourn the loss of a well-beloved officer of this company, one whose stalwart integrity was beyond reproach, whose counsel was prudent and ever reliable, and whose friendship was highly prized; and that, while sincerely deploring the event which has removed him from our midst, we bow in humble submission to the decree of the Almighty, who doeth all things well, and we will continue to cherish the memory of the deceased, keeping in view his sterling qualities of heart and mind, that the memory thereof may have a salutary influence upon our official and individual action in time to come."

THE Conference of the Mormon Church, held recently at Salt Lake City, presented some very interesting and significant features. The *Springfield Republican*, referring to it, says: "At the Sunday meeting, when the sacraments were administered, some fifteen thousand people, mainly foreign born and taken from the very lowest classes, assembled in the vast Mormon tabernacle. They had come by rail, stages, or common wagon, some camping out on the way like religious pilgrims in the East. Upon the raised seats of the platform sat the great embodiment of the religious commonplace of Utah, John Taylor, the prophet of God; and about him were about five hundred high-priests, elders, and officers of the Church. The largest organ in the West, and perhaps in this country, together with a choir of two hundred and fifty voices, led this vast assemblage in an impressive hymn. Then they partook of the sacraments, spring water being substituted for wine, the saints drinking it 'by the barrel.' As a phenomenon in religious history there is really nothing like this Conference in any country. The officers of the Mormon Church are chosen by heaven through the medium of revelation, and ratified or, as they term it, 'sustained' by a vote of the Conference. No political convention ever went through the machinery of nomination with the precision of the autumn Conference."

IDEAL POLITICS.

Before this number of *The Index* reaches its readers, the exciting Presidential campaign will have been ended, and in all probability a decision will have been made. Not the sagest politician, at the time of this writing, is able to tell what that decision is to be, though for weeks at every political rally, whether Republican or Democratic, the regulation prophecy has been made with perfect positiveness that the candidate in whose interest that specific meeting was being held was sure to be victorious. Our paper, too, will go to press on the evening of election day, before anything decisive can have been learned with regard to the result. It may be confidently expected, however, that, when our readers see this article, they will know beyond a reasonable doubt who is to be the next President of the United States. There is only the most remote chance that the election will have to go to the national House of Representatives; and it is to be ardently hoped that, whichever way the popular vote may turn, it may in every State be so sure that there may be no possible chance to dispute the result.

We are not among those who think that this country is going to be ruined by its Presidential choice, whatever it be. The country has had a great variety of Presidents. The most of them, we may truthfully and proudly claim, have been able and upright men. But some of them have been weak and some of them wilful, and a series of them were servile tools of the slaveholders' oligarchy. Yet the nation has endured and survived them all. It survived Tyler and Polk and Buchanan and even Andrew Johnson. And, what is more, it was not ruined even by the crushing burden of slavery nor by the terrible war which slavery brought upon it. The nation has shown itself, in its hundred years of life, to have elements of virtue and prosperity, which are able to overcome and cast out a good deal of evil. And, therefore, we shall not despair of the Republic whether Mr. Blaine or Mr. Cleveland shall be elected President. For reasons we have before given in these columns, we do not think either of them worthy of the high office, and shall vote for neither; and we apprehend that certain evil results will follow the election of either one of them. But we cannot believe, considering what the country has already endured and overcome, that these evils will be so dire as to bring the country to destruction. No one man, however high he may be placed and however corrupting his action or his example, can have such power as that. Could this be true, our republican form of government were already a failure.

And among the things which are going to help in counteracting the evil effects of the nomination and election of such Presidential candidates is the moral protest which has been raised against them. Though this moral protest is unavailing to prevent the election of one or the other of them, it has been strong enough to make the election a close and costly battle. The very nomination of Mr. Blaine drove into revolt a formidable section of the Republican party, because of his official misdeeds; and this revolt clouded his prospects from the very beginning of the canvass. Partly through the pressure of some of these Independent Republicans, Mr. Cleveland was then nominated by the Democratic convention as a candidate whom they could support. But, when the blot on his private character became known, a portion of these Independents and many others who had previously been disposed to vote for him felt equally compelled to raise a protest against his election, because of his personal misdeeds; and this defection

from his ranks has been the most serious obstacle in the way of his success. Hence, whichever of these two candidates is placed in the White House, he will know that he enters it against the protest of a large section of his fellow-citizens, who on political grounds would have gladly voted for him, but who have withheld their votes solely because of their belief in his moral unfitness for the office. He will know that his conduct in private and in public will be closely watched, and that, if he offend by such misdeeds as have weighted him down in the political race, there is a vigorous moral sentiment in the country ready to be roused to indignant action against both him and the party that supports him. The great parties that have nominated and adhered to these candidates will also see and know this even more clearly than the candidates themselves. They know full well, in spite of their efforts to treat the matter lightly, how heavy a burden they have had to carry with their candidates on account of this moral protest against them. The party that succeeds will know also that, before this conscience vote, success will be no moral vindication of its candidate. And the party that is defeated cannot fail to feel, however slow to confess, that it was this largely prevailing belief in the moral unfitness of its candidate which crushed him. In either case, political parties will be taught that the moral sentiment is a factor which their conventions cannot afford to trifle with; that the conscience vote is already a practical power in politics; that this vote has given warning that, hereafter, not only political principles, but character both official and personal will be deemed fit matter for inquiry in respect to candidates for the Presidential office.

It is indeed some compensation for the demoralizing partisanship and disgusting indecencies which have appeared in this political campaign that the men who are charged with being merely idealists and impracticables in politics are, after all, showing their power. They may not hold the balance of any political power immediately available to save the country from moral disgrace, but it is beginning to be seen that they hold the scales of judgment over future political parties and conventions. What would not the Republican party have given in these weeks just past, if, in place of the Mulligan letters, it could have presented a record of really able, broad, upright, and unselfish statesmanship on the part of its Presidential candidate? Yet this is one most important feature in the political "idealist's" standard of availability for a Presidential candidate. Or what would not the Democratic party and its Independent allies have given for a clean personal character in their candidate? And yet clean moral character is another of the features of availability which the "idealist" in politics has demanded that candidates for public office should possess. But he has been laughed at for his verdant simplicity in making such demands as these. What does he know, it is asked, in his study of "the Higher Law" and of ideal ethical principles, of the exigencies of practical politics? But both parties have been brought earnestly to wish in this Presidential campaign that their candidates stood nearer to the "idealist's" standard. On the one side, nothing would have been so "available" in the candidate as to have been able to show an unquestioned official integrity; and, on the other side, no qualification could have been added to the official record of the candidate so "available" as an unquestioned personal character.

It is also a matter for congratulation that, since the political battle has been fought on so low a moral plane, a very large number of citizens have been set free from party organizations and methods,

and are able to see the right in respect to political questions more clearly than before. The party veil has dropped from their eyes, the party bias has been eliminated from their minds. Amazed and incensed by the monstrous arguments into which extreme partisanship on both sides has been driven, they have not been frightened into the support of either of the leading candidates by the dismal prophecy of calamities sure to come should the other be elected. Nor have they been caught by the shuffling sophistry which has argued that not to vote at all or to vote for a third candidate was merely to waste their power for the sake of a selfish satisfaction to their own conscience. They have seen that on their withheld vote or their ballot cast for a third candidate was written the moral lesson of the campaign. And not to secure any private luxury of self-satisfaction, but to set that lesson before the eyes of all parties for the country's benefit, has been their motive. For this end, they have accepted the responsibility of following their own consciences, and not the conscience of a party. In the midst of party demoralization, they have held up their moral standard; and they willingly abide the issue. Perchance their action will make the germ of the new party that is needed to take up the questions of the new time. For years, they have seen pressing questions of political duty pushed aside by party jealousies and competitions, which have consulted only what is expedient for to-day's success. It is time for the higher politics which sees future success in to-day's right.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE PRAISE OF CITIES.

III.

We have compared the æsthetic, intellectual, and to some extent the moral aspects of the country and the town; but having come so far upon our way, pausing for a moment, there comes upon the air a long and melancholy wail. Not perfectly articulate, its significance in so far as it can be divined seems to be this: That the intellectual and moral life of our great cities is dying at the top; that the education which our young men are receiving, those who have most to pay for what is called a liberal education, is not such as fits them for the work of life, for its harsh and grinding competitions, for its political and social uses. The truly liberal education, we are told, is that of poverty and self-denial, training a man to hardihood, developing in him that element of "clear grit" which our friend, Robert Collyer, has so much insisted on, which no man can have, he argues, who has not been born and reared in poverty. *Nos morituri te salutamus!*—"We about to die salute you!" To-day, it is no gladiator that salutes the throned and pampered Cæsar so, but the throned and pampered youth of cities who thus cry, or would if they could have prophetic souls, to the young gladiators who are swarming up from out the country neighborhoods to take their part in all the fortunes of the day. This is the way, substantially, in which the case is put by many moralists and educators and preachers of our time. I do not find myself inclined to give in my adhesion unreservedly to such a statement of the case. There is some truth in it, no doubt; enough to think about for many a sober day. The truth is this: that the education of our city youth, where it is costliest, is often such that it does little or nothing to prepare them for the special work they have to do, the general life they have to live. It is this also: that the indulgence of children and young people in their every wish and whim is obviously a premium upon their future misery,—not in a hell beyond the grave, but in a very pres-

ent hell of wastefulness and discontent. But unwise indulgence is not confined to any class. Those of us who have had acquaintance with both rich and poor have found, perhaps, more of it with the latter than the former. The pre-eminently wasteful are the poor, and among the rich the *novi homines*. The greatest caution in expenditure is among the people of established fortune, and it is a great mistake to fancy that the opportunity for self-denial does not exist for these and for their children. Do any of us who have greatly bettered our own circumstances find that our self-denials have become less numerous and exigent with the change? I think not. Did we ever want so little as when we had the least? It is expanding taste and culture that makes self-denial a more difficult virtue and the opportunity to practise it more omnipresent. This excellent gymnastic is not, then, for country boys alone, nor only for the children of the poor. There is a place for it in the city home which wealth has done its best to comfort and adorn. In the mean time, the demand for a revision of our educational methods is so imperative that it cannot go unheeded very long. Witness the hearing and reply it has received already in the notable article written by President Eliot for a recent number of the *Century* magazine. The idea of a liberal education which he there presents is one that does not make the name seem like an irony upon the thing. It is an idea the importance of which cannot easily be overrated.

But, while so much of truth must be allowed in the indictment that is brought against our city youth, its general import is not by any means to be conceded. If it were really true that only those who pass their youth in poverty or straitened circumstances have any reason to expect the prizes of life, to be anything worth being, or do anything worth doing, what poor encouragement would there be for any man to lay to his bones and work for the advancement of his fortunes! If his success means failure for his children and his children's children, then to the ambition to amass a fortune he may well say, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" But it does not mean this. It is just as true to-day as it was seventeen hundred years ago that "even in a palace life may be well led." Marcus Aurelius said it, and his life approved his word. Doubtless, the increase of wealth brings many strong temptations. But the very fact that it does so proves that the rich man's son is not without some stout objective against which he can measure himself and prove himself to be a man. The spectacle is not uncommon of rich men's sons who have all the practical, business energy which their fathers had before them. The younger Vanderbilts, Astors, and Harpers are not remarkably exceptional. And even where such energy is sicklied over with an abundance that leaves nothing to desire, so that it does not go out in search of the same objects, it may go out in search of others that are not less worthy to be sought,—not such as minister to a purely selfish gratification, but such as are of public use. Time and again, it has been proved in our own beautiful city that her decency and honor have no better friends than those young men to whom she has nothing to offer of material reward. They have given to her their time and money without stint. In this respect, the young mayor of our city is a representative man. He is one of a large and growing class whose conscious or unconscious motto is *Noblesse oblige*,—advantages are obligations,—and who are doing all that in them lies to make the government, the charities, and the culture of Brooklyn conform to loftier and the loftiest ideals.

I do not believe that those of us who live in the great cities of America are half so mindful as we

ought to be of the high privilege that we enjoy. Doubtless, the law of compensation is made good by the relations of the town and country as by all other things. Happy are they who have the best of each in pleasant alternation, and so find their enjoyment, first of the one, then of the other, wonderfully enhanced! But the great city is an epitome of all the vast experience of mankind. Something of all the best that has been done in literature and science, in all the fine and useful arts, and in the art of living most of all, is here for our instruction and reward. Freely we have received, freely we ought to give. Shame on us if, when we are ministered unto with so many circumstances and events that are calculated to enrich our minds and to expand our hearts, we simply take what we can get with absolute selfishness, or imagine we have done our part when we have attended to our various legal obligations. That was a dreadful superstition of the Middle Ages that, when any noble structure was to be built, there must be a human sacrifice, a breathing creature shut alive and warm into the growing pile. But was it not a striking symbol of the commanding truth that without human sacrifice—not of that superstitious sort, but of a better—no social structure can attain to an abiding strength or satisfying beauty? It is for those of us who live in the great city's busy, crowded ways to build our living selves, our just and honorable and steadfast lives, into her streets and stores, into her business and her arts, into her manners and her laws. And, doing so, we shall attain to something that transcends all differences of town and country places, even to the sense of a communion and fellowship with the Eternal Power that makes for righteousness, even with Him who is in and over all, God blessed forever.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE ETHICS OF PROPERTY.

I.

Natural property may be simply defined as possession given by might to desire. Legislation complicates this title by the intervention of social forces, but without changing its arbitrary character. Employed for the most part to formulize and consecrate acts of plunder by nations or classes, it embroiders on primitive force variations from State to State and from one administration to another. Legal right is then often a paradox no less audacious than the converse of Proudhon, that property is robbery, and can only be defined as a problem, the solution of which employs and supports the judiciary and legal profession, including the members of legislatures.

To this social purpose and class interest, its involved technicalities, its voluminous complexity of cross jurisprudence and of influential precedents by court decisions, all concur. Thus, it is substantially the property of a certain class, to whom we leave it. Between justice or equity and the acquisitive forces, whether simple or complex, there are casual coincidences; and, besides what are casual, there is a general relation in the policy of respect to facts, which may require us, within certain limits, to endure wrongs, when the righting of them would entail collateral evils worse than the first wrong. Thus, Indians must endure wrongs inflicted by the white races, under pain of extermination, and accommodate themselves to existing facts. This premised, the three titles of property, conferred by simple nature, by legislation, and by equity, remain distinct.

Ethical property is also natural, but neither primitive nor simple. It is composite or mutual, one of its factors being the consent of the property appropriated.

Ethical right is a natural conscience, but only developed with the maturer faculties of the individual or society. Colored by temperament, it is modified by education. Now, it is emerging from the chaos in which politico economists have plunged the common sense of relations between capital and labor; that is to say, between dead and living labor. The Chinese use their coffins as ornamental furniture. We improve upon this ghastly humor by carrying our dead ancestors on our two pious shoulders, bowed and broken-backed beneath the burden of interest. I do not concur with that socialist protest which absolutely and in principle condemns interest, nor would I impugn inheritance of property any more than heredity of faculty. We may admit a principle, without allowing it as now, in case of property, to become the principal principle, but reduce it to ethical proportions.

That "property is robbery," on the other hand, is a sarcastic truth that squints like Houssaye's *aimer c'est mourir*, both having such seasoning of fact as wit needs for pungency, but neither facing that essential destiny of which attraction prophesies.

Other squinting truths are "the struggle for existence and survival of the capables," axioms that promenade the garden of philosophy, arm in arm with liberty, equality, fraternity, in awaiting opportunity to cut each other's throats.

In view of society at cross purposes and clashing interests, the more sinister axioms impeach the successes of knavery and the fatalities of devotion. Proudhon's grates sharply on the fine ear of foxes beloved by the law. "Possession plus legal privilege," the more serious definition of a recent lively writer, Mr. Kelly, while quite compatible with Proudhon's, yet will be accepted by the foxes, since legislation has formed strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with the mammons of iniquity. This recognized, we do not here propose to hunt the legal fox, nor to dispute with our socialist friends the honors of his brush, criticism being but accessory to our study. To distinguish between ethical and arbitrary property is the more urgent, by reason of those false definitions which debauch the code of State, where, as with churches *vs.* religion, the phenomenon obscures the substance. True conceptions of true property are rendered somewhat difficult by the rarity of the goods in question, due in great measure to legislation, which ingeniously contrives to set the dinners on the upper end of the social table and the appetites at the lower end. Now, as the natural property in dinner weds eupepsia with turkey, it is apt to be baffled, even in the sultan, by satiety, while the gaunt toilers lay down life, grumbling like the Indian, "You never said turkey to me once." They have the buzzard for their share.

In venturing on the slippery ice of definitions, we shall aim to avoid commonplace technicalities, and shall fire no candle crackers at the millionaires, though the wind of our doctrine may happen to visit their cheeks somewhat roughly. We accept the probable reproach of transcendentalism; but our portrait of property, though evolved like the camel of the German painter from the depths of our consciousness, is also faithfully reflected by the rural scene of our labors, as we write under the shade of our fruit trees.

We begin by impugning the fallacy, that the exclusion of others from a certain benefit is the condition of our own proprietorship. Nature consociates in my orchard the enjoyment of beast, bird, and insect, not to mention the featherless biped who often puts in a reminder, with my own. In vain should I protest. I submit with a good

grace. Just enough for one's self of a good thing is always too little. But, where life crowds on life, life must fence out life. Yes, but this negative fact, now as real as apparent, and which often makes the fence cost more than the garden, is but a process incidental to morbid conditions, and superseded by the harmonies of force in mature social organisms. As a complete synthesis replaces incoherent evolutions, reciprocity becomes the sanction of personal ownership, which, until then, in the struggle for existence, dependent either upon powder and shot, or the bâton of police, is either invalidated or imperilled by presenting temptations to aggression, instead of guarantees of mutual advantage. The exclusion of others is a tentative, which, while distracting from the assimilation of goods, breeds jealousies and envies that defeat their inclusion or possession by one's self.

Most property is now so improper, that however fenced in by laws and moralities, and whether inherited or purchased, begged, borrowed, or stolen, it is only a relative or exchangeable value, and not inherent to its owner. True ethical property is a creation which retains something of its creator, and which, even when exchanged, is not absolutely alienated. An artist's reputation is but the shadow cast upon society of the personality infused into his picture, his statue, his poem, or any other work in which an original conception is embodied. Such property also must be paid for, not merely in money, but in appreciative sympathy: otherwise, it is alien to its actual possessor.

Now, farther, with regard to the ethical property of the artist in his work, after selling it; if he part with it to a stranger never to see it again, he sustains a lesion in his ethical property, which is obviated if the purchaser be a friend in his own city or one that he visits, since in this case he remains within the sphere of radiation or æsthetic vibration which his work propagates through sympathetic media, and feels thereby a just increment of his personality. If the work be susceptible of multiplication, as by photographs or the press; it is evidently just that this faculty should be either retained, as in case of a royalty on each edition, or else made the object of a distinct transaction. If the work be simply an æsthetic value, such qualified possession in it may be undefined; but, if it be useful invention, for which a patent is granted, it is just that the patent or royalty be of limited duration; for no one can hold exclusive property in a principle or mode of application which others might have discovered or may discover as well as himself.

Ethical property must be essentially honest; *i.e.*, produced without lesion to the property of others. More than this, it should be friendly; *i.e.*, auspicious toward the enjoyment of others. Most perfect is it when solidary. Every exchangeable value has an element of solidarity, but inventions and discoveries have more, in ratio to their susceptibility of propagation through time and space.

M. E. LAZARUS.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND WOMAN.

II.

Rev. Charles Kingsley says: "Whoever wishes to gain insight into that great institution, Canon Law, can do so most effectively by studying Common Law in regard to woman. There will never be a good world for woman until the last remnant of Canon Law is civilized off the face of the earth. Meanwhile, all the most pure and high-minded women in England and Europe have been brought up under the shadow of the Canon Law, and have accepted it, with the usual divine self-sacrifice, as

their destiny by law of God and nature, and consider their own womanhood outraged, when it their tyrant is meddled with." Women accept their position under the shadow of the canon law for the best of reasons,—they know nothing about it. And, if they should undertake to explore it, they would waste their lives in the effort. While spending a year in England, I heard that a learned clergyman in the Established Church, living near by, had a remarkable library of old and valuable books, and among others innumerable huge volumes of the canon laws. So, thinking I might readily find those affecting women, I made arrangements to spend a day in his library. The volumes as large as our largest family Bibles stood there in long rows, leather bound and clasped, without an index, and all in Latin. Seeing the formidable array, I said, Could you be kind enough to give me the volumes that contain canons specially affecting woman? He said, Alas! I could not, without looking through all of them; and that, as you readily see, would involve more time than you and I have to spare. But, he added, as the customs of society, the position of woman in the Church, and the old common law of England have all been moulded by the canon law, you can judge of the general spirit of these volumes by what you see and hear of woman's condition in every-day life.

This is one of the peculiarities of woman's position: she knows nothing of the laws, either canon or civil, under which she lives; and such churchmen as the Rev. Morgan Dix are determined we never shall. Nero was thought the chief of tyrants because he made laws, and hung them up so high the people could not read them. What shall we say of the great State of New York, that makes laws for women, and binds them in calf, and then forbids its daughters to enter the law schools where they might learn them, or to plead for the most unfortunate of their sex in our courts of justice?

As the result of the canon law, what is woman's position in the State and the Church to-day? We have woman disfranchised, with no voice in the government under which she lives, denied until recently the right to enter colleges or professions, laboring at half-price in the world of work; a code of morals that makes man's glory woman's shame; a civil code that makes her in marriage a nonentity, her person, her children, her earnings the property of her husband. In adjusting this institution of marriage, woman has never yet in the history of the world had one word to say. The relation has been absolutely established and perpetuated without her consent. We have thus far had the man marriage. He has made all the laws concerning it to suit his own convenience and love of power. He has tried every possible form of it, and is as yet satisfied with none of his experiments. If an inhabitant of some other planet could suddenly light in one of our law libraries, and read over our civil and criminal codes, he would be at a loss to know what kind of beings women are, so anomalous is the position we hold, with some rights partially recognized in one place and wholly obliterated in another. In the criminal code, we find no feminine pronouns. All criminals are designated as "he," "his," "him." We might suppose our fathers thought women were too pure and angelic ever to commit crimes, if we did not find in the law reports cases in which women had been imprisoned and hung as "he," "his," "him." And yet, while the masculine pronoun can be made to do duty for punishments, when it comes to privileges we are excluded, because the laws and constitutions do not contain the feminine pronouns "she," "hers," "her." We are a kind of half-human, half-animal being, like

those wonderful questioning sphinxes we see in the Old World.

And we present very much the same appearance in the Church. Go into any little country town, and the chief excitement among the women is found in fairs, donation parties, festivals, Church building, and decorating. The women are the chief, untiring, pertinacious beggars for the church. They compose the vast majority of the congregations. Rich women give large sums to clear church debts, to educate young men for the ministry, and to endow theological seminaries. Poorer women decorate the temples for Christmas and Easter, make surplices and gowns, embroider table covers for the altar and slippers for the rector; and all alike think they are serving God in sustaining the Church and the priesthood.

In return, the whole tone of church teaching in regard to woman is, to the last degree, contemptuous and degrading.

Perchance the very man educated by some sewing society of women will ascend the pulpit, and take his text in I. Corinthians xiv., 34, 35: "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." Ephesians v., 23: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church." I. Timothy ii., 11, 12, 13: "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man. . . . For Adam was first formed then Eve." I. Corinthians xi., 8, 9: "For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man."

Now, my friends, what effect do you think such Epistles as these, written by Paul to the Ephesians, the Corinthians, and the Thessalonians, had on the men and women of those times; and what is the effect of sermons from such texts to-day but to degrade woman and demoralize man? These teachings in regard to woman so faithfully reflect the provisions of the canon law that it is fair to infer that their inspiration came from the same source, written by men, translated by men, revised by men. If the Bible is to be placed in the hands of our children, read in our schools, taught in our theological seminaries, proclaimed as God's law in our temples of worship, let us by all means call a council of women in New York, and give it one more revision from the woman's stand-point.

Disraeli said that the early English editions contain six thousand errors in the translation from the Hebrew, which were constantly introduced and passages interpolated for sectarian purposes or to sustain new creeds.

The *Church Union* says of the present translation that there are more than seven thousand variations from the received Hebrew text, and more than one hundred and fifty thousand from the received Greek text, making by these two authorities one hundred and sixty-three thousand errors. It is fair to suppose that at least one-half of these errors are with reference to woman's position. It would not be assuming too much, in view of all the facts of history, for woman hereafter to take the liberty of defining her own position, without the slightest reference to the Church, its canon law, or Biblical interpretations.

But, to return to the temple of worship, the sermon finished, to which women reverently listen in silence, the choir performs its part in this travesty on womanhood.

In all the great cathedrals in England and in some here in New York, boys from ten to fifteen chant the hymns of praise that woman's lips may not profane, while they, oblivious to these insults to their sex, swell the listening crowd, and worship the very God they are told who made them slaves, and cursed them with sufferings that time can never mitigate.

When last in England, I visited the birthplace of Dean Stanley. The old homestead was occupied by a curate and his two daughters. They escorted us all over the place,—in the school where poor children were taught, in the old church where the dean had long preached. "Do you see that table-cover in the altar?" said one of the daughters. "Sister and I worked that." "Did you spread it on the table?" said I. "Oh, no," said she: "no woman is allowed to enter this enclosure." "Why?" said I. "Oh! it is too sacred." "But," said I, "men go there; and it is said that women are purer, more delicate, refined, and naturally religious than they are." "Yes, but women are not allowed." "Shall I explain the reason to you?" I replied. "Yes," she said, with a look of surprise. "Well," said I, "it is because the Church believes that woman brought sin into the world, that she was the cause of man's fall from holiness, that she was cursed of God, and has ever since been in collusion with the devil. Hence, the Church has considered her unfit to sing in the choir or enter the Holy of holies." She looked very thoughtful, and said, "I never supposed these old customs had such significance." "Yes," I replied, "every old custom, every fashion, every point of etiquette, is based on some principle; and women ignorantly submit to many degrading customs, because they do not understand their origin." Though women are pre-eminently fitted to preach a gospel of glad tidings, yet the Quakers, the Unitarians, and the Universalists are the only sects that ordain women. The Methodists allow them to preach, but do not ordain them. None of the sects allow women to be elders or deacons, though a few individual churches have conferred these honors. The Greek Testament speaks of "deaconesses" in the early Church; but our translation interpolates the "wives of deacons," by no means an honest substitution. In the Episcopal Church, they would not allow a woman to be a member of the vestry, even though obliged to fill the office with a man who was not a communicant. Better a man unbeliever than a saintly woman to officiate in church matters. And the few women that are ordained over congregations find there are ever some adverse influences at work that they feel, though they may not be able to say, "Thou art the man." All these indignities have their root in the doctrine of original sin, gradually developed in the canon law,—a doctrine never taught in the primitive Christian Church. In spite of the life, character, and teachings of Jesus, ever proclaiming the essential equality and oneness of the whole human family, the priesthood, claiming apostolic descent, so interpret Christianity as to make it the basis of all religious and political disqualifications for women, sustaining the rights of man alone.

The offices woman held during the apostolic age she has been gradually deprived of through ecclesiastical enactments. Although, during the first four hundred years of the Christian Church, women were the chosen companions of Jesus and his followers, doing their utmost to spread the new faith, as preachers, elders, deacons, officiating in all the sacraments, yet these facts are carefully excluded from all the English translations of the Scriptures; while woman's depravity, inferiority, and subordination are dwelt upon wherever the text will admit of it. Under all the changes in

advancing civilization for the last fifteen hundred years, this one idea of woman has been steadily promulgated; and to-day, in the full blaze of the sunlight of the nineteenth century, it is echoed in the pulpit by every sect and in the halls of legislation by every party.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM.

The *Catholic Review* calls attention to the well-known statement of Macaulay, that the line marked out by Protestantism, in its original struggles, has never changed; that, while holding the territory it first seized, as a missionary movement in Catholic countries it has proved a failure.

Attention is also called by the same journal to Froude's recent remarks in regard to the revival of Romanism in the very territory in which Protestantism made its original conquests. Froude's explanation, in a word, is that the heart of man craves for certitude in matters of faith and worship, and that this Protestantism has failed to give. The *Review* mentions the "rapid development of German Protestantism into infidelity" and the hopeless lethargy into which such Protestantism as still exists there has sunk. From the *Baptist Weekly* are quoted statements of Dr. Christlieb, who, at the Copenhagen Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, said in substance that, of the population of Berlin, only two per cent. attended public worship; that in Hamburg, with a population of four hundred thousand, only five thousand attended church; that in the rural districts also the state of things was bad; that the reading of "infidel" books was very common; that in London a million out of its four million never attend church; that in Glasgow two hundred thousand out of seven hundred thousand neglect all public worship. The *Catholic Review* concludes that "Protestantism, save as a political agency, is moribund, its churches are empty, its people gone. It very much resembles the whited sepulchres to which our Lord in His anger likened the Pharisees."

There are some facts which our esteemed contemporary seems to have overlooked. It is true that Protestantism leads logically and legitimately to what the *Review* calls "infidelity"; that is, to the rejection of all ecclesiastical authority and all hierarchical dictation in matters of religious belief. When Luther protested against the authority of the pope, he conceded by implication the right of others to protest against his theological views, and the right of every rational being to protest just so long as he sees anything to protest against. The true Protestant of to-day is the rationalist who acknowledges no authority higher than that of human reason. The right of every man and woman to read and interpret the Bible for themselves—certainly an absurdity, if the Bible be an infallible divine revelation—must result ultimately in the destruction of all belief in the authority of an alleged book revelation from God and the pretensions of the priestly office, and in the supremacy of human reason.

But people that have been for centuries under the slavery of ecclesiasticism are not emancipated in a day. Taught to accept as unquestionably true absurd assumptions and to found their hopes upon fictions, it is not strange that there are many even in Protestant countries with whom hereditary tendencies and traditionary beliefs are still powerful enough to incline them to the church which teaches certitude in regard to matters beyond the domain of scientific inquiry. So large is this class in all Protestant countries, it is not strange that the thoroughly organized, vigilant, aggressive Church of Rome can boast of accessions

to her numbers even in the territory of the original Protestant revolt. The accessions would be even much greater but for reactionary and retrogressive movements among Protestants, the subordination in the less enlightened and liberal communities of the essential principle of Protestantism to dogmatic theological teaching, and the adaptation of the sectarian polity to the wants of those who require certitude in matters of religious faith.

At the same time, the conquests of Protestantism considered as a revolt against arbitrary authority in religious matters and a movement in favor of free and independent thought, is making continual conquests not only in the territory it acquired in the early days of the Reformation, but in those countries to which the Reformation did not extend or in which it was easily and suddenly checked. In England, Germany, the countries of Northern Europe, and the United States, the tendency is toward greater religious freedom, disregard of hierarchical authority, and the adoption of more rational views. With the progress of knowledge and liberality, which in this age is very rapid, the necessity of accommodating the teachings and policy of the Protestant churches to those who demand certainty in regard to matters of which we possess no knowledge becomes less, and the outlook of the Catholic Church more and more discouraging. In this country, every observer can see how a multitude of secular agencies and influences combine to make intelligent young men of Catholic parentage comparatively indifferent to all theological teaching.

In Catholic countries, hitherto so classed and regarded, like France and Italy, Protestantism in its essential principle and spirit is strong and continually gaining in strength, as the Catholic papers of Europe and of this country testify every week. Italy was not ripe for the Reformation in the sixteenth century, but she has not escaped during the past four hundred years the influence of that mighty movement; and to-day millions of her people are in a state of intellectual revolt against not only papal pretensions against which Luther protested, but against dogmas and declarations for denying which Luther was in favor of putting men to death.

The Protestantism of France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, and other Catholic countries, is a movement in which the right and duty of protest against the authority of the Romish Church are declared, without the requirement that the theology of that Church slightly modified must still be believed on penalty of punishment here and hereafter. The Protestant sects have made but little progress in Catholic countries since the Reformation; but true Protestantism has been steadily at work there, and shows itself in protests against the demands of the Romish Church, in disbelief of absurd theological doctrines, in efforts to secularize the schools, to limit the power of the clergy, to extend popular liberty, and to reform government. This Protestantism the *Catholic Review* calls "infidelity." It is everywhere the invariable sign of intellectual activity, industrial enterprise, and popular freedom.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

In a notice of Bayard Taylor's *Life and Letters*, the *Congregationalist* says:—

This history, on the whole, has much of sadness in it. Bayard Taylor was clean and true and brave, strong in various intellectual power, and fairly amazing in his industry. But he made the irreparable mistake of handicapping himself by a load which weighed too heavily all the way, until it broke him down at last. Had he earned money which, in various methods, he sunk at "Cedarcroft," been invested with ordinary sagacity, he would have found himself,

at five and forty, in independent circumstances, would have saved himself the degradation of no end of hack work, could have done larger justice in every direction to his great abilities, could have wrought out to its completion his *magnum opus*, and with his grand physique might no doubt have lived to be ninety. The lesson is a pregnant one. Let us hope it will not be wholly lost.

For The Index.

ON THE MOUNTAIN.

They sat in the woods together
On the mountain's tranquil height,
And spoke of the autumn weather,
Of the blue and tremulous light
That played on the distant river,
And robed the mountains afar
In a robe more rich than ever
Was worn by Caliph or Czar.

The wine of the beauty around them
They drank till the sun hung low,
Till the scene like a spell had bound them;
For the forest was all aglow
With the countless tints that follow
Spent summer's retiring tread,
When freely on height and hollow
All beautiful colors are shed,—

All hues that the rainbow showeth,
All opulent dyes that flush
The western sky when goeth
The Lord of Day, and the blush
Of river and lake and ocean
Betrays that his last caress
Their life-blood keeps in motion
Till he cometh again to bless.

No valley of famed Cashmere
Such exquisite tints puts on
As the woods that crown the year,
When hot-footed summer is gone;
When every tree is a flower,
Gigantic, superbly aflame
With ruby and scarlet,—a shower
Of beauties no tongue can name.

They sat and communed together:
She spoke of this dream of life,
And quietly questioned whether
'Tis worth all the sorrow and strife
That burden the hearts of many,
That tangle the steps of all;
For surely there is not any
Who 'scapeth the serpent's thrall.

He said: "Such a thought but troubles
The good that in life we find,
Distorts fair truth, and doubles
The anguish that clouds the mind.
Surely, this cirque of beauty,
And that blue heaven above,
Make love of life a duty
And life a thing to love."

She said: "The winter cometh:
These splendors will cease to be.
Like the joy in the heart that hummeth
An hour for you and me,
Then suddenly sinks to ashes,
So perish all beautiful things;
So Love for an instant flashes,
Then folds his languid wings."

"Ah! now I suspect you dissemble,"
He presently made reply:
"You need not fear nor tremble,
For surely you and I
Have faith in love's endurance,
And know that beauty abides
For souls that in blest assurance
Discern where it haply hides."

In silent and solemn abstraction,
She gazed on the pictured trees,
Through which a pale reflection
Of light and a friendly breeze
Shimmered and sighed so kindly.
She dreamily said: "Maybe
Too coldly, perchance too blindly,
I've judged of this world—and thee!"

They rose and descended the mountain,
So happy and hallowed in thought
All nature to them was a fountain
Of tender emotion that wrought
A longing for nobler endeavor,
A wish to make life a boon
For others as blest forever
As theirs that afternoon.

GEORGE MARSH.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 6, 1884.

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

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

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For The Index.

Evolution of Masonry and Theology.*

BY F. B. STEPHENSON, A.M.,

Membre titulaire de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

To the intelligent, thoughtful man of this age who witnesses for the first time the ceremonies of one of the various forms of systematized worship practised by humanity, they may seem strangely full of meaning and in marked contrast with scientific views of nature.

To the outside world, masonry may appear merely a system of unseemly rites and mysterious ceremonies, being to the thoughtful a vain show, to the indifferent absurdity, "to the Greeks foolishness." To the initiated, however, each rite has its foundation deep in human experience, and every ceremony is full of significance.

Whence come these rites and ceremonies?—a question that can be answered only by going back to the earliest experiences of the race, and solved, if solved at all (as like questions in regard to religious and other institutions of serious nature are to be solved), by studying their origin and progress.

(As first in order of time), let us seek the source of the religious rites and ceremonies that have possessed men's hearts and lives through long ages, and see how these came to have such a sway over human actions; and then how, in the main, they

*I give names of some of the authorities consulted. A complete list would be much longer. There are scores of books in Astor Library and Brooklyn Library which I have looked into and culled from for confirmation of the main ideas presented: *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, J. C. Pritchard; *Bible Myths*, Anonymous; *Encyclopedia Britannica*; *Histoire Abrégée de Différents Cultes*, J. A. Du-laurie; *History of Masonry*, Rebois; "History of Zuni Indians," F. H. Cushing, in *Century* magazine, 1883; *Isis Unveiled*, H. P. Blavatsky; *Les Origines des Cultes*, Dupuis; *Life of Jesus*, D. F. Strauss; *Mythology and Folklore*, G. W. Cox; *Mythology of the New World*, D. G. Brinton; *On Ancient Egypt*, Bunsen; *On Mankind, their Origin and Destiny*, an M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford; *Philosophy of Mythology*, Max Müller; *The Bible, The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Robert Brown, Jr.; *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, G. S. Faber; *Zoological Mythology*, De Gubernatis; *Masonic Writings of Albert Pike*; *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, G. W. Cox.

correspond with and complement the institution which forms more especially the subject of this study,—masonry.

All the rites and ceremonies above referred to have arisen from the idea that nature and man must have had a beginning and some agency to put them in progressive motion.²

In the early ages of humanity, the attention of thinking men was very strongly attracted to the study of the most striking appearances of the material universe; and among these were the positions of heavenly bodies at different times of the twenty-four hours and at various periods of the twelvemonth. The succeeding seasons of the year spread wonders before such observers. In prehistoric and legendary days, these operations of nature were represented by symbolic forms, whose significance was understood by the enlightened only. In the minds of the unlearned, who had not yet been "raised to perceive the light," such forms became endowed with distinct, individual life; and to them were ascribed physical and emotional qualities of man's nature. The symbols of the wise became the idols of the ignorant. The masses worshipped forces of nature, the various manifestations of which were thus made actual personalities.

Those who controlled the minds of the people naturally became their acknowledged rulers. This group of thinkers being, by force of circumstances which they had utilized, a sort of superior class, formed themselves into a kind of society, with ideas widely differing from those of the multitude. Ceremonies were adopted by which they could perpetuate the existence of the truth, and keep it safe from the corruption of ignorance. At times, such societies became places of refuge for free thinkers, truth-seekers, because too plain speech in presence of superstitious people is not without danger, to incur which might be useless. From such associations of superior minds, some forms of government have grown. At first, credulous man was controlled by superstitious beliefs and practices, and often so for his own good. Later, these associations, used by instructed although vicious men, became means of possible oppression, inasmuch as they were secret, existed among, and derived their power from an unenlightened populace. The government of ancient Egypt, where kings and priests were members of one organization, is an illustration.

The wise men of ancient Egypt represented the astronomical circumstances which caused the succession of day and night by a four-cornered figure, with an image of the sun at each angle. One of these corners indicated east, one west, one south (mid-day), one north (midnight, the "place of darkness"). They signified morning, evening, highest noon, deepest night; that is, light at its birth, in its full glory, at its disappearance, and the "total absence of light." The sun in this figure occupied successively these four points. The imaginative mind of the Eastern sage pictured the sun on this journey, in the growing morning, as a beautiful young man; at noon, as a mature, full-bearded man; at evening, as an old man, with "shaggy hair and leathern raiment." As darkness was opposed to light, so a spirit of the midnight region was supposed to antagonize the god of light, the mid-day sun. This sun-god, just after being exalted to the meridian in the south, began to go down; at the west, he was further hurt; but the third was the "fatal blow," and the prince of darkness, the midnight north, overcame him. This going down of the sun toward the point of midnight darkness was called the death of the now personified day-star; but as he had before been seen to rise, so now, on his going down, all living nature was content, trusting in the promise of the joy to come.

He who was to be the sun of the new day, the "Prince of Peace" and "King of Glory" to the world, was guided by the "Great Architect of the Universe" through the valley and the shadow of death to the resurrection morn, and was raised again, "by might and by power," to royal splendor and to a new course of beneficence. The hope of the sun worshippers had full fruition.

The same allegory was used to represent the apparent progress of the sun in the heavens as the circling year brought the various seasons. The four angles or corners of the square represented the equinoxes and the solstices. As the sun appeared in each sign of the zodiac, he was regarded as assuming the form of the being by which that sign was pictured on the celestial chart. Thus, in the sign of Taurus, he was worshipped by the unenlightened as a bull. The ancient sign of the summer solstice was Leo (or lion), when the sun reached the highest point, was exalted gloriously to complete life and supreme power.

These ideas were also shown by a cross with an image of the sun, represented as a human form of various ages, placed at the four extremities. The cross, thus at first used to teach physical, astronomical truth, was afterward an instrument employed in moral and religious instruction.

As man saw two kinds of forces and two forms in nature,—the active and passive, the male and female,—so, when he placed the image of the sun triumphant in the zenith, beside him was figured the "queen of heaven." But, since the philosopher knew there could not be two distinct powers on the throne, that law is the one governor throughout the universe, these forms were separate down to the waist only. They were two, and yet but one. The Mosaic account of the creation of man is probably drawn from this, being merely part of an astronomical allegory.

During long ages, the multitude did the hard work of building houses, cities, and temples, under the control of the few who were enabled to see the light of truth and to obtain power. The masses were not yet sufficiently educated to appreciate the symbolic structure which typified the march of time. As centuries passed, and through war and social turmoil the true meaning of these types, thus pictured in human form, was lost, so that even those who were the ordinary, the recognized teachers among men became ignorant guides of the ignorant, "blind leaders of the blind," these symbols, having come into the possession of uneducated persons, were misinterpreted; and the astronomical history of the day and of the year was presented as the actual history of creation in general. The Biblical account of the creation of the world appears to be an allegory of the day coming forth from the deep darkness of night. In the religious systems of the ancient Hindus and Egyptians, the material sun, from being merely a type of the Creator, one manifestation of the All-powerful, became in men's minds very God, Law-giver, Saviour.

Throughout all systems of religion (or, more correctly, of theology), the elements of this sun-allegory, this astronomical symbolism, have been and are the essential points. In the sun, the Hindus adored Brahma, the personification of the creator of light, the genius of good; while Siva represented the opposing power of darkness, and was the genius of evil. The Persians revered the good principle and feared the bad. The case was the same with the Chinese. In the same way, the Egyptians regarded Osiris and Typhon as antagonistic forces of good and evil. In like manner, the Hebrews worshipped the one God, Jehovah (or Yahweh), and dreaded the powers of opposing evil. Substantially, the same is true of the religious sys-

tems of Greece, Rome, the peoples of Northern Europe, the Mound-builders, ancient Peru³ and Mexico, the Zuñi Indians,⁴ and the Hawaiians.⁵

The so-called gods of the ancient and of the Eastern worlds, which played such singular parts in the theological systems of these various countries, and whose existence is yet believed in by many communities of the Western world, were merely physical elements and powers of nature. By the inherent qualities and natural tendencies of the human mind and through the necessary mechanism of language, some have become personified. In some instances, their origin may have been due to the worship of individuals, a sort of hero-worship, in which men were supposed to be incarnations of some part of the forces of the universe. Ancestor worship is also a probable source. The theological dogmas about the origin of the world, nature of God or deity, apparition of his person in visible form, revelation of his laws, are simply figurative narrations of static, progressive, celestial, and terrestrial phenomena, such as are seen at the present time.

To the ancient Egyptians were known four principal stars, which formed in the heavens, or celestial sphere, an "oblong square." A casket of the same shape, and made of hewn stone, has been found in the central chamber of the Great Pyramid; and this peculiarly shaped vessel existed at least fifteen hundred years before the time of Moses.

Scientific research, as well as tradition, has tentatively located the birthplace of the human race near the mountains of Central Asia. From this location, man could have seen the sun, at midsummer, the time of his greatest power, rise in the north-east, ascend in regal majesty to the zenith, and occupy the kingly throne. Then began the decline toward the west; and, at the close of day, he sank into the death of night. Each new appearance of the morning sun was a new birth, a resurrection of the slain god, to become the life of earth, and of all that live in or of the earth. In like manner, man himself comes forth from this homestead, the "north-east corner or angle" of the world, and proceeds south and to the west. The individual passes into the valley of night, into the place of the departed; but the race, the highest work of nature, of God, goes on,—ever onward and upward in mind-life, in the search after perfect light, for truth most pure.

It is written that in the Garden of Eden were four rivers, one going toward Havilah (which means land of gold or of light,—that is, high noon or midsummer), one toward Ethiopia (midnight or deep winter), the third toward the east of Assyria; "and the fourth river is Euphrates" (west). This is evidently an allegorical picture of the earth in relation to the day and the year.

Among different men and with diverse peoples, these images of the sun at four distinct points, in course of time, came to be regarded as so many independent individualities. Being placed oppositely, they were considered antagonists. Hence, the mid-day sun was enemy to him of midnight. Morning and evening were hostile to each other. They became, likewise, four kings. Then followed, in human imagination, all the hosts which may be supposed to constitute the courts of monarchs or may be used to represent the various qualities with which man felt himself endowed; and these formed the armies of Paradise and of Pluto's regions. They fought; and there were "wars in heaven," on earth, and in Hades.

The ancient astronomical plan also showed midsummer as a beautiful woman at the high point—where were knowledge and power—in the heavens, where the gods were supposed to dwell, according to religious systems of ancient and modern times.

The bearded man was at the opposite point. In Adam and Eve, this idea is represented. The woman invites the man to come up,—to approach the tree of knowledge. In their union is typified the seed-time of spring. The year passes on. Autumn comes with its fruitfulness; and, later, winter, when earth, in the northern hemisphere, loses its warmth and verdure. From these occurrences arose thoughts of nakedness, shame, sin, and the curse of transgression; but the promise of new life was given, and fulfilled with the returning year.

From this imagery has grown a host of theologies. Adam, thus typifying the sun, is made to grow old, and to go down into the valley of death; but, even as the sun, he goes on, passes through the place of departed spirits, is raised, resurrected to a new life, appears as the new Adam, and again ascends the heavens as the victorious god of day,—the lord of all.

In the "Book of the Law," it is written, "He placed at the east of the Garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword, which turn every way to keep the way of the tree of life." Is not this a type of the sun that gives light to the world, which drives away darkness? In the moral world, by this we may see typified the sword of justice, both human and divine. In the same manner may be symbolized speech "sharper than a two-edged sword," which is powerful to search out and spread abroad the light itself,—truth.

In ancient (as well as modern) Eastern languages, which were very free in the use of hyperbole, the terms which we represent by "life" and "death" were not so limited as commonly understood. They were general forms of speech for rewards and punishments. "Ye shall surely die," meant, "Ye shall decrease from this time, shall suffer, and finally pass away."

Cain and Abel are symbols of the opposing powers of darkness and light, of evil and good. In the allegory as represented by the story of Noah, the ark is winter, or the night of the year. The flood may represent merely the rainy season (in that country). The veil which Moses spread out to hide the exceeding brightness of the divine presence is typical of material nature which conceals the true, the spirit God from the mind devoid of light. The legend of Samson, who is said to have been weak when beardless (that is, the young day or year), but strong when his beard was grown and his hair long (that is, declining day, the old year, mature time), is a form of the same allegory. Compare herewith the legend of the Chaldean Izdubar. Another instance is that of the story of Herod and John the Baptist, in which the representative of the region of darkness kills the personified sun, and even tries, by the slaughter of the innocents, to prevent the rising to power of the next child of light, as the subsequent part of the narrative shows; but this one escaped by the "flight to Egypt" till "his time had come."

(To be continued.)

¹In this paper, masonry is taken as a type of systemic religions: another of the various ancient or modern modes of worship or service—religions—may be used instead.

²To the rational observer, God is in nature as mind is in man.

³The monarchs of ancient Peru were revered as children of the sun.

⁴The Zuñi Indians of New Mexico, United States of America, in their ceremonies of religious initiation, caused the candidate to kneel at an altar, and to "face the east." An object was used which became an "instrument of torture to the flesh." He was caused to undergo great pain, to test his endurance. He was clothed in a peculiar manner. Incense was used (this is done in Spanish lodges). They worshipped the sun at its rising and at the vernal equinox.

⁵Among the native tribes and peoples of West Africa, near the Gulf of Guinea, there were practised in 1882 certain religious ceremonies which seemed indecent to the casual, uninitiated English observer; but these were merely remnants of more complete rites, the symbolic meaning of which is at once understood when their origin is traced to Egypt and India.

⁶The legend of the Hawaiians, in regard to the creation of woman, is the same as that in Genesis, and occurs in the ancient form of their language. Their temples are parallelograms; that is, "oblong squares."

For The Index.

"PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS."

Now that Hartmann's great work, which gained at once such great popularity and made so profound a stir among thinking people in Germany, has been put within reach of the English-reading public, they will have the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the highly original and novel philosophic views of this independent and fearless inquirer into the principles upon which all the phenomena of our conscious experience rest.

The three volumes composing this translation were the fruits of Mr. Hartmann's studies into the nature of the ultimate principle which forms the basis and goal of inquiry of all systems of philosophy; and it adds to their interest that they were written out by him with no other view than to satisfy his own intellectual cravings for truth, and without a thought of external consequences arising therefrom, either personal or material, remaining in his desk for a year without thought of publication.

The systems of the great German metaphysical thinkers had failed to satisfy the growing needs of the philosophic minds in that country, in consequence of the enlargement of our psychologic knowledge of sentient and mental phenomena, when in 1869 Hartmann launched the first edition of his most remarkable and unique philosophical work upon the public; and the great avidity and favor with which it was received sufficiently attest that a new application of speculative reasoning was demanded by minds enlightened with the more profound, accurate, and wider views which these new scientific discoveries had brought. That work, which has now reached its ninth edition, forms the present translation, and is the same as the first, with additions in the appendix.

Scientific investigation had developed the fact that, underlying all our conscious experience, a vast realm of unconscious psychical processes was going on, and that in this domain we must look for a philosophic explanation of conscious phenomena. These volumes of Hartmann's may be regarded as the first great attempt to formulate these facts of science into a system of philosophy. In this work, he has made a vast advance on the one-sided metaphysical systems of the previous great German thinkers by basing his inquiries on the inductive method so prolific in all scientific inquiry along with the deductive.

The grand desideratum of all philosophies has been to unite the material and sentient, soul and ideas, with matter and laws. All the extant metaphysical systems have made no real advance in this direction. Hartmann claims that the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" bridges this chasm in showing the identity and fundamental unity of mind and matter. Will really means force, and matter without force is unthinkable, of which it must be a result, or the points where forces counterbalance each other.

To make a brief statement of the main idea of his system, and of what is meant by the "Philosophy of the Unconscious," it may be said that the underlying cause of all phenomena, both sentient and material, is intrinsically endowed with all the psychical properties, qualities, and attributes which are possessed by sentient and conscious life, but existing in an original, unconscious condition, and are brought into individual consciousness through the evolution and interactions of principles contained in this absolute realm of unconscious being. These principles in their original character are Will and Idea, which become in consciousness Will and Representation. From their union, all the phenomena of conscious and unconscious life are evolved. In elucidating this idea, he ranges over all the great fields of human inquiry, and in the first of the three great divisions of the work traces the manifestations of the unconscious psychical principle through all the phases of bodily life, including a most interesting section on instinct, which he describes as "purposive action without consciousness of the purpose," and that it can only be explained "as a result of unconscious mental activity." The second division treats of the action of the unconscious in the human mind, including its operation in Instinct, Sexual Love, in Feeling, in Character and Morality, in the Æsthetic Judgment and in Artistic Production, in the Origin of Language, in Thought, in Mysticism, and in History.

* PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS. By Eduard von Hartmann. Speculative Results according to the Methods of Physical Science. Authorized Translation by William Chatterton Coupland, M.A., B.Sc. In three volumes. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

The third division treats of the Metaphysics of the Unconscious, in which he shows himself a master in the domain of speculative inquiry, and capable of making flights in the realms of abstract thought equal to Kant, Fichte, Schelling, or Hegel, with the added advantage of a system that is not hampered by basing all its conclusions upon an introspective point of view, but draws its facts from all sources. Indeed, he claims that the principles enunciated by these thinkers cannot be properly understood nor made logically intelligible without supplementing them by the basis furnished by the "Philosophy of the Unconscious." This it is which forms the core of their systems; this principle it is which alone constitutes and interprets Spinoza's "Universal Substance," Fichte's "Absolute Ego," Schelling's "Absolute Subject-Object," Hegel's "Absolute Idea," and Schopenhauer's "Will," and their analogues in other systems of philosophy, which are nothing else but this unconscious substratum of Will and Idea, Force and Form, which upholds the vast fabric of the universe, and impels into life all its phenomena. But not only does this philosophy embrace, interpret, and explain the ultimate conclusions of all the metaphysical systems, but it is equally in accord with all the teachings of science, and thereby reconciles and unites these two great opposing schools of thought.

As this work of Hartmann's becomes better known in this country, there is no question but it will obtain a large circle of readers; for no philosophic work so interesting has ever before been published. The pessimistic views incorporated in chapter thirteen of the work, although of a very moderate type, have been emphasized and made the chief point of attack upon his system by English critics heretofore; but the general verdict of the ablest of his more recent critics and reviewers is that they have no organic connection whatever with his philosophy, and do not flow logically from its general principles. His criticisms and interpretations of previous philosophical systems, from the standpoint of his own principles, such as those of Plato, Spinoza, Schelling, Hegel, and several others, are exceedingly interesting and valuable.

But, while this work must prove of such surpassing interest to all thinking readers, the question spontaneously comes up, What is its value and true place as a philosophical explanation of the great "Problem of Life"? Its phenomena are an immeasurable ocean, as it were, of processes which seem to indicate purpose and the most consummate knowledge, ingenuity, and skill which no conscious intellect of ours has ever begun to fathom, simulating an intelligence before which any that we consciously possess sinks into insignificance. The unconscious physiological processes going on in all animal and human organisms display the most perfect adaptation and discrimination in constructing, renovating, and repairing, and in carrying every minutest chemical atom to its appropriate place in the animal economy; and these processes go on without conscious volition just as accurately and well during sleep as when we are awake, and even better; in the lowest savage as in the most enlightened and cultured man. But still more wonderful unconscious processes are going on in the cultured human mind. All the contents of a life-long memory lie latent and unconscious somewhere in our psychical being. Not only this, but all that goes to make up our conscious being, our characters, proclivities, sentiments, feelings, and thoughts, with the memory of what these were during our whole conscious experience,—of all these and all that we are, not a hundredth part comes into consciousness at any one time, and only when they do can they have any conscious existence, so far as we are concerned. But they must still exist intact in some condition. Do not these facts indicate that all the phenomena of conscious life are a "becoming" out of unconscious conditions of being? This view is the only one that escapes logical contradictions which have beset and proved fatal to every other metaphysical system thus far. The most towering and gigantic of these—that of Hegel—imposes certain prior conditions upon which all self-consciousness must logically rest,—that of correlative opposite conditions whose tensions toward and into each other culminate as consciousness. Hence, his philosophy, while explicitly assuming that these prerequisite conditions are consciously created, implicitly and really bases consciousness upon priorly unconscious conditions equally with that of Hartmann.

FRANKLIN SMITH.

THE STAR FISH.

For The Index.

In his recent lecture on the Star-fish before the Parker Memorial Science Class, Mr. Peter Annet gave some interesting facts respecting this lowly form of life, which, he said, furnished an excellent illustration that "all existing forms of life are the result of antecedent forms." Though this little creature has a simple structure, it has played an important part in the world's history. It is found in nearly every sea and at all depths. It is also found in nearly every geological formation, back to the very dawn of life on our planet. The common star-fish, *Aster rubens*, has been known to all the peoples who have ever lived near the seashore; and strange myths and marvels have woven themselves about its curious form, and even Pliny has calumniated the poor aster. But a change has taken place on the seashore of late, that has driven away the myth, and brought the star-fish under the keenest scrutiny of nineteenth century science; for it has taken to eating oysters,—like a true American,—and caused enormous losses to the oyster planters of Long Island Sound and elsewhere. So now comes the question, What is a star-fish, its place in the scale of life, and its relation to other creatures?

The form of the ordinary aster is familiar to most people; and it seems a very simple one, consisting of calcareous base, with five radiate fingers, points, or rays, with a series of tubercles on the convex side, and a bright carmine spot on one side of the base, which forms an eye of lowly organization. On the under or concave side is situated the mouth, in the centre of the base, surrounded with a series of bony spikes; and down the middle of each ray is a canal, or cavity, in which the feet are placed.

The nervous system consists of a white cord that encircles the disc, and extends to the end of each ray, where it forms an eye of feeble character. Like some other members of the same family,—the polyps,—the aster can grow a new ray, if he loses one, or all five rays, if need be; but a ray dies when broken off, and cannot, as some have supposed, produce a star-fish. The method of reproduction is peculiar to the family and is well worthy of study. It is neither by alternate generation nor metamorphosis, but partakes of the character of both. The young of the aster have been mistaken for various other forms of life by different naturalists, so unlike at certain stages of growth is the parent to the offspring.

They arrive at maturity in about fourteen years, though spawn is sometimes obtained from them at six and seven years of age. The period of their quickest and freest growth is during the fourth year. The principle on which the aster is constructed is that of water canals, or hydraulics, and is shown to perfection in the ambulacra, which are formed on the same basis as one of our "latest inventions," patented as a "suction pump." On the inner side of the ray is a series of crystalline spheres extending over its entire length. On pressing one of these spheres, a tiny tube is projected, almost transparent, with a globular termination. The globe touches a stone, and on the withdrawal of the fluid a vacuum is formed by the globe, and through the powers of suction clings to the stone, and the star draws itself along. If the star is allowed to attach himself to the finger-nail, and then is lifted up, he has no power to let go, so true is the disc of the tiny globe. And so he hangs until the little tentacles break and let him fall.

These animals destroy the oyster by simply wrapping themselves round it and waiting for the stupid bivalve to open his mouth, whereupon the star inserts his foot, "and begins to suck the poor oyster out of house and home with the facility of a 'Tombs lawyer.'" It has been maintained by some observers that the star injects a poisonous fluid into the oyster's shell, by which the oyster is killed; but this assertion has not been proven.

The nearest relation of the star is the echinoderm, or sea urchin, a spheroidal form of star-fish common on the Florida coast as well as up the Mediterranean, and many other places. Between this *Echinus* and the star there is every form of life, quaint enough some of them are; and between the *Aster rubens* and the *Comatula*, or feather star, there are also corresponding similarities, which bring us to the fact that the star family began life on stems, as sea lilies, or encrinetes, which fact was first discovered by a Mr. Davies in Cork Harbor, in 1823. But it has remained for believers in the theory of evolution to follow this

out step by step, till we find the beautiful sea lily, *Pentactinus*, blooming on the ancient sea bottoms of an early world, having in itself the elements of the perfect aster of to-day, including the very form and likeness marked in each joint of its calcareous stem. So that we are carried by this star-fish step by step back to the very dawn of life on our planet, and that not by poetic flight, but by the unerring facts of inductive science; for in this almost infinite chain we have no "missing links," but we are brought face to face with the fact that the lowly star and his criminal relatives have built our limestone mountains, and given us ornamental "encrinital marbles" for our drawing-rooms and palaces, and have endured through ages that make the human mind falter in its hopeless endeavor to reduce them to terms of years, and brings us at last to say that "it passeth all understanding." But one thing we may speculate on with something of humility is that this lowly form of life which has preceded the human race by so many countless ages will by its very lowliness exist still for countless ages when man has passed from the scene, and our nation, our language, our temples, and our tombs have perished.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WILLIAM STAFFORD.

Editors of The Index:—

A memorial gathering of the friends of the late William Stafford of Southwark, England, was held at the Southwark Radical Club on Sunday, Sept. 14, 1884, Mr. Stafford having died on September 4 in his forty-eighth year. Mr. Stafford was for a long time a member of the South Place Congregation, and was an active worker in political and social matters.

Addresses were delivered by Mr. Stafford's four oldest friends and co-workers, Mr. J. B. Medland, Mr. W. E. Fielding, Mr. Mark H. Judge, and Mr. F. W. Souther.

Mr. Mark H. Judge, in his address, said it was a melancholy satisfaction to be permitted to pay his tribute to the worth of his dear friend William Stafford. They were met on an occasion when the words of William Gaskell would give appropriate expression to the thoughts they all had of their departed friend:—

"Calmly, calmly lay him down!
He hath fought the noble fight;
He hath battled for the right;
He hath won the unfading crown.

"Memories, all too bright for tears,
Crowd around us from the past,
Faithful toiled he to the last,
Faithful through unflagging years."

It was twenty years ago that he first made the acquaintance of Mr. Stafford. This acquaintance began in a railway train on the return journey of a Sunday excursion to Hastings, they having both taken that opportunity of getting away from the dull and dreary streets of our metropolis. From that time to the day of Mr. Stafford's death, they had been the closest friends; and for years they were as closely connected in public work, until circumstances led to their residing at a considerable distance from each other. He was associated with Mr. Stafford at the time referred to by Mr. Fielding, when George Odger contested the borough of Southwark, and when for the first time it was made manifest that entrance to the House of Commons was no longer to be debarred to artisan workmen of intelligence and capacity. The moral victory then achieved by George Odger was mainly due to the untiring energy and enthusiasm of William Stafford,—enthusiasm for a principle, not a man,—a principle of which George Odger was undoubtedly the ablest representative and exponent. George Odger opened the doors of the House of Commons to the artisan workmen of England, and it was the work of William Stafford which enabled Mr. Odger to achieve this honorable distinction. Thus, the work of their friend would have a direct influence on the future of England. Of what his influence had been in Southwark itself they had already heard. Though one of the founders of the club in which they were assembled, Mr. Stafford was prevented from attending the inaugural meeting. In consequence of ill health at the time, Mr. Stafford was on a visit to him in Cornwall; but his friends in Southwark were not forgotten, and the green lanes and hedges of that dis-

tant county were made to contribute to the decoration of their club house on the opening night.

The present gathering was especially gratifying to him after the inappropriate ceremony which attended the funeral of him who was the centre of their thoughts that morning,—one whose life had been so full of work and hope, and whose departure from the scene of his labors would, he trusted, direct their attention to the solemn matter of the burial of the dead.

The orthodox discourse delivered at the grave in Norwood Cemetery on the 8th of September was altogether out of harmony with the life and work of him to whom the clergyman thought his words had reference, and it gave pain to the great majority of his friends on that account. The fact that this discourse had since been printed in the public press emphasized the impropriety of the whole proceedings. He hoped the publication of this theological discourse in connection with the burial of their departed friend would remind all who are imbued with the scientific spirit that they owe a duty to themselves and to the principles they hold,—a duty to which they are not true, when they allow the more serious events of their lives to be directed by preachers whose doctrines it is the purpose of their lives to disprove. In marriage, in the naming of our children, and in consigning our dead to their last resting-place, let all see to it that nothing is done which is contrary to the principles of the persons concerned. Out of respect alike for theological opinions as well as for those who in life have been unable to accept them, the separation existing in life should be maintained in death. He felt sure that his friend Stafford, could he do so, would thoroughly indorse that opinion; and he hoped that, in so far as it was possible, all would leave behind them some expression of desire that their burial might be conducted in a manner that would be in harmony with their lives, so that their departure from this world, as we know it, may be a consistent termination of the life that has gone before.

In conclusion, Mr. Judge said that Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem" was an early William Stafford who

"Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel, writing in a book of gold.
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said,
'What writest thou?' The vision raised its head,
And, with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answered, 'The names of those who love the Lord.'
'And is mine one?' said Abou. 'Nay, not so,'
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still, and said, 'I pray thee, then,
Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.'

"The angel wrote, and vanished. The next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,
And, lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest."

In a letter not originally designed for publication, Mr. Allen Pringle, a prominent Canadian Liberal, thus writes us in regard to his mother, Mrs. Lockwood Pringle, who recently died at his residence at Selby, Ont., at the age of seventy-three:—

"Although a Christian, she was a woman of broad and liberal views, and utterly rejected the orthodox doctrine of eternal punishment. Her distinguishing qualities were firmness, indomitable perseverance, industry, frugality, a perfect uprightness of character and conduct without a shadow of turning, and a very clear and analytical intellect. . . . Her latter years were strongly marked by deep thought and reflection, with a seriousness amounting to sadness; and she said very little on religious or theological questions. Being well versed in ecclesiastical history and Biblical theology, with a strong intellect, her replies in conversation to attacks upon the Bible and Christianity were the very best that could be made, but at the same time were made with great moderation, and were rather suggested than asserted or affirmed. My firm conviction is that, during the latter years of my mother's life, there was a long mental struggle (quiet and sad) between the religious faith into which she had been educated, and lived in its best and most rational aspect for fifty years, and an enlightened intellect which logically condemned that faith. Her departed children—my deceased brothers

—to whom she was fondly attached as a mother, she longed to meet again in the future; and hence the complexion of this mental struggle,—the strong and tender, maternal yearnings refusing to listen to the cruel though irrepressible voice of intellect against the probabilities of a future existence. . . . I would not wrench a harmless mental comfort from a living soul, much less from the aged parent in the sad twilight of a long and good life. For my own part, whatever my feelings may be to the contrary, I can see no proof, and very little evidence, for any future life. It is possible, but it does not seem to me at all probable. That it is a sad, sad thought that the parting from the loved ones at the grave is final, no believer in immortality need remind us. I, for one, feel it and realize it. . . . But we can only turn our faces sadly away from the dead, again approach the living, and bravely resume the many duties of life."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE DESTINY OF MAN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF HIS ORIGIN. By John Fiske. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1884. pp. 119. Price \$1.00.

The essay read by Mr. Fiske before the Concord School last summer has been expanded by the author, and is given to the public in this handsome little volume. The main portion of the essay is devoted to setting forth the teachings of evolution within the province accessible to investigation and to the discussion of questions which lie within the scope of scientific inquiry.

Man, Mr. Fiske argues, is a modified descendant of lower forms, belonging "as a genus to the catarrhine family of apes," "doubtless descended from a common stock of primates, back to which we may also trace the converging pedigrees of monkeys and lemurs, until their ancestry becomes indistinguishable from that of rabbits and squirrels,"—a conclusion Mr. Fiske thinks as little likely to be gainsaid as the Copernican astronomy is to be replaced by the concentric spheres of Dante's heaven.

The Darwinian theory, by showing how the perfecting of man is the goal toward which Nature's work has been tending, enlarges the significance of human life, and makes it seem more than ever the chief object of the activities of the universe. With the enormous psychical difference between man and the group of animals to which is traceable his pedigree, due to growth of brain, upright posture, and other anatomical changes with correlative mental changes, the bodily life became subordinated to the intellectual, necessitating future progress through psychical variations in the one particular species,—man. "Not the production of any higher creature, but the perfecting of Humanity, is to be the glorious consummation of Nature's long and tedious work." The destinies of all other creatures are becoming more and more dependent upon man's will. Natural selection is being gradually subordinated to man's rational choice.

"Whence came the soul," Mr. Fiske says, "we no more know than we know whence came the universe." It is, however, correlated with the brain and nervous system. "The gulf by which the lowest known man is separated from the highest known ape consists in the great increase of his cerebral surface, with the accompanying intelligence, and in the very long duration of his infancy." The view which Mr. Fiske propounds unmistakably implies, and he in some of his writings maintains, as Darwin and Spencer do, that human intelligence is the product of modifications of lower intelligence; but, in this volume, the language of which it seems to us is rather temporizing, while the implication is evident enough, the statement of the conclusion is omitted.

The chapters on "The Origins of Society and of Morality" and "Improvability of Man," although brief, are comprehensive and suggestive, as are the chapters which indicate how universal warfare was first checked by the beginnings of industrial civilization, and how natural selection upon man is being continually diminished through the operation of social conditions.

The transcendental implications of the teachings of evolution are reserved for the sequel. The author says that there are no data for a scientific demonstration of the immortality of the soul. Cerebral physi-

ology says nothing about another life. But the assumption "that the life of the soul accordingly ends with the life of the body is the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy." But the question is whether man's conscious identity survives bodily dissolution; and on this point, equally with materialists, he is in doubt. Mr. Fiske says, "With his illegitimate hypothesis of annihilation, the materialist transgresses the bounds of experience quite as widely as the poet who sings of the New Jerusalem, with its river of life and its streets of gold. Scientifically speaking, there is not a particle of evidence for either view." What Mr. Fiske by this statement means is, of course, that there is no scientific evidence either for a belief in a future state or against the belief; but, instead of saying this, he uses phraseology which makes him appear to limit his denial of scientific evidence to the "hypothesis of annihilation" on the one hand, and of "the New Jerusalem, with its rivers of life and its streets of gold," on the other.

Mr. Fiske proceeds to say that while the doctrine of immortality does not admit of scientific proof, yet he accepts it "as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work." If one believes that there is a Supreme Intelligence that directs the operations of Nature, and under whose guidance man has been evolved from the lowest organic forms, it is not unreasonable to say that his belief carries with it some implication, some slight moral probability, at least, that physical death is not the end of human consciousness. This is the only reason Mr. Fiske gives for his belief in immortality. It is a very old one, and still has great weight with many broad thinkers. But how he can reconcile the statement just quoted with his repeated efforts in other works to show that morality, volition, purpose, intelligence, and consciousness are qualities which the thinker has no right to ascribe to the Ultimate Reality, it is not easy to understand. Did he not claim to be still in accord with Mr. Spencer on this point, we should think his views had recently undergone a radical change.

"The greatest philosopher of modern times," says our author, "the master and teacher of all who shall study the process of evolution for many a day to come, holds that the conscious soul is not the product of a collocation of material particles, but is in the deepest sense a divine effluence. According to Mr. Spencer, the divine energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe is the same energy that wells up in us as consciousness. Speaking for myself, I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of humanity this divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms and endure forever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvellous in all its myriad stages."

Mr. Fiske is of course entirely correct in saying Mr. Spencer "holds that the conscious soul is not the product of a collocation of material particles," but the statement that he holds it "is in the deepest sense a divine effluence" is liable to mislead those who are unfamiliar with his writings. Mr. Spencer holds that the intelligence of the lower animals is not the product of collocations of matter. And, in the same sense in which it is affirmed that he holds the conscious soul is a "divine effluence," it may also be said that he believes not only the intelligence of the dog, but the sensation of the worm is a "divine effluence." We may go farther, and say that, with quite as much accuracy, it can be affirmed that Mr. Spencer regards the entire universe as a "divine effluence," since he holds that it is the same Ultimate Reality that is manifested to us subjectively and objectively.

With such questions as how modifications of life and intelligence, under natural law, could have resulted in the evolution of an immortal being from one that was mortal, or indeed whether man's ancestors, from the ape down, were mortal or immortal, Mr. Fiske does not attempt to deal. He contents himself with arguing against a dogmatic materialism, which indeed has no adherents among great thinkers to-day, and expressing belief in immortality as a moral probability. The essay is in Mr. Fiske's best style, marred only by expressions which, used by an orthodox Christian, would be consistent, but in a work by the author of *Cosmic Philosophy* seem somewhat out of place.

B. F. U.

AN OUTLINE OF THE FUTURE RELIGION OF THE WORLD, with a Consideration of the Facts and Doctrines on which it will probably be based. By T. Lloyd Stanley. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 & 29 West Twenty-third Street. pp. 538. 1884. Price \$3.00. (For sale by Cupples, Upham & Co.)

The object of this volume is to furnish a basis for religious faith and practice that will endure when theological criticism shall have completed its work, in showing the frail foundation of many of the dogmatic beliefs which have long awayed the minds of men. The author does not claim to be an original investigator; but he gives the results of the investigations of others in regard to the great religions and religious teachers of the past, with much fulness of information and in a painstaking and scholarly manner. The four great religious philosophers and founders of religion, he says, who shall exercise, and probably will ever exercise, vast influence over the minds of men, were Manu (or the author of the earlier Vedas), Moses, the Hebrew lawgiver, Gautama, and Jesus. Doctrines and narratives in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures are freely criticised, always in a catholic and kindly spirit, and generally with judiciousness and discrimination.

The author is a theist, and a confident believer in the immortality of the soul. He holds that future religion must take the direction of greater spirituality and intellectuality; that it will rest mainly on the teachings of Jesus, "relieved from the incubus of the marvellous and the legendary." The disciples of other religions, including "the cosmopolitan Israelite, the disciple of Zoroaster, and even the proud Mohammedan, strong in the confidence of his pure monotheism, will," Mr. Stanley thinks, "gladly acknowledge the pre-eminent superiority of the teaching and the life-example of the Nazarene, when no longer required to accept the repulsive dogma of a complex Deity, and when the great teachers of these great world-faiths are by Christians admitted to honor as the Master's worthy coadjutors in the work of bringing to pass upon earth the true kingdom of the one God, the reign of his Father and of man's Father, of his God and the God of the universe."

The essential truths of religion being recognized, including the conception that "all lives form part of one endlessly progressive universe life, culminating in Supreme Mind," the incrustations of superstition upon the simplicity of truth will be cast into the rubbish heap of time; organized and official priest-hoods will be regarded as unnecessary; the "sincerely pious members of the clerical fraternity will become working philanthropists or lecturers on morality, religious philosophy, and science"; churches will become art museums, lecture halls, and colleges, yet always remaining favorite homes of silent communion, prayerful meditation, and the worship of the heart; wealth and education will become more diffused, and governments more republican; woman's sphere will be enlarged; marriage will be entered into earlier; divorce seldom resorted to, and subject to restrictive legislation; monopoly and the accumulation of enormous fortunes will be prevented; employés will more and more share in the profits of successful business; brotherhood will become more general and heartfelt; and nations, under the influence of a realized altruism, will become more and more like the states of one great commonwealth. Our author's disposition is extremely hopeful and optimistic. May his expectations be realized.—B. F. U.

DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. Selected by the editor of *Quiet Hours*. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884. Price \$1.00.

By religious people, this book will be welcomed as giving, in addition to the Scripture selections for each day of the year and accompanying verse, often commonplace and familiar, such as has too frequently marred the "Daily Food" type of devotional books, some new and fresh selections from the best writers of this and previous generations. A text of Scripture, a verse or stanza of poetry, and a prose quotation, all in the same line of thought are given to each day of the year. The editor in her selections quotes from over one hundred standard authors, ranging from Marcus Aurelius, in the second century, to George Eliot, Frances Power Cobbe, and Thomas Carlyle, of the nineteenth.

BREAD-MAKING. By T. N. T. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1884. Price 50 cents. "Handy Volume Series."

Good bread is indeed "the staff of life" to many; and, although we may sympathize with the old farmer

who, when dying, being told by his pastor that "man does not live by bread alone," murmured, "No, indeed, he needs a few vegetables," yet, in view of the many failures by professional bakers as well as housewives to produce good bread, such a book as this, containing careful directions and rules by which such a result is attainable, is well worth careful perusal.

ON A MARGIN: A Story of These Times. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1884. Price, cloth binding, \$1.25.

We have here a story of Wall Street, New York, and of Washington, D.C., of stock speculation, modern money-making, love, crime, and worldliness. None of its heroes or heroines are perfect or even admirable. The style is unique, interesting, and tantalizing. Its author, who chooses to remain incognito, is said to be a brilliant and experienced writer, who portrays life with masterly skill.

WAIFS AND WANDERINGS. A Novel. By Samuel P. Putnam. New York: Truth-Seeker Co. Cloth. Price \$1.00.

This volume of nearly two hundred pages has all the material necessary for a romance,—a beautiful girl whose birth is hid in mystery and afterward revealed, a love story, the pomp and circumstance of war, a sensational plot and thrilling dénouement in which the horrors of slavery and the troubles of miscegenation are vividly depicted.

THE table of contents of the *Unitarian Review* for November is as follows: "The Right Seed," by Rev. James Freeman Clarke; "What New England Congregationalism really meant," by Rev. J. H. Allen; "Cookery and Health," by Edward Jarvis, M.D.; "Man and Religion," by Rev. George W. Cooke; "Michael Servetus," by Rev. S. C. Beach; and "Bits of English History from the Manuscripts," by William B. Weeden. "The Editors' Note-book" treats of "Theological and Political Repentance and Forgiveness"; and, in "Things at Home and Abroad," Mrs. Lowe has something to say in regard to "The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice," of "Home Matters," and "English Movements."

EACH new issue of *Wide Awake* is always a new surprise and an added testimony to the good taste and good sense of its editors and publishers. The November number just received is no exception to this rule. Its stories, poems, and illustrations are all of superior excellence. We have room to note only a few of the best known names among the contributors to this number, such as "H. H.," Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, Sarah W. Whitman, Dr. Felix L. Oswald, Rose G. Kingsley (daughter of Canon Kingsley), Amanda B. Harris, Oscar Fay Adams, Prof. A. B. Palmer, and Yan Phou Lee, a Chinaman, now of Yale College, New Haven.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for October contains extracts from a work soon to be published on Spanish art by Lucian Solvay, who writes with great vigor, especially when he gives such a description of the real character and history of the Cid as helps us see the worthlessness of mediæval chivalry. Count Goblet d'Alviella exposes the culpability of the Belgian bishops to the impending ruin of the public schools, to save which he calls for closer union among the friends of liberty and progress.

NORA PERRY, J. T. Trowbridge, Louisa M. Alcott, Frank R. Stockton, H. H. Boyesen, and Charles G. Leland are among the brilliant writers whose contributions make *St. Nicholas* for November a most delightful number of an always charming as well as instructive periodical for young people. (For sale by Cupples, Upham & Co.)

BABYLAND for November is bright with pictures, and brimming with winsome baby literature, verse and prose. D. Lothrop & Company, in this as in all their publications, show a wonderful appreciation of the needs and likings of their large juvenile constituency.

WE have received from S. Brainard's Sons, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Chicago, Ill., the words and music of the new songs, "A Boy's Best Friend is his Mother" and "Rocking the Baby to Sleep." Price forty cents each.

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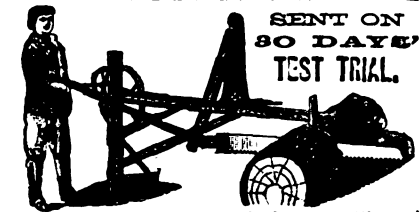
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Free-thought Association of Canada will hold a convention at Toronto, December 13, 14, and 15.

OUR neighbor, the *Investigator*, in a pleasant mood says *The Index* "is æsthetical, analytical, syncretical, and unsectarian," "progressive and therefore not Christian."

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SAYS an exchange: "The Madras *Christian College Magazine* publishes letters from Madame Blavatsky to members of the Theosophical Society who have recently been expelled from the society for infidelity to its cause. The letters show conclusively that the wonderful phenomena received by the disciples of the 'Theosophs' have been produced fraudulently by confederation and previous arrangement."

THE steadiness of American securities during the campaign just ended is mentioned by some of the European journals as a striking illustration of the stability of our Republican institutions. Thus, the *Pall Mall Gazette* remarks: "A similar crisis in any other country would convulse prices. A nation of fifty million people decides the fate of its government in a closely contested election, which is conducted with wild excitement from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, with less effect upon the stock market than a report that King Alfonso had a cold in his head would affect the Spanish bourse."

THE daily papers, last Saturday, announced the death of Col. George W. Tew, of Newport, R.I.,

a comrade with whom we served in the Union army, nearly a quarter of a century ago. Of his life since the war, beyond the fact that he was elected treasurer of Rhode Island in 1866, we know little; but, as a fellow-officer, we knew him well. He was a brave soldier, and a man of tender heart, generous disposition, and the most patriotic spirit. The announcement of his death summons from "memory's storied urn" many scenes and incidents of pleasure and of peril which occurred during the dark days of the Rebellion.

THE socialist party in Germany is evidently gaining in numbers and influence. It will have in the new Reichstag nearly twice as many deputies as sat in the old. Bismarck, it is said, fears the socialists more than the liberals. The latter include many learned men, who are patriotic and opposed to Bismarckism, but are rather theoretical and *doctrinaire*, and fail to comprehend the conditions of a progressive popular party. In consequence, the liberals of democratic tendencies every year are leaving the liberal party and increasing the strength of the socialists. There are different classes of socialists. Some are in favor of revolutionary measures; while many, probably the majority, are not. Of course, the socialist professors of Heidelberg, Bonn, Jena, and Leipzig, hold to no such theories as are commonly ascribed to their party, which, in spite of all minor difference, is united in opposition to the imperial *régime* and in the desire to see in Germany "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

IN response to a rather informal call for a meeting of tax-paying women who had not registered as voters for the school committee, an unexpectedly large and a very thoughtful and earnest audience assembled in Parker Fraternity Hall last Monday evening, composed largely of the class mentioned. Mrs. Sara A. Underwood presided. A number of speeches were made, urging women to use the power now in their hands in favor of the nomination and election of competent and worthy officers, and showing how, in a short time, by supporting the best candidates of both parties and "scratching" all others, they might become a power in the city which political managers would be compelled to consider in the nomination of members of the school committee. The following speakers, and in the order named, addressed the meeting: Hon. George S. Hale, Mr. John Whiting, Representative C. C. Coffin ("Carleton"), B. F. Underwood, Mrs. Henrietta Wolcott, Mrs. Lydia Hutchins, Mrs. Loomis, and Mr. Slack, editor of the *Commonwealth*.

REFERRING to Governor Robinson's appeal to the people in his Thanksgiving Proclamation to let their tribute of thankfulness "be made most acceptable by deeds of charity and love to the needy and stricken ones," the *Congregationalist* makes the following suggestion, which we commend to the consideration of our readers in this city and State who have the means and are desirous of adding to the comfort and happiness of unfortunate fellow-beings reduced to extreme poverty

and dependence: "An excellent way for our readers to make this practical will be to send a donation to Rev. D. W. Waldron, of the City Missionary Society, for the Thanksgiving Dinner Charity. This form of benevolence, started seven years ago, reaches the worthy poor, whose poverty is occasioned by sickness, small wages, or lack of employment. Last year, nine hundred and sixteen families were visited on the day before Thanksgiving by the city missionaries; and, from a record of seven hundred and eighty-four cases, it appears that in four hundred and thirty-six there was no father. Of course, it is designed that the gifts shall cover more than the wants of a single day, and to this end let there be a generous response this year from those who read this."

ON the Sunday evening previous to the Presidential election, a Methodist minister in Springfield, Mass., preached a political sermon, in which he supported St. John, and bore down so heavily on the character of the Republican candidate that members of the church cried out, "No, no," and "Yes, yes." He ordered silence; but some of the more irrepressible brethren declared that they had as much right as he to express their political views, and insisted on being heard. Whereupon, the preacher said that the law would protect him in his own pulpit, and closed the service, intimating very plainly that he or his friends would prosecute those who had insulted him. Since this reverend gentleman chose to introduce into his sermon party politics on which his church was divided, and people generally, under the excitement incident to the last days of a political campaign, were extremely sensitive, he, as a religious and moral teacher and as a fair-minded man, should have given an opportunity for questions and for criticisms of his statements. That would have been but simple justice. An orthodox minister is supposed to be employed and paid to preach a creed which declares the religious faith of all the members of his church. When he enters the arena of politics, he should have the courage, liberality, and fairness to give those whose views he assails a chance to defend their positions and to examine his. But the average orthodox minister is so unaccustomed to being questioned and criticised that he does not expect and is not prepared for opposition, and generally resents an objection to his pulpit statements as an insult and as an indication of moral depravity in the objector. His own language is the more unqualified and reckless, because of his exemption from the necessity of sustaining his assertions by facts and arguments; and when cornered by some fellow in the pew, who has more reverence for truth than for the clerical profession, he is very liable to lose his temper, forget the teachings of his Master, and appeal for "protection" to the law. Jesus, —who, if we mistake not, was rather in favor of discussion with honest opponents,—could he appear in an orthodox church to-day, would be denied a hearing, and, if he persisted in talking back to the preacher, would be hurried out of the church and arrested for disturbing "divine service."

SIGNIFICANT THEOLOGICAL SIGNS.

An editorial article in the *Congregationalist* of this city closes a lengthy and highly appreciative sketch of the remarkable life of Sir Moses Montefiore with these words: "Perhaps no man has lived in our time who—not in boasting, but in simple, humble truth—could more truly say with one of his own race of the land of Uz:—

'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me;
And when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me;
Because I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless,
And him that had none to help him.
The blessing of the perishing came upon me,
And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.'

And yet the life thus sketched and praised is the life of a Jew. Sir Moses Montefiore was born a Jew, has always lived a Jew, and now, a hundred years old, still adheres to the faith of his fathers. His long life, which thus spans a full century, has been filled with deeds of noble charity and wise philanthropy. Having great wealth, he has used it for great objects of human benefit. Feeling naturally a special interest in improving the condition of his own fellow-believers, yet his benefactions have by no means been confined to them. Christian charities of various sorts have been long accustomed to receive his generous help. As one instance of this unsectarian benevolence, the *Congregationalist* relates the following: "One day in 1860, the London *Times* published an account of the miserable state of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, upon whom the Druses had fallen, and driven at least twenty thousand to the mountains. At one o'clock the next morning came into the *Times* office this Jew, Sir Moses Montefiore,—then rising seventy-six,—bringing an appeal for private benevolence to help these Christians, and enclosing as a nest-egg his own check for \$1,000. The *Times* published the appeal; and, as a consequence, upwards of \$110,000 were sent off to Mount Lebanon to their help." His personal relations with people, and especially with the poor and needy,—a truer test of a benevolent heart than large gifts of money,—have been such as to attach all classes to him by the strongest ties. He has been as affable, tender, and self-sacrificing in character and manner as he has been generous in pecuniary gifts. The Ramsgate poor not only revere, but love him. In Palestine, which he has seven times visited,—the last time when he was over ninety years old,—he "has endowed hospitals and almshouses, planted gardens, dug wells, reared synagogues, built windmills, aqueducts, and tombs, and done good in a hundred ways, until its Jews kiss the very hem of his garments." In several countries, he has been able to secure an amendment of the laws, by which the Jews have been relieved from cruel oppressions and obtained governmental protection against Mohammedan and Christian prejudice.

Here, then, is a man who is acknowledged to have, in a remarkable degree, those virtues and graces of character commonly called "Christian"; and yet he is not a "Christian." He belongs to a race that rejected, according to the ordinary Christian teaching, the Redeemer of the world, and that cannot therefore have any part in the Christian scheme of salvation. There are, indeed, Christian missions for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Not many years ago, a representative of one of these missions called on a Jewish friend of ours, who was a woman of noble benevolence, to get a contribution from her for sustaining a missionary in Palestine to convert the Jews there to the Christian faith. The missionary representative in this case—who was also a woman—had assumed that her Hebrew neighbor, whose good heart and good works she very well knew, must

have abjured the religious faith in which she was aware that she had been born and educated, and would be quite ready to make a donation for converting her fellow-Jews; and great was her astonishment to find that the good lady, though having apparently all the "Christian" virtues, was not a "Christian," and that, so far from wishing to work for the conversion of the Jews in Palestine, she was a devout believer in the doctrine that the Jews would yet possess Palestine as their providential inheritance. The Christian zealot went away from the Jewish lady's benevolent presence with a new idea: it was that a Jew might lead so good a life as to stand in no great need of conversion to Christianity. Yet it was an idea which it must have sorely puzzled her to reconcile with her Christian theology.

And this idea is, doubtless, spreading in Christian churches. Among the many praises that have been bestowed in Christian journals on the noble character of Sir Moses Montefiore, we do not recall having seen anywhere a single regret expressed that he should not be a Christian, nor anything detracted from his meed of honor on that ground. The *Congregationalist* is a paper that claims to uphold the good old Orthodoxy against the heretical drift of the so-called new theology. Yet, in its long and entirely sympathetic article on his career, it gives not the slightest hint that Sir Moses Montefiore is in any need of conversion to Christianity. And, writing as its editor does of this Jewish philanthropist, it is impossible to suppose that he believes that such a man, though not accepting the Christian faith, is in any danger of going to perdition. It is a significant sign of the times that such an article should appear in such a journal.

Another similar sign of an increasing appreciation among Christians of the virtues of other religions was given a few weeks ago by the New York *Independent*, in the publication of a sermon by a modern Japanese Buddhist preacher. The sermon was published in that journal without note or comment, just as it might have printed a discourse from a Christian minister. It was not a great sermon; but it was a sermon emphatically inculcating, by simple language and apt illustration, the same personal and domestic virtues that are insisted on in what are called practical sermons in Christian pulpits. The native correspondent who sent the translation of the discourse to the *Independent* prefaced it with the following interesting sketch of the preacher and the religious movement he represented:—

Some thirty-five years ago there arose in Japan a class of practical moralists who, against the prevailing tendency of the age to too much speculation, began to popularize the doctrines of Confucius, so as to make them a living force among the great mass of the people. They had ten meeting places in Kiyoto, the capital of the empire at that time. Their preaching, combined with their benevolence,—which showed itself on all occasions, and especially in the times of famine,—had a great effect upon the minds of the people. Their followers multiplied rapidly. The government began to take notice of the work; and, it is said, sent many times a large quantity of rice to be distributed to the people through their hands. The author of the following sermon (which is one of the eighteen sermons preached by him, and reduced to writing by his adopted son and successor) was the head of one of the meeting places. He had many followers, some of whom became men of influence. He was so gentle that he is styled "the dove-like, venerable man."

It will be noted that this religious movement was before the time when Japan was freely opened to foreigners, so that it could not be a consequence of the Christian influences which might now be claimed to prevail there. It was, in fact, a native reform movement in behalf of an ethical religion against tendencies to a speculative and formalistic

piety. Similar reformations have occurred from time to time in all the great religions, showing the inherent force of certain fundamental moral sentiments in them all. If the *Independent* has any readers who are of the old-fashioned type of Orthodoxy, we imagine they must have opened their eyes in wonder over this Japanese Buddhist's discourse, and that some of them may now be pondering the question whether it is quite worth while to spend so much money and labor to convert such "heathenism" as this to the kind of Christianity prevailing in Europe and the United States. Would it not be wiser as well as easier to help such "heathenism" to educate its adherents up to its own standard?

WM. J. POTTER.

ENGLISH CHURCHES AND THE ENGLISH WORKMEN.

If any interested spectator had visited the ecclesiastical gatherings in England twenty or thirty years ago, he would have heard discussions and dissertations mainly on points of doctrine and discipline, on questions of theology or ritual. This would have been true both of the established and dissenting Churches. Were he to visit similar gatherings to-day, he would discover that nearly all the talk had reference to the relations of the Church with social and political problems, with the condition of the poor, the rights of labor, and the attitude of the workman toward religion. Such is the change which has come over the religious world. Within the last few weeks, three great religious bodies have met to discuss their affairs; namely, the Church Congress at Carlisle, the Congregational Union in London, and the Baptist Union at Bradford. And, at all these gatherings, the foremost question was the social and religious condition of the working classes, and the relations of the Churches to the questions in which these same working classes are most interested.

At the Church Congress, political questions proper are supposed to be excluded; but scarcely any of the speakers seemed able to forget that a contest was going on all around them between the people and the privileged orders, in which it is difficult for any man not to take a part one way or the other. Four of the papers read dealt with the relations of the Church to politics, and one of these was a most radical utterance,—that, namely, of Mr. George Harwood, the author of an interesting work on the *Coming Democracy*, in which he reproached in deep earnestness the Church of England for her attitude toward popular reforms in past times, and predicted that she would enjoy no future, if she did not frankly and heartily ally herself with the democratic movement of the age. Indeed, Mr. Harwood said again, with new force, what Dr. Arnold had said half a century before: "The Church of England bears, and always has borne, the marks of her birth. The child of royal and aristocratic selfishness and unprincipled tyranny, she has never dared to speak boldly to the great, but has contented herself with lecturing the poor." With new force, I say, but also with a much wider sympathy and general assent than Dr. Arnold experienced in his day.

What was true of the Church Congress was also true of the Congregational Union in an even greater degree. It is true that the Congregational body has always been on the popular side in political and social matters. But, at the same time, it is distinctly what is called a "respectable" body; and most of its churches are principally maintained or largely subsidized by wealthy middle-class people, whose bias is in a somewhat conservative direction where social questions are con-

cerned. Now, the political movement in England is undoubtedly passing into the social phase. Men are asking why those who toil should receive so few of the world's goods; nor do the optimistic calculations of statisticians satisfy these inquiring minds. This phase of the popular movement is not likely to meet with such hearty sympathy among well-fed, sleek, and comfortable dissenters as did the more purely political phase. But yet the Congregational Union could not avoid the discussion of this subject, which was introduced in two elaborate papers read by prominent ministers, and discussed at some length by the chairman, Dr. Parker, in his address. Painful facts were revealed: a pair of boots made for 5s. 3d. (\$1.30), and sold for £3 30s. (\$15.75); a shirt made by a poor seamstress for 3 farthings, and sold for 1s. 6d.; 296 boxes of matches made by girls for 1s. (25 cents). These were the tales of sorrow and of wrong told by one whose self-denying work in East London is well known. And it was asked: Where did the money go, into whose pockets; and could a body of men, devoted to the principles of justice and love for which Jesus lived and died, tolerate or defend or palliate such a state of things? "Let them," said the speaker, "turn market price out of doors, and let Christ's price—a fair day's wage for a fair day's work—come in." And another member said that "the relations of employer and employed left no room for the moralities of Jesus Christ." There were other utterances, it is true, different from these,—defence of the existing order of things, and deprecation of any attempt to overturn that order; but all through there was a recognition of the fact that the religious bodies must address themselves to these questions, and that dogmatic controversy and barren theological propositions can avail nothing, now that the world is swinging over into the plane of democracy.

At the Baptist Union, too, the ablest speaker present declared that "Christianity was passing through the socialistic furnace." In short, in all these great assemblies of religious people there was a plain indication of a belief, more or less consciously realized, that the Church, if it has any *raison d'être*, must show itself a social body, capable of dealing with social questions, and helping the world to some solution of these questions. Time was when the non-conformist churches of England were apt to regard themselves as a "peculiar people" called out from amongst the rest of the ungodly world by a special supernatural grace. They were animated by the Separatist spirit, and were only saved from its full consequences by some participation in commercial and political life. Now, they appear rather to desire to emulate secularists in their attention to current problems; and, as these problems are chiefly those relating to the emancipation of the laboring classes and their participation in the benefits conferred by the State, it follows that these churches are beginning slowly and with faltering steps and imperfect knowledge, but with awakening sympathies, to join in the great social movement of our age. The case of the Established Church is different. It has never of course been a company of the "elect," or the "peculiar people." Rather has it been too secular, too worldly, controlled as it has been for so many generations by intriguing politicians and by royal and aristocratic patrons. But it has been selfish, cold, heartless, anti-popular, instinct with pride and privilege. But its loosening hold over the people, who now are slowly beginning to understand and use their power, has evidently alarmed and instructed its most acute and far-seeing members. The votes in the House of Lords in favor of the franchise bill given by the

Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and many of the bishops, may be taken as a testimony, unwilling doubtless, but on that very account all the more valuable, that the leaders of the Church of England perceive to some extent that, whether churches or monarchies or other old institutions are to reign by the grace of God or no, at any rate they must reign in the future, if they are to reign at all, by the will of the people.

The English churches, therefore, it may be hoped, will be able to adapt themselves to the new tendencies of our time; and, in the slow but sure evolution of things, these institutions which have hitherto existed so largely for the propagation of dogmas, will in this way become social forces for the furtherance of the reign of justice among men. Is not this, after all, the fundamental idea of so old and venerated a work as Saint Augustine's *City of God*? Is it not the idea dwelt upon with constant reiteration and with earnest sincerity by the great Fathers of the Church? Churchmen will go forward by going back, by reverting to the first principles of their faith, and by drinking at the fountain of early Christian enthusiasm and love. It is at least certain that, if they do not do this, there is no room for them in modern society. One word more may be said. If the churches can develop a new "enthusiasm of humanity," there is reasonable ground for doubting whether their zeal will be according to knowledge. This was one of the reasons of the failure of the early Church. The necessity of our time is the union of emotion and sympathy with knowledge and reason. Cannot some *modus vivendi* be discovered between the thinkers and the enthusiasts? And cannot the reformers combine sweetness with their light? This blending of the two noblest factors in our nature is the special need in England to-day. Our good people do not understand modern problems, and our agitators sneer at sentiments of mercy and compassion. The question is, What true progress can be made while this unnatural divorce continues? If the churches can contribute even an "infinitesimal fraction of a product" to the solution of this question, they will justify their existence to mankind.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

REMINISCENCES OF FREE THINKERS.

This day there was laid in her grave at Kensal Green a venerable lady, aged eighty, whose life had been intertwined with memorable movements. Although she has been justly respected through life as the widow of Hetherington (no other name being known in the community), she was never legally married. The two young free thinkers and philanthropists united their hearts and lives at a period when marriage still preserved sacramental conditions with which scrupulous minds could not comply. Nor did her husband live to see the day of civil marriage which such examples as his brought on. The union openly begun was solemnized by long years of mutual love and faith, and by joint consecration to truth and service of humanity. Fifty-five years ago, Henry Hetherington was printing *The Poor Man's Guardian*, in defiance of the stamp duty; and for it was imprisoned. On his release, he continued his offence until the government surrendered: the stamp was abolished, the press was free. Subsequently, he underwent a severe imprisonment for publishing *Haslam's Letters to the Clergy*. He died thirty-five years ago, and eleven years ago a neat monument appeared on his grave, "Erected by a friend." That friend was the woman who to-day was laid beside him. Out of her small annuity, she saved enough to leave that tribute to her husband; and by severe self-denial, such as is usually supposed possible

only to investors in heaven, she has managed to bequeath her mite to the Woman Suffrage Society and the South Place Society, which she has always attended. I saw her there last Sunday, and received her cheerful greeting. The next day, she died, without pain. Around her grave were gathered a company of veteran radicals who had fought the good fight beside the Hetheringtons in the preceding generation, which now appears so distant. But these are becoming few. During the twenty-one years in which I have been in England, it has fallen to my lot to conduct the funerals of some leaders of a noble army of free thinking and radical martyrs,—W. J. Fox, William Lovett, James Watson, Richard Moore, William Rose, and others, and of "good women not a few." They were people whose sufferings had won the victories of intellectual and religious freedom. I have always found them modest martyrs, so happy in the progress they witnessed as to forget their sacrifices. Nothing is more notable in these valiant radicals of the last generation than their sweetness of heart, their spirit of toleration. This old lady, buried to-day, might have given some useful hints to the author of a new novel entitled *We Two*. This novel is all the more a hopeful sign of our times, because its tenderness toward free thinkers is associated with the genuine Orthodox conviction that Christian beliefs are essential to any completeness of mind and character. With the utmost *naïveté*, the lovely daughter of the free thinker is described as an "Undine,"—quite soulless, until she is converted by studying Jesus in the Greek. Well, I have, in my Methodist days, known some "saintly sisters," but never any saintlier than some of these mothers in the non-Christian Israel. And the same may be said of our free-thinking fathers also. I have never known one of them embittered by the persecutions they have undergone, nor have I known one of them dismayed by the approach of death.

There is a part of Kensal Green Cemetery where many of them lie. Close to the monument of Hetherington is that of William Devonshire Saul, who died in 1855; and beside that is the tomb of David Williams, who, as "Publicola," wrote articles that made oppressors tremble. He died in 1846. These men were buried in graves that long bore no mark, for they were champions of the very poor. But, as radicalism has become richer, one and another handsome stone has appeared to report the fidelity of these "infidels" and their services to humanity. The finest of these monuments, and one of the finest in the cemetery, is that of their famous leader, Robert Owen. This was erected only five years ago,—not entirely, I believe, by his old followers, but partly by those whose liberalism has grown conventional. The monument is some twenty feet high, and decorated with a bronze profile taken during Owen's life. Conspicuous above the medallion are the words, "Robert Owen, philanthropist." Beneath it: "Born May 14, 1771. Died Nov. 17, 1858." The inscription says: "He originated and organized infant schools. He secured a reduction of the hours of labor for women and children in factories. He was a liberal supporter of the earlier efforts to obtain national education. He labored to promote International Arbitration. He was one of the foremost Englishmen who taught men to aspire to a higher social state by reconciling the interests of capital and labor. He spent his life and a large fortune in seeking to improve his fellow-men by giving them education, self-reliance, and moral worth. His life was sanctified by human affection and lofty effort."

It may be observed that all allusion to Owen's religious heresies are conspicuously (no doubt

compulsorily) absent, though most of the free-thinking orators were trained in his old John Street meetings. Notwithstanding this propitiation of the cemetery's conscience by the committee who controlled the memorial, Newtown (Wales), where Owen was born and buried, refused to accept the monument, even with a proffer of £300 for a fountain and clock. One would like to substitute in the inscription some recognition of the old man's religious radicalism for that allusion to the reduction of the hours of women and children in factories. No doubt, Owen meant well; but the inclusion of women with children, in the factory Acts, has proved a heavy blow to women and their children and to society. Under the disguise of philanthropy,—supplied unwittingly by Robert Owen,—working-men have long been steadily depriving women of all power to compete with them in the labor market. Thousands of poor women are refused work because they are legally forbidden to work full time; and whither have their sentimental protectors driven them? Owen had serious limitations, and his influence ceased long before his death; but the affectionate loyalty of his old comrades for him, after outgrowing his ideas, is touching. And now they are gathering around him there in the silent land, where some day their successors will make pilgrimages and read the record of their lives with homage and wonder, ere they turn to stone the next heretics that come along.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, Sept. 26, 1884.

HAWTHORNE ON ATHEISM.

In his *English Note-Books*, under date of Aug. 6, 1854, Hawthorne records the fact that he saw Miss Martineau, whom he describes as a large, robust, elderly woman, plainly dressed; but withal, he says, she has so kind, cheerful, and intelligent a face that she is pleasanter to look at than most beauties. All her talk, he says, was about herself and her affairs; but it did not seem like egotism, because it was so cheerful and free from morbidity. "And this woman," he goes on to say, "is an atheist, and thinks that the principle of life will become extinct when her body is laid in the grave! I will not think so, were it only for her sake. What! only a few weeds to spring out of her mortality, instead of her intellect and sympathies flowering and fruiting forever!" Apropos of this extract from Hawthorne's *Note-Books*, it should be said that, large-brained as the greatest of American romancers was, he was no philosopher, but an emotionalist through and through. He was a most subtle and profound student and anatomist of human nature, with all its queer structural outgrowths of customs, usages, and religious beliefs; but he studied it not for the purpose of demonstrating the absurdity and illusoriness of such beliefs, but with a view to a loving description of them. He studied the human heart rather than the head. He had a deep, innate reverence for all myths, traditions, and alleged supernaturalisms. He loved the mosses and lichens of human nature, so to speak. Superstitions of all sorts found a friend in him, a genius capable of rehabilitating them, and making them charm and fascinate even the practical age and country of rationalism, business, and plain matter-of-fact in which he was born, and by which he was environed all his life, with the exception of the five or six years which he passed in Europe. In fact, no two English-writing contemporaries and literary celebrities of the middle of this century were in more striking contrast than were Miss Martineau and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Miss Martineau, though of the sex in which the emotional nature usually predomi-

nates, was still a case of almost pure intellect and reason; while Nathaniel Hawthorne, with a brain capable of almost any kind of mental achievement, was still an emotionalist rather than a rationalist. Hawthorne would never have allowed himself to write the following sentence from the pen of Miss Martineau, even if he had believed it to be true: "Strange as it may appear, and impossible as it may seem to so many, the Christian religion is in fact, and will soon be generally recognized as, no better than an old wife's fable." Miss Martineau could write thus about Christianity some thirty or forty years ago. It was her sincere conviction, and she boldly announced it. Like Milton, Hawthorne was a Puritan in sentiment, although, as in Milton, the æsthetic side of him was gorgeous with all kinds of poetry. But, of course, Hawthorne, as a great poet, was a liberal and no fanatic, in spite of the inherited Puritanism of his nature. He was a pathologist rather than physiologist as an analyst of the human heart. He was a casuist in his fondness for dealing with cases of conscience. His genius was specially given to working on the trail of sin and sorrow. It wore rather an autumnal than vernal aspect. The weird and crepuscular had an irresistible attraction for it. He preferred to believe rather than to question; to have faith in the myths of the past, and to treat them lovingly, rather than to sneer at them.

But with his great cloud of brain, so to speak, he could have been a cynic, sceptic, and scoffer of the most vitriolic character, had he been so inclined; for his was a most penetrating eye, a most piercing glance. But he cultivated the emotional rather than the philosophic side of his nature, as a writer of romances and twice-told tales. The greatness and versatility of his mental and imaginative power are most strikingly evinced in the fact that he could with equal felicity describe his fatherland, New England, with its unæsthetic and plain practical Puritanism and its social newness and its only two or three centuries of civilized life, with its sombre forests of pine and hemlock and its sombre colonial memories, with its barren rocks and east winds and stern winters, on the one hand, and Italy with its gorgeous Romanism, its thousands of history-and-myth-laden years, its groves of citron and myrtle and soft winds, on the other, as the *Scarlet Letter* and *Marble Faun* most amply show. The old Latin poet, Virgil, had the most intense love of the mythical past of the Italy of his day. He had, too, a larger measure of sentiment, in the modern sense of the word, than any other pagan poet. But even Virgil, a born polytheist, in the seventh book of the *Æneid*, which is specially devoted to the legendary lore of Italy, gives us no such vivid feeling of long-gone mythical times and the twilight of fable as we experience in perusing the two chapters of the *Marble Faun* which are entitled "The Pedigree of Monte Beni" and "Myths." After reading these chapters, one would almost suppose that Hawthorne had lived at the court of King Evander in those primitive days when the site of the Eternal City was a haunted thicket and the forum a cow pasture. After tracing the lineage of his Faun back "to the early morn of Christendom, when the Roman Empire had hardly begun to show signs of decline," our great romancer goes on to say, "but, where written record left the genealogy of Monte Beni, tradition took it up, and carried it without dread or shame beyond the imperial ages into the times of the Roman Republic; beyond these again, into the epoch of kingly rule. Nor even so remotely among the mossy centuries did it pause, but strayed onward into that gray antiquity of which there is no token left save its cavernous tombs and a few bronzes and some quaintly wrought ornaments of

gold, and gems with mystic figures and inscriptions. There, or thereabouts, the line was supposed to have had its origin in the sylvan life of Etruria, while Italy was yet guiltless of Rome." By some astonishing clairvoyance of his weird genius, Hawthorne could more clearly describe prehistoric Italy than could even Virgil or Livy or, in modern times, Niebuhr.

But the *Marble Faun* gives us not only an unequalled and most lifelike delineation of Italian paganism in its remotest aspects, but also of the curious conglomerate of polytheism and Christianity, which could arise nowhere else but in Italy; namely, Romanism, or Roman Catholicism, a spiritual domination, which for so many centuries undertook to emulate the political and imperial domination of the Roman Republic and Empire. In the chapter entitled "Altars and Incense," he describes the emotions of the lovely New England maiden, Hilda, alone and with her dreadful secret, haunting St. Peter's. "Rome," he says, "has a certain species of consolation readier at hand, for all the necessitous, than any other spot under the sky; and Hilda's despondent state made her peculiarly liable to the peril, if peril it can be justly termed, of seeking or consenting to be thus consoled. Had the Jesuits known the situation of this troubled heart, her inheritance of New England Puritanism would hardly have protected the poor girl from the pious strategy of those good fathers. Knowing as they do how to work each proper engine, it would have been ultimately impossible for Hilda to resist the attractions of a faith which so marvellously adapts itself to every human need. Not, indeed, that it can satisfy the soul's cravings, but, at least, it can sometimes help the soul toward a higher satisfaction than the faith contains in itself. It supplies a multitude of external forms, in which the spiritual may be clothed and manifested. It has many painted windows, as it were, through which the celestial sunshine, else disregarded, may make itself gloriously perceptible in visions of beauty and splendor. There is no want or weakness of human nature for which Catholicism will own itself without a remedy. Cordials, certainly, it possesses in abundance, and sedatives in inexhaustible variety; and what once may have been genuine medicaments, though a little the worse for keeping. To do it justice, Catholicism is such a miracle of fitness for its own ends, many of which might seem to be admirable ones, that it is difficult to imagine it a contrivance of mere man. Its mighty machinery was forged and put together, not on middle earth, but either above or below. If there were but angels to work it, instead of the very different class of engineers who now manage its cranks and safety-valves, the system would soon vindicate the dignity and holiness of its origin."

Romanism may well be an impressive superstition and religion; for it is a conglomerate, as I have already said, of the gorgeous and elaborate polytheisms of Hellas and Italy. In it may be found conjoined the superstitions of primitive Egypt, Western Asia, Greece, and Italy, with all their ritualistic pomps and splendors. It is an elaborate hierarchy, with only the least possible infusion in it of the spirit of the Prophet of Galilee, who was the foe of priesthoods and haughty personal dominations of all sorts. Hawthorne was a typical Puritan, like Milton, of a highly æsthetic sort. He was a New Englander and American of the most uncompromising character, so that his European experiences rather intensified than diminished his Americanism. In this, he was unlike his friend and contemporary, Longfellow, who became largely Europeanized by his sojourns abroad, and also largely Romanized in a sentimental way.

At any rate, his "Evangeline" gave, and continues to give, great aid and comfort to Romanism. But Longfellow, though amiable and charming personally and poetically, was greatly the inferior of Hawthorne, who was *sui generis* and unapproached in his genius.

B. W. BALL.

THE ETHICS OF PROPERTY.

II.

Let us try to educe from such concrete facts as the pre-cited (last week), their essence, in a formula which that flat-footed housemaid, Experience, shall not brush away with philosophical cobwebs. Property (ethically defined) is the *benefit reciprocated* by other beings or terra-solar organs, individuate or collective, of the impressions we make on them.

Men and other animals are individuate, but may become collective by social synthesis, as in organized societies. The soil is a collective organ of that planetary life which implies solar influence, hence terra-solar. Plants rooted in the soil, and nourished also by the air and waters, are intermediate, or at once individuate and collective. With particular trees, individualized by our cherishing care and life-long associations, the relation of property is higher than it can be with grains or roots grown in mass, sold by the bushel and consumed every season. Their relation with us is collateral simply to that of their perennial source, the soil.

The rose or the cabbage reflects its gardener's intelligent fulfilment of the purpose that informs it, æsthetic or esculent, completing a circuit of creative will between their human and planetary factors in the collective terra-solar life.

When an enterprising gardener, in evolving the ideal cabbage from the depths of his consciousness, is transported by its mild and moist genius to Puget Sound, he progresses a step into ethical property. Entering the sphere of his reciprocal benefit as a customer; my seed beds, with equal chances for the Puget Sound and Pennsylvania seed, show twenty fine plants of Western origin for one of Eastern. Thus, by forethought and experimental energy, one gardener acquires higher right in a particular culture, whose repute justly profits him, in the same ratio as horticultural society at large. His labor is composite, by consociation with organic terra-solar life forces in their intelligent distribution. By this intellectual element superadded to labor, a special view being prosecuted at personal cost, he becomes a proper candidate for horticultural awards, either honorary or pecuniary, from societies of that class. Reputation thus enhances the profits of skill and successful persistence in realizing an ideal. A higher meed accrues to that sub-creation by which a Van Mons becomes the godfather of fine new varieties of pears, at the same time elucidating the general law of variation in seedlings. Such propagators and hybridizers are producers at once actual and potential, and take rank with inventors or discoverers, in ratio with the social value of their respective successes. No question as to costs can arise here: the greatest may be in pure loss, the enterprising take the chances. They are always a supposable element in merit, and like past labor, concur to form a capital of knowledge and judgment. Inventors and discoverers must often be martyrs to their work; and premiums, when accorded to success, will be more or less capricious, as personal intrigue and favor may supersede merit. This varies with the development of the sense of equity in societies. Gratitude now attaches only to the fashionable arts of pleasure, and chiefly to musicians. If the faint suggestions of

harmony, through sound, thus open purses, how liberal must we suppose the social spirit, when harmony prevails in all sensual and social relations! Such partiality to a fine art entails much injustice toward simple necessary labor. Song birds are insectivorous, and the instincts of society find it less necessary to *be*, than to be splendid. Luxury above all; then comforts; and as for the necessities, they may take care for themselves. *Care* indeed is inherent to their costs. Equity, the idea of which seems to have entered Nature some time after the birth of man, is an instinct of slow as well as late evolution. In the future, as in the past, we may expect partial verdicts; but is it not a less evil, that benefactors of society should sometimes miss their dues, than that that fifth wheel of the coach, called government, itself a privilege, should be invested with arbitrary power to confer privileges, and to pension its favorites from the public purse?

Moreover, as regards property in patents deriving their authority from constituted governments, (and which thus engenders a conservative State party), the experience of inventions—of printing, of gunpowder, of the steam-engine, of photography, etc.—proves that, in the natural evolution of science, every important idea, which in its turn rises upon our horizon of life, finds its rays reflected at once from the facets of minds differently impersonated. It is as if the idea itself were a person, and the inventors, media selected by this person for his uses. Why then should awards or patents be more exclusive than inspirations?

In exploring the golden veins of thought, intellectual men are apt to extravagagate in claims of fancied privilege. See Dickens' solicitude about international copyrights. In nearly every case of a book published in two or more countries, the author or his first publisher has realized as much as costs, at least, before there would be any temptation to infringe upon his privilege of sales. Finally, the books that make fortunes are almost exclusively *fictions*; i.e., works of amusement, and of no value to industry, the arts, or sciences. Moreover, these works of imagination repay themselves by pleasurable emotions in the composer, very different from the conscientious labor required by great works of science.

Copyrighters and patentees should reflect that the only law of nature from which we can borrow suggestion in translating physics by morality, is that gravitative and magnetic forces draw inversely to the *squares* of the distances between their subjects. The analogous attraction of cumulative past labor in capital over present labor, in the form of interest, should diminish in such ratio to the distance in time from the originally producing labor. A general ratio, though inexact, as is natural to all forces translated from the stable equilibrium of physial Nature to the unstable equilibrium of human affairs, obtains between the periods of distance in *time* from labor producing, and the cumulative mass of capital produced. It is curious that the attribution of three-twelfths to capital arbitrarily assigned by Fourier is exactly its customary allowance here as the rent on soils in cotton culture. The artist's faculty is his potential capital which the work copyrighted or patented renders actual. Patents ought then to die out by the same gradual diminution as the awards to other capital. The graduated income tax is an arbitrary method of applying the same law by State governments.

On the other hand, advocates of the "cost limit of price" principle are prone to be niggardly toward skill, and hence to its higher degrees in discoveries or inventions, pretending that devotion brings its own reward. The impossibility to esti-

mate even approximately the various costs of effort and of sacrifice, material and psychic, incident to such devotion, betrays one of the defects of this mode of appraisement. Cost is certainly a true factor in estimates, but cannot vindicate its assumption to be the sole factor. The caprice of individual sovereignty in estimating costs receives a natural correction in case of products measurable alike in quality and quantity, as are provisions and most goods in commerce. Here, however, the exchange of hour for hour, to be just, must imply equal skill in parallel conditions of hygiene. Another complication in estimating costs arises from the painful sacrifice of higher and more pleasurable capacities, which necessary routine labors may exact.

Fortunately, the exactness of ethical adjudications loses its importance in view of the multiplication and the force of social ties which counterpoise accumulation, and assimilate the influence of capital to that of streams which disappear in fertilizing soils.

M. E. LAZARUS.

CONVENTION OF THE F. R. A. AT FLORENCE, MASS.

Wednesday evening, November 19.—Address of welcome, by William H. Spencer. Address by the President, William J. Potter. Subject, "Nineteenth Century Religion."

Thursday morning, November 20.—Subject, "Secularization of the State." Opening paper by Fred May Holland. Addresses by B. F. Underwood and others.

Thursday afternoon.—Subject, "Radical Work for the Young." Opening addresses by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Mrs. Elizabeth Powell Bond.

Thursday evening.—Subject, "The Practical Side of Religion." Address by Frederic A. Hinckley on "The Human Question," followed by speeches from Miss Mary F. Eastman and Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz.

There will be opportunity for discussion at each session.

F. A. HINCKLEY,

Sec'y F. R. A.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"GEORGE ELIOT'S LIFE AND LETTERS," edited by Mr. Cross, and filling three large volumes, will be issued in England this month.

"It is not alone" in Roman Catholic countries, says Rev. James S. Bush, in his work just published, *The Evidences of Faith*, "that the popular suspicion of insincerity among the clergy is increasing; and it is a melancholy sign of the decadence of religious faith, when the rulers of a Church continue to teach what they no longer believe."

THE note of Rev. Tollemache-Tollemache, which has been so severely commented upon, was as follows:—

SOUTH WITHAM RECTORY, Sept. 17, 1884.

All the villagers desirous of coming to my house approach it in a becoming and respectful manner; i.e., through the backway and kitchen door. There is not a farmer in the place who ever has had, or would have, the impertinence to do otherwise. I desire that in the future you will do the like.

R. W. L. TOLLEMACHE-TOLLEMACHE.

To the teacher of the Board School, South Witham.

THE student whom the Johns Hopkins refused because she was a woman, Martha Cary Thomas, of Baltimore, has just received the degree of Ph.D. *summa cum laude*, the fourth and highest degree which the university of Zürich can bestow. Think of America sending her republi-

can daughters to the heart of Europe to receive their degrees of lofty scholarship! Think of Europe emerging from her mediævalism before America! Think of the universities of Switzerland, of Italy, of Austria, of Sweden, of France shaming Columbia and Harvard!—*Woman's Journal*.

MR. CHARLES ELLIS, known a few years ago as a radical lecturer and whose name is familiar to our readers as an occasional contributor to *The Index*, has been in this city for a short time. He is, we are glad to see, in improved health. Mr. Ellis was always in favor of liberal organizations, which should combine with the fullest freedom a high order of thought and work of a fine quality. Not finding encouragement in the formation of such societies, he gave up lecturing, and has since devoted himself to literary work. As a writer, his productions always show the same high character that attracted attention to his lectures. We have always been desirous of seeing him engaged on the platform, and hope that he will yet return to the field in which he can use his talents for the greatest good.

THE life of Dr. William Wells Brown, who died at Chelsea, Mass., last week, was, as the *Springfield Republican* says, "not only a record of noble philanthropy, but an inspiration to his race, and a striking example of the power of man to lift himself above the most depressing surroundings." He was born a slave in Kentucky sixty-eight years ago, and was twenty-six years old when he escaped, and commenced working as a steward on a steamer. He educated himself; became one of the anti-slavery orators and writers; represented the American Peace Society in the Congress at Paris in 1849; delivered lectures in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which attracted wide attention and gained him the friendship of statesmen and scholars, meanwhile studying medicine; and at the end of six years returned to this country, and used his voice and pen in supporting the anti-slavery movement. Of late years, he had been devoted to the cause of temperance and education, especially among his own people.

A WRITER of ability and reputation, a contributor to the London quarterly, *Mind*, writes us: "As you say, Fiske's spiritualization of the 'infinite and eternal power' amounts to a theological twist quite unwarranted by the logic of facts. Mind is indeed, in all its manifestations, vastly more evanescent than the extra-mental existent and mentally signified. As for the 'Absolute,' it seems to me there is not the least ground for assuming a universal, all-effective energy behind the definite complexes of power, which actually compel our perceptions. And these compelling powers, when they are not other human beings, are inferior to our own nature. The progressive drift of evolution, taking place beyond all consciousness, is the one fact which points to an inscrutable guidance of events." We quite agree with our learned friend that there is no reason to believe in a "universal, all-effective energy behind the definite complexes of power which actually compel our perceptions"; but is not the power itself which compels our perceptions and operates universally absolute in the sense in which that word is used by thinkers? And of this power, this ultimate existence, by whatever name called, is not even "the progressive drift of evolution taking place beyond all consciousness," as disclosed to us, a phenomenal manifestation? Whether the ultimate existence is psychical in its nature we do not profess to know. Our objection to Mr. Fiske's statement was that, after declaring his belief in the psychical nature of the ultimate reality, he erroneously

claimed that this was also the position of Herbert Spencer.

REV. MR. WOODROW, of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S.C., has his own notions as to the origin of man and woman. He wants to harmonize evolution with Genesis; and so he claims that Adam's body was developed from the body of a brute, but that his soul was introduced by the direct act of God, that afterward Eve's body was made supernaturally from a rib of Adam. The Board of Trustees by a vote of eight to three sustain the author of this unique theory so far as to say that "there is nothing in the doctrine of evolution, as defined and limited by him, which appears inconsistent with perfect soundness in the faith." But the minority of the Board give the following reasons for protesting against Rev. Woodrow's views as heretical:—

First.—Evolution is an unproved hypothesis, and the Seminary is not the place for such teaching.

Second.—Belief in evolution changes the interpretation of many passages of Scripture from that now received by the Church.

Third.—The view that the body of Adam was evolved from lower animals and not formed by a supernatural act of God is dangerous and hurtful.

Fourth.—The theory that Adam's body was formed by the natural law of evolution, while Eve's was created by a supernatural act of God, is contrary to our confession of faith, as that confession of faith has been and is interpreted by our Church.

Fifth.—The advocacy of views which have received neither the indorsement of the Board nor that of the Synods having control of the Seminary, which have not been established by science, which have no authority from the Word of God, which tend to unsettle the received interpretation of many passages of Scripture, and to destroy the confidence of the Church in her doctrinal standards, which have already produced so much evil, and which will injure the Seminary and may rend our Church, ought not to be allowed.

The two reports have been the subject of considerable controversy among the orthodox ministers of the South. Recently, the Presbyterian Synod at Greenville, S.C., was engaged several days in a warm and spirited discussion of Evolution, several leading divines participating. The question was settled by the adoption of the following resolution, 50 voting for and 45 against it: "Resolved, That in the opinion of the Synod the teaching of evolution in the theological seminary at Columbia, except in a purely expository manner, with no intention of inculcating its truth, is hereby disapproved."

THE INDEX, in its criticism of the action taken by the National Liberal League at its last annual meetings, is sustained by the *Radical Review*, which says: "But, as we have stated, the League had pledged its members to the repeal policy. Now, if it sincerely desired the reconciliation of the two hostile liberal factions, it ought, therefore, to have rescinded the resolutions pledging it to the 'repeal' policy, instead of passing the whole matter over in silence. That would have been honest." "Was it not stultification on the part of the League to elect him [Ingersoll] to that position, when we remember that he had left it because it indorsed the 'repeal' policy, and when the League still indorses that policy?" Of the same purport are these sentences from an editorial in Monroe's *Iron-clad Age* of last week: "These [the objectionable resolutions] left unrepealed are in full force, like the Delaware laws against blasphemy that came so near catching our Robert. . . . If the League Congress was sincerely in earnest in its efforts to bury bygones and bring about reconciliation, fairness, and good feeling, it is to be regretted that it left open any avenue for misunderstanding to creep in." The *Freidenker*, the leading German free-thought journal of the country, whose objections

to the League we should in fairness state are not in all respects the same as our own, says of the organization, in view of the action at Cassadaga, that "we no longer feel ourselves one with the same. It has enormously removed itself from us." The *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, in a lengthy editorial, criticises the League on the grounds stated above, and because it has issued a programme for the promulgation of secularism, while professing to be limited in its scope to State secularization. *Lucifer*, published at Valley Falls, Kan., hitherto one of the staunchest defenders of the League, and *Liberty*, Mr. Tucker's little paper, are among the journals which have withdrawn from the League all sympathy, because of its action at Cassadaga, which they regard as inconsistent and temporizing. No paper that opposed the League prior to its late convention supports it now, while several of those that defended it then have abandoned it since. We have already stated that, so far as the League confines its work to State secularization, it will have our best wishes; but no amount of abuse in papers that suppress the truth by the advice of the leaders of the League shall prevent independent and candid criticism of its action in these columns.

For The Index.

A HARVEST DAY.

"Im engen Kreis verengert sich der Sinn."—Schüller.

"The mind grows narrow in a petty round."
Thus did I read the grand old poet's phrase,
And thought upon my dull, disheartening days
Which no bright noontides, no rich sunsets crowned.

In vain I beat my wings against the bars,
Scorning the trifling cares, the lower range.
My fellowship I deemed was with the strange,
Free souls whose course sped straightest to the stars.

One day, when flaming autumn robed the lands,
I wandered forth, my irksome tasks undone,
To warm my chilled frame 'neath the chary sun,
And take the year's gold with belated hands.

Beside brown fields I rested, where the soil
Its royal largess late had yielded up,
To furnish forth the loaf, to fill the cup
Which Time awards to honest, sturdy toil.

A feeble crone who gleaned the scattered ears
Raised her dim eyes. "O great, rich world!" she cried:
"So much for hope! So much for love and pride!
O, world, I thank thee!"—this with happy tears,

And joyful smiled, and bound her slender sheaves.
The whole round world was hers, beyond her cot.
Ashamed, I faced once more my lowly lot,
And homeward walked beneath the flaming leaves.

HELEN T. CLARK.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PENN.

For The Index.

A SONNET.

When o'er my soul a twilight darkness lies,
And I discouraged can do naught but pray
That soon the Light of Truth may find the way
Into my saddened soul, all passion dies
Within me: a great, wide-spread content
Fills all my being, and I feel my heart
And mind and soul expanding with the smart
Of hidden ecstasy. Then am I bent
From my own will to His, the God of Truth;
And I can say with tear-stained eyes and wet,
"More patience, Lord: I know Truth is not yet,
But my poor heart is sore with bitter ruth
Waiting for dawn." I'm glad I have been taught
"Thy will be done": my will, shall be as naught.

M. L. B. O.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

Evolution of Masonry and Theology.*

BY F. B. STEPHENSON, A.M.,

Membre titulaire de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

(Concluded from last week.)

As the sun at the four stations, in the ancient symbolic chart, was figured by a human form, so, in course of ages, each one of the several images came to represent a distinct person. The history of these various persons was handed down through widely separate lands, and became so many independent versions of the original allegory with the usual imperfections resulting from the errors of human narrators. These four stories may be seen in the four Gospels, all referring to the same individuality,—the one sun.⁶ The two Saints John are two of the four suns. One is young and loving, the other is old and rough. One is typical of morning and of spring, the other of evening and of autumn. As the sun of the next day appears, we see him called Son of Man, as well as Son of God. The elder John knows that he must decrease, while the new sun and saviour must increase. The new sun is lowly born in the east. At an early age, he rises to talk with the "wise men in the temple" of the upper world, and astonishes them with his learning. He is aware that the noontide Ruler and himself are in the same duty. "I and my Father are one." He is

*I give names of some of the authorities consulted. A complete list would be much longer. There are scores of books in Astor Library and Brooklyn Library which I have looked into and culled from for confirmation of the main ideas presented: *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, J. C. Pritchard; *Bible Myths*, Anonymous; *Encyclopædia Britannica*; *Histoire Abrégée de Différents Cultes*, J. A. Du Laure; *History of Masonry*, Reboid; "History of Zulu Indians," F. H. Cushing, in *Century* magazine, 1883; *Isis Unveiled*, H. P. Blavatsky; *Les Origines des Cultes*, Dupuis; *Life of Jesus*, D. F. Strauss; *Mythology and Folklore*, G. W. Cox; *Mythology of the New World*, D. G. Brington; *On Ancient Egypt*, Bunsen; *On Mankind, their Origin and Destiny*, an M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford; *Philosophy of Mythology*, Max Müller; *The Bible, The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Robert Brown, Jr.; *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, G. S. Faber; *Zoological Mythology*, De Gubernatis; *Masonic Writings of Albert Pike*; *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, G. W. Cox.

the God-Man. He is sent "by the Father." From each and from both goes forth the Holy Spirit of Light and Truth. As he, the rising one, has passed the youthful days, and continues his mission of good, his upward course, the elder John, the dethroned sun of sinking day and year, his supposed antagonist, strives to resist him. "Comest thou to me?" he asks. "Suffer it to be so now," says the voice of authority. The man of the leathern raiment splashes the waters of the dark river upon the son (or sun) of the morning,—baptism in Jordan,—but he cannot restrain his progress. It is the will of the All-Father. The God of heaven, by the typical dove, acknowledged him as son; and the course of nature goes on. At last, the time comes when he, the new sun, in turn is lifted up, placed on the cross (the astro-nomic cross) in sight of all the earth. With him are two personages. On the one hand is a mild and loving being, on the other one fierce and cursing. They are types of hopeful morning and spring, of despairing evening and autumn. Then the central sun himself passes through the night's darkness, the winter's cold and nakedness, through the valley of death. Three spaces of time he tarries in the regions below, before the early dawn, the vernal equinox, and then begins to rise again, and by "three efforts," or periods, ascends to highest heaven, the resplendent sun, the type of light, of truth, of life.

"The third day there was a marriage in Cana." The miracle of Cana is an allegory of the sun producing the juice of the grape from water through the usual course of nature.⁷ The Son of Man fed the multitudes. He touched the food, and it was multiplied in his hands. He told his disciples some things they understood not, some ideas they were not yet able to bear. He gave light, sometimes partially, sometimes fully, now gradually, again suddenly. The eyes of the physically and spiritually blind were opened, according as they could bear the light. He employed means to bring the uninitiated "to the light." He gave the twelve (months,—disciples) bread and wine (as the autumn does to the year). He partook of the "bitter libation." Consider the allegoric signification of Christ being tempted by the Prince of Darkness—and of the history of Judas. The symbolic meaning of Jesus saying three times that he must go up to be crucified may be inferred. "The end of the world" means the "end of the year." The coming of the Messiah or Saviour is the resurrection of the sun with the new day,—the return of the sun with the new year. A prominent Jewish writer has said our "Messiah is Truth." Jesus teaches the brotherhood of men, and that we all have one God,—Father, Lord of Light and Truth. The great civilized community is the modern "City of God," the kingdom of heaven.

In the story of Babel, which may represent, at least in part, merely a lodge or portion of a theological system, great stress was laid upon material work,—they would build a tower to heaven. Moral force spoke against such a degradation of the true light, and there arose a confusion of tongues. When, as related in the New Testament, the Spirit came, it was as the sound of a "rushing, mighty wind, which filled the house." The chosen ones received the gift of tongues; that is, they were made masons, and received the true inspiration. "Every man heard them [the apostles] speak in his own language"; that is, in the universal speech, or the language of truth, masonic terms. This infusion of the Spirit was the advent of the higher life among men at that time. In this higher life, not living by bread alone, should modern civilization find solid basis, and, by this en-

lightenment, the true way of progress be discovered.

In the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel by Matthew are several verses of symbolic teaching. Since the story of the agony in the garden is rejected by the critics as not being a part of the canonical books, its presence among them, and the manner of its coming, may serve to explain the way in which arose different versions and modifications of one original allegory.

We read, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God." In him was life and light. The Greek "Logos," which is translated "Word," may come from a word which means "archives." It thus might mean the place where mental life is; and so the alphabet would be "Logos" (which also means speech, discourse, wisdom), from which the Perfect Light goes forth, as the rising sun, to dispel the darkness of ignorance, prevent sin, and bring about the rule of truth and right.

The thought contained in the sentence, "I am the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever," was written in reference to the divinity of the Hindus long before the time of Moses.

In the mysteries of India, the initiate was divested of his shoes, and clothed in a garment without a seam (compare the seamless robe of Christ). On him was put a cord of three strands, so twined as to make three times three (cable-tow); and he was made to go three times around the cavern. Silence, fortitude, prudence, temperance, and justice were inculcated. He was sprinkled with water (baptism). There were secrets never to be divulged "except to those who, after long trial, should be found worthy." Certain formulæ of the Brahmins were never written, but were (and yet are) imparted by a whisper in the ear.

In the Persian mysteries, the candidate was received on the point of the sword, presented to his "naked left breast," by which he was slightly wounded. The priests of Mithras promised the initiates a deliverance from sin, by means of confession and baptism.

The Egyptian priests revered a being whom they called the Great One. Initiation into the mysteries, as practised by them, was considered a symbolic death and descent to a place of purification (purgatory), with subsequent resurrection to new life, which was to typify a higher intelligence; that is, more light to the mind. One of their legends relates that a certain personage (Osiris or Horus) was born of a virgin, slain by the enemy, and his body hidden. After long search, the remains were found and buried by friends. Then followed resurrection.

The mysteries of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and Phœnicia, gave rise and elaboration or development to those of the Hebrews. The mysteries of the Essenes were derived, in great part, from those of the antecedent and contemporaneous Hebrews; and from these, in turn, came the secret rites of Christians, who used the Jewish modification of many peculiar terms.⁸ At its beginning, Christianity was an initiation, like that of pagan religious societies; and one part of the ceremony was the "bringing to light."

The use of incense in different religious systems (so-called churches), the laying on of hands, the degrees or stages of advance, and other ceremonies, are very significant in considering the question of origin of these associations. The similarity of the ritual of the various Christian churches and that of the religious systems of the ancient world (or that of the "lodge") suggests their common origin. The substance of the ceremonies and mysteries which constituted the early Christian worship may be found in the forms of sun worship or nature worship. The celebration of these rites

was called the mass, the Latin name of which (*missa*) is full of meaning.

These ancient mysteries were a kind of inner, purer religion, of which the practices of the populace became corruptions and degenerations, and sometimes the most decided degradations.

The different systems of religion that have arisen, both before and after Christianity, are of the same general form with it, being more or less varied in completeness and in extent of ceremonial.

The legendary poems of ancient Greece contain illustrations of the sun allegory. In Homer's *Iliad*, Book First, lines 531-535, it is said that Jove went to hold a banquet among the Ethiopians (that is, in the region of night and of winter), and with him went all the train of the gods (that is, all the celestial host). Twelve days, or spaces of time, must elapse ere he returned to heaven. Recall, in this connection, the history of Priam, Hector, and Achilles (the younger binds the elder to his chariot wheels, and drags him in the dust), and the Laokoön (contest against time). The victories of Hercules are but exhibitions of the solar power which have to be ever repeated. The twelve labors are twelve months.

In ancient Roman mythology, we find a form of the sun allegory presented by the history of Romulus and Remus. The double-faced Janus is a figure of the year. The young face typifies the happy morning and joyous spring: the aged one means evening and autumn (or the phases of the day, the beginning and end of the cycle of seasons). When intelligently conceived, they are not antagonists, but harmoniously unite to complete the round of nature.

The legends of Scotland, Norway, and Sweden, teach us that Odin came from Asia through Eastern Europe. The religious systems of the Goths and kindred peoples of North Europe are similar in their supernatural features to those of Greece and Rome. The story of Faust and Mephistopheles is very ancient, and may be viewed as a form of the allegory of the sun.

Many illustrations of this idea may be found in the hieroglyphic literature of Egypt, in Homer, in Hesiod, Virgil, Dante, and Milton, as well as in the folk-lore of various peoples and places.

By the monks of Thibet, the priests of Hindustan, Egypt, Persia, Assyria, Samothrace, Eleusis, Rome, and those of peoples in every country thence around the earth to the mountains of China, the mysteries of numbers and symbols were used, all pointing to the variety and harmony, the beauty and grandeur of the universe of God. From India, through nations and countries encircling the world westward to India again, the worship of the sun or nature worship has furnished the central idea of multiform idolatries.⁹

In modern masonry, the typical personage is the representative of the sun in his apparent progress through the heavens. He appears at the south gate of the celestial temple, and passing this point receives the first blow (intimation of coming destruction or death). Going on toward the west, he receives another more serious wound, and "blood is drawn." As he approaches the north, the dim-night point, he is put to death by another sun, transformed to a spirit of darkness, and for a time the Evil One is triumphant. The representative lies in the tomb three spaces of time, and then is raised by three trials to become again the king of earth, enthroned in heaven.

About Christmas time, the solar year commences to be (born again), and the days begin to grow longer. The ring (*annulus*) of the seasons rolls on. After the seed-time of spring follow the ripening of summer and the harvests of autumn; while winter is the year grown old, which "must be born

again." The passage of the twenty-four hours of the day may be symbolized in like manner.

In the term "Hiram" is easily recognized Brahma of the Hindus, Osiris of the Egyptians, Mithras of the Persians, Bacchus of the Greeks Balder the Beautiful¹⁰ of the Goths; and many others might be named of which these various peoples celebrated the birth, maturity, downfall, and death, with resurrection to a new life and glory. Each became a source of power, joy, and triumph to the respective nation. Even so are the ceremonies connected with the worship of the one who "was called a Nazarene."

The historic or generic existence of the various entities or individualities herein referred to is possible or even probable; but many of the circumstances alleged of them (constituting perhaps the *mythos*, respectively) seem explicable by reasonings from phenomena observed of impersonal nature.

The allegory of the apparent course of the sun is the history of the twenty-four hours of each earthly day, the symbolic record of the year; and human life may be thus typified:—

"Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies:
They fall successive, and successive rise.
So generations in their course decay,
So flourish these when those have passed away."

—Homer.

In like manner may be portrayed the history of the birth, rise, progress, downfall, and death of nations.

While special forms of life dissolve away as the ever approaching west is brought successively near, the race lives on.

The "Great Architect" is over all; and the mercy of the Supreme Ruler is "from everlasting to everlasting," that all may know his ways and obey his laws.

These allegories, drawn from the motions of celestial bodies, have lost much of their primitive beauty in the modern scientific mind; but they seemed more interesting and impressive in the days of the ancient wise man, who represented the sun and stars as homes of powerful beings and pure spirits. Yet in this stupendous vastness of universal nature is an awful grandeur that must make the thoughtful mind devout.

Upon this symbolic chain of ideas have been hung many wise moral teachings which human experience has found good for man's guidance through life.

Through careful research and observation, (masonry or) modern theology is found to be very ancient in origin, and to have come down to the present time through many and various channels. Nevertheless, though now widely spread among men of different races and languages, the central ideas thereof remain essentially as in the beginning. In its truth and purity, masonry may well be called the universal religion.

As the history of human thought is studied, it may be seen that, while various systems of religion have arisen, flourished, and decayed, the eternal principles of right remain. By these principles founded on truth,¹¹ men should govern themselves. Morality is not dependent upon theology, but is of far higher source and of much greater value.

⁹ The existence of other versions of the allegory, variously full in particulars, is not denied.

¹⁰ "To the contemplative mind, humanity is the mysterious power that, over all the face of inanimate nature, turns water into wine."

¹¹ The Hebrew element in masonry is comparatively modern, and its presence is an illustration of the influence of local circumstances and of different languages upon the original purity of symbolic representations and expressions.

¹² Esoteric and exoteric Buddhism may be cited as illustrative of the antiquity and territorial extension of the

main ideas of this essay. The wide-spread existence of associations of men of various nations,—from India through Persia and Assyria to Egypt,—before and during the time of Alexander the Great, is interesting in this connection.

¹⁰ When Balder was wounded by the mistletoe, the assembled gods were "struck with horror." He was made (in the legend) to drink from a human skull. A ring was given him to wear on the finger as a safeguard.

¹¹ "Magna est veritas et praevalabit."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NEW YORK DIET KITCHENS.

Editors of The Index:—

An English gentleman who has recently visited the United States on a tour of investigation and inspection of our more notable charitable institutions has written to a London newspaper that it would be well for that city and Paris to copy the New York charities; and, of them, he particularly mentions the diet kitchens for the sick poor. This is praise indeed as coming from an Englishman, as everything British is generally considered right and everything American wrong by our cousins over the water.

The diet kitchens are three in number, and are located in different parts of the city, where they are most needed, in neighborhoods of terrible squalor and wretchedness. They were inaugurated eleven years since, under the name of "The New York Diet Kitchen Association," and have been supported by voluntary contributions, legacies, and donations, the city government occasionally making small appropriations for them. Any one paying the small sum of three dollars annually can become a member. The membership of the organization includes both men and women, but the whole control of affairs is managed by women. The president, vice-president, and all the officers are women, with an advisory of men who are mere ornamental figures in the society. Every woman in our country may well be proud of the ability shown by the lady managers of this Association. Their tact, clear-mindedness, and self-possession have been admitted by all who are acquainted with the methods of this most excellent charity. Many of the prominent physicians of New York have testified to the benefit of these kitchens to the sick poor.

The object of the society is to furnish nourishment to the destitute in time of illness. The chief articles supplied are beef tea, milk, and bread; and many poor creatures with barely life enough to crawl to the kitchens for sustenance have been saved from an untimely end. The free medical dispensaries of the city are closely connected with these establishments. The poor apply to them for treatment and medicine. If the attendant physician finds them unable to buy nourishment of a suitable character, he gives them a ticket to the matron of the diet kitchen, on which is written a requisition for whatever is needed, for a given space of time,—usually one week. On the other side of the card is printed, "Take a clean vessel with you,"—a necessary precaution, as poverty is generally very untidy. The address, too, of the petitioner is written on the card by the physician.

The matron takes the ticket, and supplies the demand. But her task does not end here. She has one far more trying. It is her duty to visit the abiding-places of those who present themselves or for whom nourishment is asked. She must climb stairs to unclean attics, or go down into dingy cellars, anywhere the address bids her to inspect, in order to learn the true situation of the impecunious invalid. She sees at a glance if it is a case demanding charity, or if humbug has been resorted to for food. She makes eighteen visits sometimes in a single afternoon, and for this labor with her other duties is paid about \$400 a year. This visiting of the matron is an admirable provision, as busy physicians have little time to investigate into the pecuniary condition of their charity patients, while the quick intuitions of a woman divine their needs at once, and she reports accordingly.

At one of the kitchens, the number of applicants is frequently between eighty and ninety daily; and the ratio increases at the rate of one thousand a year. This is a startling fact, as the increase of the population would hardly warrant it. And here arises the interesting question whether the poorer classes of New York become more demoralized and wretched

with the progress of time and civilization, or that the wisest of charities fosters pauperism. During 1883, at the three kitchens, ninety thousand pints of milk were given for sick children. Who could refuse nourishment for the little ones, whatever the parents or relatives may be? It is sad to mention in this connection that drunkenness is the sole cause of distress in very many cases of application.

It might be a lesson to many who are dissatisfied with the comforts of life without its splendors and elegancies to watch the procession which enters either one of the diet kitchens at noon any day of the year,—the pale woman who still has the something about her that tells of better days; the women who are shame-faced to be seen asking for charity, and half hide their features; and the brazen ones. Alas! it is a terrible sight as they present their tin pails for food for themselves or their sick in their wretched hiding-places.

Most of the applicants are foreigners. There is rarely an American in the long line of poverty-stricken creatures, rarely a Jew or colored person, and never a Chinese.

With all the precautions taken against fraud, not infrequently a genuine case of obtaining food under false pretences is discovered. A miserly woman had milk and bread for days, when it was learned she had money at interest. Another woman obtained milk to make a pudding for her boarders. Still another had excited great sympathy for her sick children whom she was forced to leave alone while she went out to work, until it was learned her husband was lying in her room drunk from day to day. Such instances only sharpen the eyes of the matrons, until they become the cleverest of detectives.

It was the ladies of New York who first established such head-quarters of relief for the sick poor. Their example has been followed since in other cities, and sometimes under a more pretentious name. For the plain, unadorned rooms used for the purposes described, the word "kitchen" seems very appropriate; and it is one that pleases the taste of the average Knickerbocker.

ELLEN E. DICKINSON.

"REASON THE ONLY ORACLE OF MAN."

Editors of The Index:—

The above is the title of a book (elsewhere termed *Oracles of Reason*) of which few copies are to be found, written by Ethan Allen, prior to 1782, and published by Huswell & Russell at Bennington, Vt., for the author, in 1784.

A very small edition was printed, and this was subsequently suppressed by the author's friends as much as possible. One copy is in the State library at Montpelier, slightly defective in the table of contents. Another and complete copy belongs to the Vermont Historical Society, having been presented (in January, 1882) by the late J. N. Pomeroy, Esq., of Burlington. This copy has written in it, by the author himself, the following several inscriptions:—

"Dear Fanny, wife, the Beautiful and Young, the partner of my joys, my dearest self, pride of my life, your sex's pride and pattern of sincere politeness: To thee a compliment I make of treasures rich, the *Oracles of Reason*."

"Ethan Allen was born 21st of January, 1739, and Fanny, his wife, was born 4th April, 1760, and were married February the 16, 1784."

"This book is a present from the author to his lady."

Ethan Allen was twice married, his first wife dying at Arlington in 1783. He died of apoplexy, near Burlington, Feb. 12, 1789, aged fifty years; not living to see his proud little commonwealth, nor his own services to the nation acknowledged by Congress, as they have since been. Statues of him in marble have been erected at Burlington and at Montpelier, and some attempts have been made to do justice to his life and memory.

His political writings were numerous, and, like his military actions, were pointed, sharp, effective. Upon these chiefly his reputation rests; but the freedom which characterized his mind and spirit in politics was equally a factor in his religion. He was no servant of tradition, fear, or custom, but believed sincerely in Deity, in moral duty, and in future existence with rewards and punishments. He discarded miracles and supernatural revelation as incredible, impossible; and for this he was denounced and feared, though his life was as upright, moral, and honorable

as others of his time. It cannot be disputed that he was honorable, generous, just, a kind and noble man.

But he thought in advance of his time. Without education or books, he was a free, direct, original thinker, and sought for the truth of things. It has been charged that he derived his ideas from reading English Deistical writings, and from one Thomas Young, a noted infidel of his time, who resided in Connecticut, and afterward removed to Philadelphia. It is not improbable that he met and conversed with noted men, both in this country and in England, who were of his way of thinking. But, in the preface to the *Oracles of Reason*, he writes: "In the circle of my acquaintance (which has not been small), I have generally been denominated a Deist, the reality of which I never disputed, being conscious I am no Christian, except mere infant baptism makes me one; and, as to being a Deist, I know not, strictly speaking, whether I am one or not, for I have never read their writings. Mine will therefore determine the matter, for I have not in the least disguised my sentiments."

The *Oracles of Reason* he regarded as his greatest work, the chief accomplishment of his life. It is elaborated with great care; and, though imperfect and incorrect in some particulars, for a man in his circumstances it is certainly a remarkable work. And, as a treatise on natural theology, even from the modern religious stand-point, it deserves exemption from the sweeping condemnation it has received at the hands of the defenders of "revealed religion." Mr. Sparks, while criticising severely the literary qualities of the book, yet admits that "some of the chapters on natural religion, the being and attributes of God, and the principles and obligations of morality, should perhaps be excepted; for, although they contain little that is new, yet they are written in a tone and express sentiments which may screen them from so heavy a censure." Mr. Sparks adds: "There is much to admire in the character of Ethan Allen. He was brave, generous, and frank, true to his friends, true to his country, consistent and unyielding in his purposes, seeking at all times to promote the best interests of mankind, a lover of social harmony, and a determined foe to the artifices of injustice and the encroachments of power. Few have suffered more in the cause of freedom, few have borne their sufferings with a firmer constancy or a loftier spirit."

Surely, a man of whom all this is said is entitled to a candid hearing of his religious opinions. The limits of this communication will not permit me to give an abstract of the *Oracles of Reason*; but, in my opinion, while not affirming the truth or untruth of it, even modern theologians have not been able to make any more direct, complete, and convincing statement of arguments for the existence of God and a moral government by God. It is what its author claimed, a system of natural theology. The vigor with which it applies reason and knowledge to religion is certainly remarkable, considering the age in which it was done. "We are obliged," says this book, "to admit an independent cause, and ascribe self-existence to it; . . . but the eternity or manner of the existence of a self-existent and independent being is to all finite capacities utterly incomprehensible."

Traces, like slight dawnings, of modern agnosticism, and even evolution, are not wanting. The author distinguishes between "creation" and "formation." The former he treats as "eternal and without succession," implying the necessary properties, qualities, aptitudes, which we denominate nature, while "formation" is modification and growth.

He rejects the Mosaic cosmogony, and says of ancient writers, "We should not act the part of severe critics with their writings any further than to prevent their obtrusion on the world as being infallible."

He argues for morality as "derived from natural fitness, and not from tradition." "Though natural evil," he says, "is unavoidable, yet moral evil may be prevented or remedied by the exercise of virtue." "Morality is therefore of more importance to us than any or all other attainments."

A. N. ADAMS.

OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONSIDERED.

Editors of The Index:—

A reform has never been inaugurated without many objectors; and the advancement of women, and the reform of the laws and usages against her social and political equality with men, are no excep-

tion to other reforms in this respect. There is a conservative element always opposed to new things. It predicts evil results without end sure to follow the adoption of liberal laws; and yet, when in spite of obstacles the reform moves on and is established, it finally ceases its opposition, and finds things not turning out so disastrously after all. Every one will admit the position occupied by women in the present time to be a long ways in advance of that of a century ago, and yet each step onward has been contested. Every obstacle that could be found has been diligently raked into her path; and, with unwearied patience and endurance, she has surmounted them, until in our own country in many of the States she stands almost on an equality with man except politically. And now that she, in company with a few noble, unselfish men, is striving for the franchise, the rakers are still at work hauling in obstacles to obstruct her march. I do not fear that they will at last be overcome, but they prolong the time when the freedom of woman may be hailed; and many faithful workers in this cause will not live to see the perfect fulfilment of their hopes.

Let us glance for a moment at some of the objections offered against woman suffrage. In an article entitled "The Remonstrants Right," found in *The Index* for October 16, the writer states as an objection that the baser element of womankind would be manipulated in the elections by political wire-workers, while the better sort would take no part or interest in the matter. He brings up the thirty thousand women of New York City who belong to the demi-monde as an instance of the kind of women that would vote. There are enough ignorant, unscrupulous voters now, he thinks, without adding a host of immoral women. What about the immoral men? The demi-monde is not composed of women alone. The writer does not say how many men have enlisted in its ranks, but we may safely place the number at double that of women. If there were no licentious men, there would be no prostitutes among women. What can be more inconsistent, more audacious, what more contemptibly egotistical or more insulting to women in general than to array the feminine part of the demi-monde in the rags of disgrace and banishment, and let the masculine part in broadcloth and fine linen soar into full political privilege? Licentiousness is the lowest of crimes, but it is not one atom more to be condemned in woman than in man. If it is deemed best to make certain conditions requisite for franchise, let them be made, but made the same for men and women. If lewd women are to be excluded, then also exclude lewd men; and the number of voters would be materially lessened. But where is the justice of denying the franchise to those women who wish to exercise it, because evil women might claim the same power, or because all women do not care for it? The nation needs the influence of women in its politics. The "woman-soul" is lacking there; and never will the politics of any country be elevated to the highest flame, until this want be supplied by the proper element. Woman will not be contaminated by her association with men in our government, and those who fear it do not see far enough.

Another objection is that women are already overworked, and the writer kindly suggests that to thrust upon them the burdens of political life would be inconsiderate. Women, with some exceptions, have enough to do, I admit; but their work is of a kind that might with great profit be exchanged in part for something different. If the writer would bring forward a plan by which a few of the endless kinds of work done in the household might be transferred to other hands, he would confer a real boon upon the overworked women he sympathizes with. The average tradesman or mechanic does his particular kind of work and gets his pay for it; but the wife of this man must bake and cook, sweep and dust, wash and iron, mend and make, bear and nourish children, and supply their ever-increasing wants, and all for her board and clothes, and not a dollar at the end of the weary day that she can call her own. After all this, she is denied a political existence because she has enough to do already. This is too outrageous to be suffered in silence. Take off some of the harassing cares of every day; put out the washing; hire skillful hands, not stiffened with hard work, to do the sewing; give the women a chance. Do away with the idea they have taken in with their mother's milk,—that they are, always were, and always must be, inferior to men; that the great concerns of the

world must be left to men, and the boys must run to quench the fire on the mountain-top, while the girls must keep the cat out of the cream-pot.

It does not take long to deposit a vote, and women would not neglect their work to do it. The few of them who would enter actively into political life would not be burdened with other cares to a great degree; and the homes would not be deserted, children would be born, and the elevating influence of woman would increase, although she exercised the elective franchise.

I certainly believe that there has never been brought forward an objection to woman suffrage which had any weight, and all the apparent ills which loom up like spectres will vanish entirely when approached with actual results. C. M. E.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE EVIDENCE OF FAITH. By James S. Bush, author of *More Words about the Bible*, etc. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1885. pp. 357. Price \$2.00.

We have in this volume a series of sermons by an Episcopalian clergyman whose religious views are much like those of Dr. R. Heber Newton. In these discourses, he endeavors to reach the average understanding of serious-minded people, and to present to them "the spiritual truth of Christianity as free as possible from the errors contained in the current traditional theology." He thinks that popular theological beliefs must be recast, and that the interests of Christianity are imperilled by the want of broader and more liberal treatment of religious themes. The impression rapidly spreading among the people, that the clergy lack sincerity and candor in dealing with them, can be removed only by admitting "traditional errors" and giving more attention to difficulties that perplex thoughtful minds. Appeals must be made to the spiritual nature of man, and reliance on miracles abandoned.

The late Mr. Morgan, some time president of the American Association of Natural Science, notwithstanding his well-known disbelief in miracles, said, a short time before his death, "My heart is with the Christian religion." Mr. Bush says that, if such men are denied the privileges of membership in the Church and excluded from the ministry, Christianity must look for no conquests in the future. True faith is not belief in books or dogmas, but "the heart's desire for the divine in character, in life, the divine that revealed itself in Jesus, in his hatred of shams and of all iniquities, in his love for the things that were just and true and beautiful in the lives of men." With all men who love the truth and do the right, God is an active moral force working in them.

The Scriptures men must be free to study with the closest scrutiny, and at liberty to "distinguish fact from fiction, poetry from prose, legend from history, tradition and speculation from revelation"; and belief in theological dogmas must not be regarded as the essential condition of Christian character or faith. In short, Mr. Bush divests the Christian system of much that has made it offensive to reason, and gives prominence to general ethical and religious principles underlying all the great systems of thought as the essentials of Christianity. It would be easy to raise objections and point out inconsistencies in this volume; but a work from an orthodox minister, containing so much judicious criticism, liberal thought, and common sense, we are not inclined to criticize. The style is scholarly, and the spirit candid and earnest.—B. F. U.

PERSEVERANCE ISLAND, or the Robinson Crusoe of the Nineteenth Century. By Douglas Frazer. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price \$1.50.

Stories of the Robinson Crusoe type have always been eagerly welcomed by all lovers of adventure, whether young or old, appealing as they do to our admiration of those traits of character in man which make him refuse to submit supinely to misfortune without desperate efforts to overcome the worst circumstances and to turn to his advantage even the evils which threaten him. The morals of such stories are elevating, since they excite feelings of emulation of the undaunted and cheerful spirit manifested by these heroes in their sorriest plights. This new number of the Crusoe family not only makes us admire him for the prompt and practical energy he exhibits, but also for his varied and encyclopedic scientific knowledge, which enables him, in the words

of the author, to "surpass the achievements of all his predecessors, and to surround himself with implements of power and science beyond the reach of his prototype, who had his wreck as a reservoir from which to draw his munitions," while the hero of *Perseverance Island* had nothing except his brain, his hands, and the natural resources of his island from which to work some very marvellous results. The story is naturally and interestingly told, has over a dozen full-page illustrations, is handsomely bound, and altogether makes a most inviting addition to the list of holiday books for the young. S. A. U.

PUBLIC RELIEF AND PRIVATE CHARITY. By Josephine Shaw Lowell. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, 75 cents; paper, 40 cents.

The author of this (No. 13 of the "Questions of the Day" Series) work states frankly that "there is not perhaps an original thought or suggestion in it," but that her reason for so concisely compiling the result of the experience of many of the most prominent students and workers in the modern methods of charity is that nowhere could she find a small book in which the principles underlying the science of right giving were clearly and plainly stated. "From all parts of the world," she reports, "the testimony of the experts is the same; and it is this fact which makes our task so encouraging." As much of this testimony as could be conveniently crowded into so small a compass is given; and the book is full of suggestive facts and hints to her fellow-workers in this good cause, who will find it an excellent aid in rightly directing their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the suffering poor.

VOCAL AND ACTION-LANGUAGE CULTURE AND EXPRESSION. By E. N. Kirby. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price \$1.25.

Mr. Kirby is the teacher of elocution in the Lynn high schools, and has had years of experience in teaching in addition to the years of study he has given to this subject, and thus should be fitted to become an authority as to the right method to be pursued in this at present very popular exercise. He makes, however, no pretensions to become such an authority, and in his preface modestly states that his "aim has been simply to make a concise and practical hand-book on elocution, adapted especially to the needs of those who have had no adequate instruction or practice in an art which they must use as readers, speakers, or teachers."

"MIND," the English quarterly review of psychology and philosophy for October, contains the usual variety of essays, criticisms, and reviews on the topics of recent inquiry in these branches of science. Edmund Gurney writes upon the phenomena of hypnotism, and considers the various theories and explanations as inadequate. Charles Mercier continues his most able essay on the "Classification of the Feelings," and tabulates the various classes on evolutionary principles in an orderly and symmetric gradation. He argues that the separation of the will from the rest of the sentient faculties is an error; that, as mind is resolvable into "feelings and the relation between feelings," "will must be either a feeling or a relation." He states, as the difference between will and all other feelings, "that it is not, as that of other feelings is, the activity of this or that centre or region; but it is the resultant or algebraical sum of the activities of all the highest nervous regions. Hence, the feeling which it underlies is in a special manner identified with the ego. When I say I have a feeling of warmth or anger, I regard the feeling as something distinct from the I that feels it. But, when I will, I regard the will as the expression of my whole self. And it is this identification of will with the subject that constitutes its peculiarity as compared with other feelings, and that has led to its relegation to a region of mind apart from them." J. Hutchinson Stirling claims that "Kant has not answered Hume," and avers that "causal necessity is not a necessity of reason: it is only a necessity of feeling, and it is due to custom." W. L. Davidson discusses the "Separation of Questions in Philosophy." In "Mind as a Social Factor," Lester F. Ward criticises the sociological and political views of the evolution school of thinkers. There are several able and interesting reviews of new works. W. C. Cooplund reviews a new German work on social psychology or ethics, in which the author, Dr. G. H. Schneider, while acknowledging his obligation to Mr. Spencer in strong terms, and agreeing with his doctrine that pleasures are the

correlatives of actions favorable and pains are the correlatives of actions injurious to the organism, signals, however, two errors in Mr. Spencer's statement of the axiom: in that he has overlooked the most important element in the relativity of pleasures and pains,—namely, that we only attain to a consciousness of pleasurable feelings so far as a successive furtherance, a change for the better, or a simultaneous difference in our favor, occurs or is perceived, and the contrary in the case of pain,—"that therefore pleasure only attains to consciousness through the want of it and through suffering, and the latter only attains to consciousness through the want of it and through pleasure." Closely connected with this is another error; namely, the regarding pain or suffering as injurious under all circumstances, and conversely pleasure or satisfaction as in all cases useful, with the inevitable consequence that slight passing pains are underestimated.

In the English quarterly *Mind*, as above stated, Mr. Ward in criticising the theological and political views of some modern thinkers characterizes them as the *laissez faire* doctrine, and claims that the drift of modern evolutionist scientific thought is utterly nihilistic in its tendencies and subversive of human welfare; that "all forms of philosophy have been thus far negative and nihilistic"; and that, if they had had full sway, would have robbed man of all mental power over his environment, and caused his early extermination from the earth. He denies "that civilization is the result of natural law." The human method is the exact reversal of the method of nature. "Art is the antithesis of nature." If the school of evolutionists represented by Mr. Spencer have drawn wrong conclusions from the fundamental doctrine of evolution in its application to human agency, Mr. Ward has taken an extreme view in the opposite direction in denying that all human agency, however manifested, is governed and directed by the same natural principles of evolution that have developed all the rest of nature. The most fundamental law underlying all development, when fully understood, may show that what appears to Mr. Ward as antagonistic methods are but the complementary and correlatively opposite tendencies necessary to generate the force and resistance which evolve the development of all mental as well as material action. When evolutionary philosophers say that "civilization is the result of natural laws," they take a far more comprehensive view of these laws than does Mr. Ward in limiting the action of natural law to matter alone. The narrowness of his views is rendered still more conspicuous in his statement that, "for aught we know, the laws of nature are such as make a recognition of strict scientific truth a positive barrier to social advancement."

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BY B. F. U.

MR. J. P. MENDUM, publisher of the *Investigator*, informs us that Ethan Allen's *Oracles of Reason*, noticed in *The Index* by Mr. A. N. Adams, has been kept for sale at the *Investigator* office during the last twenty years. Price 50 cts.

THE English papers bring full reports of James Russell Lowell's recent address at Birmingham, on "Democracy." It is one of the finest and at the same time one of the most radical utterances of Lowell's life, and a very effectual answer to some suspicions that he was growing reactionary as he grew older. He tells England that "there is no good in arguing with the inevitable." He believes democracy to be inevitable the world over, and he welcomes it.

In a letter we received this week from Mr. M. D. Conway, who writes from Berlin, occurs the following passage: "I had hoped to see much of Friedrich Kapp, whose death has caused much sorrow. His body was cremated at Gotha last week. Had he been buried here, there would have been an impressive funeral. Kapp had for many years regretted the bitterness of certain passages in his early work on America (*Ueber und aus Amerika*). For the last ten years, he has been at work on a History of the Book Trade; and he has left it nearly complete. It was on a recent visit to Antwerp, to study the book-treasures of the Musée Plantin there, that he suffered the fresh attack of an old trouble from which he could not recover. He was an admirable man."

A FEW years ago, the lecture lyceum was popular in this country. But its managers, learning that there were more people who would pay to be pleased than there were who would pay to be instructed, found no difficulty in changing the char-

acter of the entertainment. The supply was suited to the demand; and men of genius and learning gave way to adventurers, pretenders, and buffoons. But, according to the *New York Tribune*, there are indications that the old lecture system which was allowed to sink into comparative obscurity is to be revived. "It is to be hoped," says this journal, "that in future this state of affairs will be changed, and that eminent men in every walk of life will be willing at once to instruct and amuse the people by talking with them personally. Lecture bureaus, if properly managed, may thus be turned into a great free parliament for the people, which will be to the whole country what the literary salon of Europe is to a few chosen people of culture."

A WRITER in *Monroe's Iron-clad Age*, referring to the course of the present leaders of the Liberal League, who declare its sole object is State secularization and ask for the support of all who believe in this and yet announce a programme which includes general opposition to theology and the advancement of Secularism, says: "People should not be asked to support an organization for a specific object, and their membership and money then be used to propagate a system in which they do not believe and which was not included in the request for their corporation. Secularism is a philosophical and ethical system, in which many who favor State secularization do not believe. Why, then, does the secretary of the League announce this as our 'noble faith,' and speak as though the leagues were an organization formed to oppose the beliefs of many who are heartily in sympathy with its professed objects? Why not keep to the Nine Demands of Liberalism, and confine the work of the League to State secularization, or else organize an association to oppose theology and to build up secularism and honestly announce its objects? Nothing is to be gained by trickery or double dealing in assailing error."

WE have recently received a copy of the lecture programme of the English National Reform Union for the coming winter, containing a list of the Union's lecturers with their subjects. There are twenty-six lecturers in the list, the number of subjects announced under each name sometimes being more than twenty; and nothing could give one a better idea of what now chiefly enlists the attention of English social reformers than a study of this list of subjects. Mr. William Clarke, M.A., the London correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser* and well known to readers of *The Index* by many articles in our columns, holds, as we were interested to note, the first place in this list of lecturers, speaking upon the following subjects: "The Representation of the People," "The House of Lords and the British People," "Democracy v. Aristocracy," "Hereditary Rule: The Mischief it has done," "Lessons from America for the English People," "War, Taxation, and the Working Classes," "Local Self-Government," "England and Ireland," "Our Foreign Policy: What shall be its Nature?" "The Necessity for Reforming our Political Machinery." This list is a fair sample.

There is scarcely one of the lecturers who does not discuss the question of the reform or abolition of the House of Lords. There is none of the lecturers who is not evidently an outspoken democrat. We are struck by the number of American subjects,—*"Lessons for Liberals from the Life of Abraham Lincoln and the American Civil War," "Henry George and his Book," "England and America, and Free Trade,"* etc. Judging from the titles of several lectures, there seems to be a considerable difference of opinion among the members of the Union on the question of Free Trade v. Protection or, as the English style it, Fair Trade. It would seem that England as well as America is on the eve of a new and very thorough-going discussion of this whole matter.

A REMARKABLE figure in the history of the England of to-day has passed away in the death of Hon. Henry Fawcett, M.P., the blind Postmaster-General of Great Britain, who died, after a few days' illness, on Thursday, November 6, at his home in Cambridge. His life offers a splendid example of what may be accomplished, in the face of the greatest difficulties, by cheerfulness, energy, and will. At the age of twenty-five, Mr. Fawcett, a struggling law-student of Trinity College, by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of a companion was made totally blind for life. Such a misfortune would have proved the ruin of most ambitious young men; but Mr. Fawcett, although he had to relinquish his law studies, never lost heart, but began at once to fit himself for political life. Through the medium of amanuenses, he soon became well known as a political writer for the magazines and as the author of an excellent *"Manual of Political Economy"* and a book entitled *The Economic Position of the British Laborer*. He was elected Professor of Political Economy in Cambridge in 1863, and in 1865 was elected member of Parliament. In 1867, he married Miss Millicent Fawcett, who proved to him a most noble helpmate and fellow-student, and to whose devotion and genius he ascribed much of the success and happiness of his later life. She is a strong and consistent advocate of the political rights of her sex, in the advocacy of which Mr. Fawcett was in entire sympathy with her. In 1880, Mr. Gladstone made him Postmaster-General of England, a position which, in spite of his blindness, was never better filled; and his administration has been marked by many postal reforms of incalculable benefit to the people, some of which have served as models and incentives to our own and other governments. In spite of his misfortune, Mr. Fawcett was cheerful, happy, a lover of out-of-door exercise, such as rowing, fishing, skating, etc., in which he found relief from his arduous and absorbing intellectual labor. He was always and in the largest sense the friend of the unfortunate, of the laboring man, and the disfranchised woman. The presence of over fifteen thousand people at his public funeral testifies to the esteem in which this—one of the most talented blind men since Milton—was held by those for whom he cared and for whom he labored.

THE CATHOLICS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The Catholics in this country quietly, but with that persistency which is characteristic of their Church, are pushing the establishment of their parochial schools, with the consequent withdrawal of their children from the public schools. There is not so much discussion of the matter as there was a few years ago; and cases of conflict between Catholics and local school committees, with regard to the reading of the Bible in public schools, appear to have greatly subsided. But the public mind will be much deceived, if it draw the inference from this quiet along the lines that the battle is over, and that the Catholics have been defeated. They have not yielded their position in the least. On the contrary, they have advanced to another position, in which, with effective zeal, they are now entrenching themselves. Their opposition to Protestant religious exercises in the public schools attended by their children, or to the compulsory participation of their children in such exercises, was perfectly logical, whether from their own point of view or from the liberal point of view from which all public school regulations should be framed; yet it was only a preliminary skirmish to the larger contest which is now going on. What the consistent Catholic really objects to is not merely a school in which Protestant religious exercises are permitted, but a school in which there are no religious exercises at all and no teaching of religious doctrine. He objects, of course, to Protestant schools for his children; but he objects equally to a secular school system. Such a school system, he says, is "godless," "irreligious," and therefore "immoral." And it is on the basis of this objection that the Catholic Church is now establishing its parochial schools.

The progress of this work in the last few years has been very marked. The *Catholic Review* refers to an article on the subject in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, with which it expresses great gratification,—as well it may, if the *Quarterly's* figures are correct. We have not seen the article itself; but, according to the *Catholic Review's* quotations from it, there are now 2,532 Catholic parochial schools in the United States, and the number of children in them is 481,834. This number, it is added, is nearly seven per cent. of the Catholic population of the country, while the public schools have not more than ten per cent. of the entire population. And this result has been obtained through the wonderfully effective organization of the Catholic Church and the faithfulness of its members to its decrees. It has required no great outcry to accomplish it, no wide-spread discussion nor public agitation nor frantic appeal for funds. There have been, it is said, no endowments for the work by wealthy members, but the necessary money has come from the charities of the Catholic people at large; that is, perhaps, the priests have told the people what they ought to give, and for the most part they have given it. In the city of our own residence, with a population of only thirty thousand, a large Catholic parochial school was established two years ago; and the building for another, equally large, is now in process of erection. So far as we are aware, there had been no public demand on the part of the Catholics in the city for these schools, and no conflict at all between them and the public school authorities. There had been no meetings to stir up the Catholic community to the work. But quietly, one day, it was announced in the newspapers that an eligible lot had been purchased and contracts made for the erection of a Catholic parochial school building. The bishop had spoken, and the thing was done. And now comes still another building for the same

purpose. This is only an illustration probably of what has been going on through the country.

And now that these parochial schools are becoming so numerous, it is proposed that they be brought into a more definite and unified system. The writer of the article in the *Quarterly Review* recommends that each Catholic diocese shall have a board of education whose sole business it shall be to have charge of the interests of all the parochial schools in its limits. Already such a diocesan board exists in a part of Indiana. It consists of "eleven priests and a reverend secretary,"—not a layman, it will be perceived, in the number. This board prescribes the text-books to be used in the schools, lays out the courses of study, appoints and determines the qualifications of teachers, inspects the schools, etc. And the institution of a similar priestly board is commended to other dioceses. Thus, at the time when, in several countries of Europe, public opinion is in struggle to rescue common school education from the hands of the priesthood, in this country the Catholic population is rapidly and energetically moving to adopt the mediæval school system which enlightened nations are discarding.

This increase of Catholic parochial schools bodes no good to the future of the United States. The Roman Catholic Church, with all its virtues,—for it has certain great virtues,—has been the persistent foe of human progress in just those matters on which the stability and success of free institutions depend. Education in the largest and best sense, the training of the people to individual thinking, to self-reliance, to mental and moral responsibility,—this is the necessary condition of sound and progressive republican government. The Catholic Church is based on the idea of absolute monarchy; and that idea pervades it, in all its complex organization, through and through. Authority, in it, comes not up from the mental and moral convictions of its members, as must needs be the case in a republic, but comes down from the mind of one man, its head, whose word is recognized as supreme. The evil of such a system for our country and time lies not in any probability that the Pope will precipitate a direct conflict here between his Church and the authorities of the State,—for the papal prelates are generally shrewd and sagacious rulers as well as devoted ecclesiastics,—but the peril lies in the fact that the absolutist principle on which that Church is founded and under which its membership is trained is directly and totally antagonistic to the principles of democracy. Under that principle, people are inevitably kept in a condition of mental and moral childhood. They are trained to obedience, not to self-sovereignty; taught to follow leaders, not to think and to act upon their own thought. In politics, this principle leads to bossism with all its degradations and corruptions.

Hitherto, a strong confidence has been felt that the mollifying influences of the free institutions of the country, and especially of its public schools, would gradually counteract these antagonistic principles of Catholicism, and prevent any serious harm. But, if the Catholics are to remove their children from the public schools, and keep them in sectarian schools which are wholly under the supervision of their own priesthood, the most important of these counteracting agencies ceases; and the grave question then presents itself whether the next generation of Catholics, when they come to the polls, will be so well prepared for the duties of American citizenship as is the present generation. Can anything be done as an offset to this danger? On this question, we may have something to say next week.

WM. J. POTTER.

TAX THE CHURCHES.

The prosperity of the American churches is largely due to their standing on a popular basis. In Protestant Germany, the Church is a state institution, an ally of the police, and nobody feels particularly bound to go. In America, the churches are the people's free-will offerings to religion, and each congregation delights in keeping up its own house of worship. The zealous Roman Catholic, or Episcopalian or Methodist or Congregationalist, or Universalist feels that his soul is much better looked after by his own church than it could be by the State. The business of the State is to protect person and property, as well as to take care of other material interests which no individual can provide for so well. Religious societies are organized to do precisely what cannot be done by the State, and need not be. Some of us think we can take care of our souls without the help of a church; but nobody wants to have his soul saved by the State, and everybody is willing that each church should be free to do all it can for those who believe in it, and to take all the aid they choose to give individually. In the United States, each church and synagogue stands squarely on its own merits, and each man and woman is left at full liberty to decide what institutions to support. This is the system which our people have adopted, and it works so well that nobody wants to give it up. All that should be attempted is to have it carried out more consistently. So recent is the introduction of this voluntary system that there still linger some relics of the old despotism which forced every one to attend and support the established church, whether he liked it or not. It is not the spirit of the nineteenth century, but that of the Dark Ages, which says that churches should not be taxed. Look at the facts. The tax commissioner in Massachusetts reported in 1874 that meeting-houses to the value of \$28,853,745 were exempted in our State, and the present amount undoubtedly exceeds thirty millions. This real estate has to be protected like the rest by the firemen and the police. The premises are lighted by street lamps; the moving to and fro of the worshippers necessitates keeping up the streets and bridges; and any damage to a church by a mob would have to be paid for by the whole community. An attack on the cathedral in Boston might cost the city three million dollars. The churches make substantially the same demands for protection as houses and stores do, and the expense of carrying on the government is increased proportionally. If churches were taxed like other real estate, they would have to pay about half a million annually in Massachusetts, where every citizen who pays \$100 to the State has to contribute \$1.50 of it because they are exempt. Where we pay sixty dollars to the State, we pay one to the Church. Each tax-payer has to pay about a dollar more on this account, which simply amounts to a compulsory contribution. Most of the people willingly pay much more than this to support the churches; but every man likes to know where his money goes, and he would rather give ten dollars to his own chosen place of worship than put one into an indiscriminate fund, as we all have to do. If each tax-payer were openly called on to give a dollar a year for the churches and synagogues generally, the law would have to be repealed at once. This compulsory contribution would be impossible, if it were plainly understood.

Ten years ago, public attention was called to this extortion, but it was by men who asked the taxation, not only of churches, but of colleges, hospitals, agricultural societies, and literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions gen-

erally. The plan won enthusiastic support, but failed, owing largely to the fact that many of the institutions in question—for instance, Harvard College and the Massachusetts General Hospital—are carried on simply for the public good. The same plea was also made for the churches, and will be again. Now, nobody denies that they do some good; but everybody knows that their main object is to make proselytes to their own peculiar ritual and creed. Was that great three million cathedral erected in order to help Protestants in their Protestantism, and not rather to increase and maintain the number of Roman Catholics? That costly building is kept up for the benefit of Roman Catholicism. So is Trinity Church for Episcopalianism, the Old South for Congregationalism, and another expensive structure for Spiritualism. Nobody objects to having all these isms represented by appropriate edifices, but these churches are not public benefits in the same sense that colleges and hospitals are. No peculiarity of opinion stands in the way of consulting the Library of Harvard College or taking a bed in the Massachusetts General Hospital; but the first question a man asks about a church is, "Do I agree with its ceremonies and its creeds?" Another question equally important is, "Can I get a seat there?" And there are costly churches where a poor man might ask this in vain. Among those churches most unwilling to be taxed in 1874 was one which has been notorious for the difficulty with which any stranger could gain admittance. Can an array of pews, rented at high prices to rich men who permit no trespassers on their privileges, properly be called a public charity, deserving a grant of money from the State? Must the poor farmer or mechanic, who gladly gives what is necessary to keep up his own crowded and inexpensive house of worship, be taxed to help a few millionnaires enjoy a costly and luxurious edifice where he would be treated like an intruder, and could get nothing to feed his soul. Such churches might find it hard to pay their taxes, but it would be simply a case of survival of the fittest, if they had to give place to really religious societies which have done so much to help outsiders that they are sure of generous support. If any churches are public charities, it is only those whose aims are unsectarian and whose seats are all free. And even the most public-spirited of churches is obliged, simply because it is a church, to work so much within its own circle of sectarian sympathy that it is not so well entitled as a college or a hospital to be called a public charity. In fact, this name might be given with greater justice to private schools, some of which are carried on simply for the public good with no profit to the owners; to printing-offices, without whose aid no Protestant church could be kept up; and to savings-banks, whose influence is stronger than all others in encouraging those habits of industry and economy which are the foundation of virtue. If property is to be exempted according to its usefulness, the list should either take in savings-banks, printing-offices, and private schools, or else should leave out the churches. It is urged that these last are unproductive; but our laws tax a great deal of property which yields no pecuniary return,—for instance, fast horses, pleasure yachts, club houses, diamonds, paintings, and ornamental furniture. The rich man is taxed for these and other luxuries, why not also for the painted glass, costly carving, and dainty upholstery in his church? It is further contended that expensive churches ought to be exempted on account of their architectural beauty; but, if this principle is to enter into our taxation, it should be applied systematically by a special commission authorized to exempt buildings,

whether churches, houses, or stores, pre-eminent for artistic excellence. All such arguments really tend to make false issues; for the real question is whether each church ought not to look for its whole support to those who agree with its creed and ritual, and who find themselves benefited by its influence.

While the case seems plain enough as simply one of the right of each property-holder to decide what to give to any church, it is well also to mention that one of the results of taxing religious societies would be to bring out their powerful influence against municipal corruption. For instance, the levy of \$50,000 tax on the cathedral would make every Roman Catholic in Boston vote against needless expenditure of public money. Tax the great churches, and they will become the bulwarks of honest government. Here in Massachusetts there has appeared a general desire to repeal the exemption, or at least to reduce the amount. Thus, ten years ago, one of the commissioners of our State Legislature, Thomas Hills, formerly chief assessor of Boston, urged that exemption be limited to \$25,000. The Report signed by him in 1875 shows that similar views were then expressed by the assessors of this and four other cities and seventeen towns, representing more than half of the wealth of the State. Societies worth \$20,000 or even \$10,000 should, however, find little difficulty in paying their own taxes. If there must be an exemption, it should be confined to those churches worth less than \$5,000 in which every seat is free. And any exemption, however moderate, would be a violation of one of the fundamental principles of religious freedom. There should be no compulsory contributions to sectarian interests.

In view of these principles and of the vote of the Free Religious Association at its last annual meeting, the annexed petition has been prepared for presentation to the Legislature of Massachusetts. All interested are cordially invited to co-operate promptly. Signatures will be gladly received from all parts of the State, and copies of the petition furnished for that purpose at *The Index* office or by the undersigned, who will be especially grateful for any items of information showing the result of taxing churches and the extent to which those now exempted are monopolized for the benefit of the rich. Friends willing to give pecuniary aid should address the chairman of the committee, Mr. Richard P. Hallowell, 127 Federal Street. Editors and journalists are requested to present our case as fully as possible in all its aspects. Animated discussion of both sides and all interests involved will assist the Legislature to act intelligently. The pulpit should not keep silence; and the clergy are earnestly entreated to speak freely, not only on the expediency of escaping taxation, but on the advantage of owing their support wholly to the free will of the people, and not in the least to compulsory contribution.

And every friend of the Church should remember that she cannot teach pure morality, unless she is willing to "render to all their dues," and think it "more blessed to give than to receive."

F. M. HOLLAND.

Box 61, CONCORD, MASS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled:—

Your petitioners, voters and tax payers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully represent,

That the Seventh Clause of Section Five of the Eleventh Chapter of the Public Statutes of the Commonwealth exempts from taxation "houses of religious worship owned by a religious society, or held

in trust for the use of religious organizations, and the pews and furniture (except for parochial uses)";

And that said exemption, as being an indirect taxation for the support of denominational places of worship, is contrary to the interests of religion and morality as well as to the spirit, if not the letter, of Article X. of the Bill of Rights, by which each individual is bound to contribute his share of the expense of protecting his property, while the protection of life, liberty, and property, is specified as the proper object of taxation.

And, therefore, your petitioners pray that said clause, together with all special acts of like purport, may be repealed.

JOHN FISKE'S PROOF OF GOD AND IMMORTALITY.

It is of prime importance that theorists should discriminate between facts and arguments and their own personal leanings. To do this is one of the best marks of a good logician and a true philosopher. But, obvious and easy as it seems, it is a mark which is often wanting in writers of no small distinction. Their fixed prejudgments (prejudices) operate like a press-gang on all facts, which are forced to render abnormal service and perform a slave's work; and the uttered views of other men are perversely appropriated in a like spirit and action. This cannot be supposed to be a fair picture of so able a writer as John Fiske. But he is not so unlike it that it could not innocently be mistaken for his. Happily, his personal preferences are of so noble an order that "even his failings lean to virtue's side." But, instead of leading him to repudiate certain inconsistencies, they induce him to distort them into seeming accord with his preferences; and all this is done with as much ability as is compatible with such mental imperfection. Such are the characteristics of Mr. Fiske's latest book, *The Destiny of Man viewed in the Light of his Origin*.

He starts out with an unavowed thesis, the immortality of the soul and of all the fruitage of the mind. The thesis is worthy of man's highest powers, and in all ages it has taxed them. Mr. Fiske's treatment of his theme is in many respects excellent. His description of phenomena is generally accurate, his exposition of theories and their supports is always lucid, and his conclusions concerning them are for the most part just, so that few could read the book without profit on the score of information or of intellectual excitation. But, ever as he approaches his own main task, he becomes feeble, as if he were tired and exhausted with his preliminary toil.

Mr. Fiske is a cosmic evolutionist, which means that he advocates the unity and identity of the cosmic force with all the known forms of life. All are modes of the One; and, by laws which are an intrinsic necessity, growing out of the nature of the one, they are all developed in temporal and spatial relations to each other.

This theory excludes all the distinctive elements of what has always been reckoned as theism in distinction from atheism and pantheism. The God of theism is not the world, is self-conscious and purposeful, is creative and not evolutive in his action. On the other hand, cosmic evolution identifies what it calls god and the world and all that is on it. It makes the supreme power unconscious and unpurposeful, because this is the character of the cosmic force except in a very small number of its infinity of forms of existence, and there it does not act or know itself as a unity and grand totality; that is, it does not know itself at all, only some of its modes know themselves. Cosmic evolution excludes creation, because it denies the increase as well as decrease of

the sum of being, and affirms that all beings are one, which is always necessarily changing in its forms or modes, so that there can never be either creative purpose or act, except as we choose to use the term creation to designate evolution, which is not its proper and loftiest meaning, which meaning ought to be preserved as an idea, though it have no counterpart in fact.

These facts nullify all the exposition and arguments of Mr. Fiske in favor of his thesis. He does indeed make quite a free use of the terms "God" and "creation" to help him, and he needs them; but they are entirely foreign to a thorough-paced doctrine of cosmic evolution. He speaks of "the creative activity which is manifested in the physical universe"; but where it is manifested or how he does not tell, and as an evolutionist I cannot find it without his help. The cosmic force, whatever that may be, was not created, so far as we know. It is supposed to be eternal and immutable, except in its forms. None of all the forms it takes on are creations, simply because they are evolutions, according to the hypothesis, and so in their essential substance and force they are eternal.

In his plea (shall we say argument?) for man's immortality, he interrogates: "Are man's highest spiritual qualities, into the production of which all this creative energy has gone, to disappear with the rest? Has all this work been done for nothing? Is it all ephemeral, all a bubble that bursts, a vision that fades? Are we to regard the Creator's work as like that of a child who builds houses out of blocks just for the pleasure of knocking them down?" If there is a conscious Being of infinite perfection, he could not so act; but to assume that there is to assume everything that is debated or doubted, and about which evolution says nothing because it has no need of that hypothesis, dispenses with it and antagonizes it as a needless and alien intrusion. So far as evolution extends there is no place for the admission of creation or creator; and, if evolution is total and universal, the only knowable form of action and existence, the hypothesis of creative energy, is absolutely and forever excluded. And this is the logical conception of cosmic evolution.

Mr. Fiske is quite dogmatic in denouncing the dogmas of atheism, and materialism and their doubt of a future life. But he ought to know that there are no such dogmas among scholars. In this direction, all is negation, doubt, agnosticism. In these days there is no such thing as a speculative or metaphysical materialism which maintains a special theory about matter in distinction from mind. The only existing materialism is the assertion that from the cosmic force, call it what you will, all the power of organic human consciousness is derived; and to this, as good evolutionists, we are all agreed, even though we are idealists. If this in its popular form does not positively favor atheism, it makes no demand for theism; and infinity and creation should not be superinduced upon the natural and finite till there is a demand of scientific and logical necessity. If it does not positively oppose the doctrine of human immortality, it sees and shows no proof of it, and acts on the modern doctrine of parsimonious inference, and implies that pure assumptions should be scarce as angels' visits. It modestly says that as conscious life seems to begin with organization, and with organization to end so far as we know, we have hence no right to assert anything more.

Equally striking and erroneous is Mr. Fiske's adduction of Mr. Spencer in support of his views. Mr. Spencer, he says, teaches that the soul is "in its deepest sense a divine effluence"; but my impression is that Mr. Spencer has never been guilty of using such language. Spencer does indeed

identify the human and cosmic energy, saying that the energy which works in all the world is "the same as that which wells up in us as consciousness." But that is only pantheism, or true evolution, not theism and creation, which makes the divine energy not the same as that which wells up in us as consciousness.

In short, Mr. Fiske's book is excellent for those who wish to think and believe as he does; but, however able, it is by no means successful as an argument from the cosmic origin of man to theism and human immortality. The book, however, is worth reading as a specimen of an effort that deserved to succeed.

WILLIAM ICRIN GILL.

MORMONISM IN A NEW LIGHT.

III.

The Golden Plates.

Misrepresentation is as good a missionary as any cause ever had in the field. They who teach any other doctrine are the defenders of Mormonism, and not I. A truth is a truth and a lie is a lie, whether it come from Mormon or Gentile lips. And now, in discussing the golden plates, let us allow that gold is gold, and brass is brass, in whose hands it is found. But the question is not, whether the plates were gold or brass, though such a question was actually started in Congress recently by senators condescending to dispute about the quality of a thing, which not one of them believed ever existed.

The world laughs at the idea of Smith having found any golden plates; for what need of them with the Spaulding manuscript in his hands? And its denial in the one case is supported by an even higher authority than its belief in the other. I say authority, mark you, not facts. The letter of Prof. Anthon is that authority. "This letter speaks for itself and needs no comment," says the historian. A writer who knew "Joe Smith and the Smith family, and was editor for many years of the *Wayne Sentinel*, which published the first edition of the Book of Mormon," says, "These delusions culminated in 1827 by the great imposture of the pretended finding of the ancient metallic plates resembling gold," etc.; and that the learned gentleman, whose bibliographical scrutiny had been solicited, "scouted the whole pretence as too depraved for serious attention, while commiserating the applicant as the victim of fanaticism or insanity." And this view receives the indorsement, apparently, of Thurlow Weed, who says in his note to his friend Tucker: "I have long hoped that some one with a personal knowledge of this great delusion, who saw it as I did, when it was 'no bigger than a man's hand,' and who has the courage and capacity to tell the whole truth, would undertake the task. I read enough of your manuscript to be confident that you have discharged your duty faithfully." Stephen S. Harding, at one time Governor of Utah, is another witness, who writes in a similar strain. "I knew Smith, and also Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdrey, with some of their fanatical associates at and around Palmyra, and can appreciate the importance to the civilized world of your forthcoming narrative." This Harding "went with Joe Smith, at his special request, to his father's house," to "hear read the wonderful translations from the sacred plates." He was present in the *Wayne Sentinel* printing-office, when "the proof-sheet of the first form of the book, including the title-page, was revised." By the consent of the young prophet, he was "given this revise sheet as a curiosity," which two years after Smith's murder was bestowed by him on a Mormon missionary, who deposited it as a sacred relic

in the archives of the "Historians' Office" at Salt Lake City. Oh, that among the sacred relics of other religions the world only possessed one such as this, the first real proof-sheet of God's Word as it came from the mouth of the holy prophets!

The book from which I have just quoted says: "In unbelief, the Smith family were unqualified atheists. Can their mockeries of Christianity, their persistent blasphemies, be accounted for on any other hypothesis?" If any one would know how little can be said in support of the charge of imposture against Mormonism, let him read that book. It contains the old story of Smith being a money-digger, a robber of hen-roosts, the finder of a press-stone and of the Spaulding manuscript; and the bias of the whole work is revealed in the account given of the Spaulding manuscript, which is a deliberate falsification of history by a suppression of one half of the facts.

The following is Smith's own account of his first discovery of the plates. It was in September, 1823. He was eighteen years of age:—

I obeyed. I returned back to my father in the field, and rehearsed the whole matter to him. He replied to me that it was of God, and to go and do as I was commanded by the messenger; . . . and, owing to the distinctness of the vision, I knew the place as soon as I arrived there. Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario County, N.Y., stands a hill of considerable size and the most elevated in the neighborhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates deposited in a stone box. This stone was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side and thinner toward the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, but the edge all around was covered with earth. Having removed the earth and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion raised it up, I looked in, and there indeed did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim, and the breast-plate, as stated by the messenger. The box in which they lay was formed by laying stones together in some kind of cement.

While the translation was in progress, eleven witnesses testify to having seen the plates. In the testimony of three of them, it is said: "And we declare with words of soberness that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon," etc. The eight witnesses testify that "Joseph Smith, Jr., the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which it hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and, as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work and curious workmanship," etc.

In February, 1829, Martin Harris, one of Smith's first converts, visited New York City, for the purpose of obtaining the opinion of the learned concerning some of the characters taken from the plates, together with a translation of a portion of them. He reported that Prof. Anthon gave him a certificate, certifying that the translation was correct, and that they were true characters, Egyptian, Chaldean, Assyrian, and Arabic. But when, being told in answer to the question how the young man came to find the plates, that "an angel of God had revealed it unto him," Prof. Anthon said, "Let me see that certificate," and, receiving it, "tore it to pieces, saying there was no such thing now as ministering of angels, and, if I would bring the plates, he would translate them. I informed him that part of the books were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them. He replied, 'I cannot read a sealed book.'"

In 1841, twelve years afterward, Prof. Anthon wrote a letter to an Episcopal minister in New

Rochelle, West Chester County, near New York, in answer to an inquiry concerning the words or characters said to have been presented to him. It is lengthy, but I will quote its essential parts:—

Many years ago, the precise date I do not recollect, a plain-looking countryman called on me with a letter from Dr. Samuel J. Mitchell of our city, requesting me to examine and give my opinion upon a certain paper, marked with various characters, which the Doctor confessed he could not decipher, and which the bearer of the note was very anxious to have explained. A very brief examination convinced me that it was a mere hoax, and a very clumsy one too. When I asked the person who brought it how he obtained the writing, he gave me the following account. [The story of the discovery and translation of the plates is here given somewhat in detail, though not without some straining of the facts in order to make it appear ludicrous, and some mistakes.] On hearing this odd story, I changed my opinion about the paper; and, instead of viewing it any longer as a hoax, I began to regard it as a scheme to cheat the farmer of his money, and communicated my suspicions to him, warning him to beware of rogues. He requested an opinion from me in writing, which of course I declined to give. . . . This paper was indeed a singular scroll. The characters were arranged in columns like the Chinese mode of writing, and presented the most singular medley I ever beheld. Greek, Hebrew, and all sorts of letters, more or less distorted, either through unskillfulness or from actual design, were intermingled with sundry delineations of half moons, stars, and other natural objects; and the whole ended in a rude representation of the Mexican Zodiac. . . . Some time after, the farmer paid me a second visit. He brought with him the gold book in print, and offered it to me for sale. I declined purchasing. He then asked permission to leave the book with me for examination. I declined receiving it, although his manner was strangely urgent. . . . I have given you a personal statement of all I know respecting the origin of Mormonism, and must beg you as a personal favor to publish this letter immediately, should you find my name mentioned again by these wretched fanatics.

This is a remarkable letter. The public will not hesitate in deciding whether Anthon or Harris spoke the truth on the points of difference between them. Does it not seem most natural that Harris would try to obtain a certificate on the strength of the recommendation from Dr. Mitchell, before emptying his mind on the subject? And does it seem natural that *after* the Professor had said the thing was "a hoax," and had warned him "to beware of rogues," that he would then ask for a certificate? Then Harris told his story immediately after the interview, while that of the Professor comes "many years" after. And it can be seen what a dread Prof. Anthon has, lest "his name should be mentioned again by these wretched fanatics." Is it not surprising that Harris should pay him a second visit, after having been routed so on his first visit, and having too, as it is made to appear, carried a lying report away with him? Does it speak favorably for the breadth and temper of Prof. Anthon that he not only refused to purchase, but even to look into the Book of Mormon?

Alas, that the name of Anthon should be forever interwoven with Mormon history, and his fame become a buttress of Mormon faith! For so it is. The certificate he refused to Martin Harris he has given to the world, and in a manner which enhances its value a thousand-fold to the Mormon cause. The facts I am about to relate have been suppressed or distorted by most writers, "either from unskillfulness or actual design." Taylor, for instance, an English divine, wholly omits them, while he quotes just so much of Anthon's letter as enables him to say, "This clear statement, written without reference to the controversy, throws unwelcome light on the subject." Mayhew, a fair writer in many respects, whom the *Edinburgh Quarterly Review* rebukes for partiality

toward the Mormons, gives Anthon's letter in the first, and the facts that are the key to its interpretation in the last, chapter of his book, saying, "It is 'writ down in our duty' to say a few words on this curious point."

Two years after the Book of Mormon appeared in print, Prof. Rafinesque, in his *Atlantic Journal* for 1832, gave the public a *fac-simile* of some American glyphs found in Mexico. He says: "The glyphs of Otolum are written from top to bottom, like the Chinese, or from side to side indifferently, like the Egyptian and the Darnotic Libyan. Although the most common way of writing the groups is in rows, and each group separated, yet we find some formed, as it were, in oblong squares or tablets, like those of Egypt." And, by an inspection of these thirty-six elementary glyphs, we find how complete is the resemblance between them and Prof. Anthon's description of the characters presented to him by "a plain-looking countryman." In 1843, a year before the death of Joseph Smith, there was found at Kinderhook, Ill., twelve feet below the surface of one of those large ancient mounds, six plates of brass, of a beel shape, fastened at the end by a ring and two clasps. Being washed by diluted sulphuric acid, they were found to be completely covered with characters, which none have yet been enabled to read. And, since then, a small tablet of gold has been found in Ohio, containing hieroglyphics that have a strong re-semblance to the Egyptian.

A certain writer, with first-class credentials, makes this reply, "Smith may have obtained through Rigdon (the literary genius behind the screen) one of these glyphs, which resembled so nearly his description of the book he pretended to find on Mormon hill." Very clever indeed, when the discovery of these other plates followed the publication of the Book of Mormon! And this writer goes so far as to say that Rigdon "is not known to have ever disclaimed the part that for more than thirty years has been publicly assigned to him in the great plagiarism and imposture," when as emphatic a disclaimer as was ever penned has been before the public all this time; and it has never been cancelled by any utterance of his, even though, being defeated by Brigham Young in his candidacy for the headship of the Church after Smith's martyrdom, he rebelled, and was cut off from the Church.

It has also been many times said that some of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon denied their testimony, while the reverse of this is true. Not one of the eleven witnesses has made a statement contrary to the original to which their names are affixed in the Book of Mormon. One of the witnesses, David Whitmer, is still living. He left the Church in the dark days of persecution in Missouri, and has still very bitter feelings toward the prophet, "who," as a Mormon writer puts it, "he wrongfully imagines, endeavored to injure him." But he is lately reported as saying, "These hands handled the plates, these eyes saw the angel, and these ears heard His voice; and I know it was of God." Orson Pratt, the Mormon apostle, asks: "When Saul, the King of Israel, became a murderer in his heart, by seeking the life of David, did that destroy or even weaken the testimony he had formerly delivered as a prophet? The Lord appeared unto Solomon twice; yet, even after all that, he fell into transgression, and became a most abominable idolater. Did this wicked idolatry prove his proverbs and other writings were not inspired of God? Did Peter's lying, cursing, swearing, and denying the Christ invalidate or destroy his testimony concerning the glorious voice he heard on the mount?"

T. W. CURTIS.

UNITARIANISM AND THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

In a recent sermon on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church of which he is pastor, Rev. M. J. Savage, referring to the formation of the Free Religious Association, said: "From our galaxy of ministers, some of the very brightest stars succeeded to form a constellation of their own. . . . The question at stake was as to whether Unitarianism was brave enough and confident enough in the truth to trust itself to perfect intellectual freedom and subject its position to the test of the scientific method,—the only one that has ever been fruitful in truth-finding results. For a while, the majority drew back, hesitating to launch its bark fearlessly on the God-begotten and God-guided current of the age; and the little minority went out into the new wilderness, led, as they believed, like John the Baptist, by the Spirit."

Not only "for a while did the majority draw back." Their action, to the present time, has made it impossible for a large number of independent thinkers—who are unwilling, even by implication, to be committed to doctrines in which they believe not—to belong consistently to this denomination. It is not strange that a Christian denomination, the majority of whose members, perhaps, and whose most influential leaders, still cling to theological dogmas, declined to surrender to rationalism so far as to omit all statement of theological beliefs with which the denomination has been identified from its earliest existence. It has shown progress in going so far as it has. Unitarianism in the past has accomplished much good, and it is still helping to modify the creeds of the orthodox churches and to liberalize the religious sentiment of the people. But it does not now and never has represented the boldest, the most radical, the most advanced thought.

The "little minority" went out into no "wilderness," but rather into rich and inviting harvest-fields, knowledge of which made them dissatisfied with the restricted pasturage afforded by Unitarianism. These fields had been and were being cultivated by minds whom neither Unitarianism nor any other form of Christianity was brave and progressive enough to recognize. It is by gleaning in this field that Mr. Savage has become imbued with modern thought and discontented with theological restrictions. In the sermon from which we have quoted, he says: "On Nov. 24, 1859, the year and the month of our church dedication, was published the first edition of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. I mark this year because this book precipitated a world-wide conflict, out of which a new universe has been born. Seven years earlier than this, Mr. Herbert Spencer had published an essay whose implications involved the whole mighty change that was to come. But Darwin's book forced the recognition of the scientific world. These two master minds will, in the far future, stand like twin mountains, sky-kissing in the r sublimity and overlooking all the modern world. Spencer is the more far-reaching and comprehensive in his grasp, while Darwin outranks any purely scientific brain that the world has ever seen. . . . Neither of these men has said much about theology, but they have compelled theology to say a great deal about them. They have literally given us a new universe,—not by destroying any old truths or by creating any new ones, but by helping us to see things as they are. . . . Never in all the earth's history before has so vast a revolution of thought passed over the human mind."

"But," continues Mr. Savage, referring to the Free Religious movement, "this was only a split in a growing tree, the vigor of whose life is able

to heal again. These men have stood by their flag of utter intellectual freedom; and we,—let us confess it,—in our forward march, now find ourselves close by their sides once more. And the future will rejoice, not that for a long time we lost them by our fault, but that they were found again. As in the case of Parker, it will be discovered that they who were for a time cast out were the truer representatives of the divine purpose that was leading our life. They will be counted as a part of our heritage and pride."

That Unitarianism has advanced beyond the position it occupied when the Free Religious movement was inaugurated is undoubtedly true. Like every other Christian sect, it has been profoundly influenced by the scientific discoveries, philosophic discussions, secular pursuits, and rationalizing tendencies of the age, which are among the causes that contributed to the new departure which resulted in the formation of the Free Religious Association. At the same time, Unitarianism, considering its past history and the claims of some of its representatives, is too timid and conservative, and too much controlled by the theological rather than by the scientific spirit and method, to command the unqualified support of the great mass of thinkers whose beliefs are substantially the same as Mr. Savage's, not to speak of the large class of agnostics. Far from being close by the side of those who "have stood by their flag of intellectual freedom," the Unitarian denomination discourages the exercise of such freedom in its pulpits, when the theological creeds formally assented to by the majority of Unitarians are subjected to direct and vigorous criticism. A combination of favorable circumstances, it is doubtless true, makes Mr. Savage's remark applicable to his own society; but he probably knows better than we do that the more radical ministers of his denomination feel the necessity of being extremely cautious in the expression of their views, lest they incur the displeasure of those who control the denominational machinery. It is not many months since the writer of this article, by request, cancelled a lecture engagement which was to be given in a New England Unitarian church, because it was feared the lecture, if given, might prevent expected financial aid from the Unitarian Association. What encouragement does the Unitarian denomination give radical thinkers who do not take the Christian name and decline to use theological language which for them has no meaning? And why should such expect encouragement from Unitarianism?

The Free Religious Association offers a free platform for the representation of Christian, extra-Christian, and anti-Christian thought, and without subjecting its members to the necessity of listening to prayers and participating in a "service" which to them is meaningless. Is it likely that the members of this Association could be satisfied to unite with the Unitarian denomination, because it was founded by men who had been prominent Unitarian members and because Unitarianism, in common with other Christian sects, has since made marked progress? It is certain that, even if those now living who were identified with the formation of the Free Religious Association should be satisfied to abandon it and return to their old religious fold,—which is extremely improbable,—the great majority of its members and the thousands for whose principles of intellectual freedom it stands, who have and wish to have no connection with a Christian church, would not be gained to Unitarianism. Is it not possible that, when Unitarianism and other Christian denominations shall come to concede the justice and the importance of the principle of intellectual liberty, the Free Religious Association will itself make a for-

ward movement in harmony with the progressive spirit of the age? There is always room for an advance.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

GOVERNOR HOADLY (who, it will be remembered, is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association) issues a Thanksgiving Proclamation this year which is the least objectionable of any paper of the kind we remember to have read. It is as follows:—

By virtue of authority conferred upon me by section 3177 of the Revised Statutes, and in accordance with the old and honored custom, I hereby appoint Thursday, November 27, as a public holiday, and invite the people of Ohio then to join in thanksgiving for the blessings of the year. Let us remember and act upon the principle, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," so that in these days of wide-spread poverty the more fortunate by acts of charity and gifts bestowed and kindness may enable all to share in the spirit and feeling of the occasion.

Given under my hand and seal of the State of Ohio at the City of Columbus, this eighth day of November, A.D. 1884.

GEORGE HOADLY, Governor.

JAMES W. NEWMAN, Secretary of State.

In a notice of Mr. John Fiske's essay, read last summer at the Concord School of Philosophy, the *Congregationalist* says:—

In a charming style, he depicts his idea of the development of man and of society, argues earnestly in favor of immortality, not as scientifically demonstrable, but as credible by a sincere faith, and closes with the declaration that, "as we gird ourselves up for the work of life, we may look forward to the time when in the truest sense the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of Christ, and he shall reign forever, King of kings and Lord of lords,"—words which, in any sense, sound as strange as they are pleasant from the lips of a cosmic philosopher.

The "sense" in which these words are used enables Mr. Fiske, no doubt, to form some sort of connection between what they express and what he means; but, if one did not know that our "cosmic philosopher" is without any belief whatever in Christ in a theological sense, he might from the sentence above quoted infer that he was an evangelical Christian. Doubtless, these words and others of an accommodating nature in Mr. Fiske's late writings are "pleasant" to the *Congregationalist*. They are words which only a Christian can consistently use, from the lips of a non-Christian and an agnostic. And they serve to conceal his heresy—or that part of it which, when plainly stated, can be popularly understood—from the majority of his readers. The fact that such words are known to be "pleasant" in so many quarters has an unhealthy influence on many of our authors, who, recognizing that force moves along the line of the least resistance, modify their views and trim and temporize in the use of language until, indeed, their essays meet with but little opposition, for the reason that they fail to state fairly and fully the positions of the writers, and give insincere support to popular error. They encourage indirectness and ambiguity of expression, and leave unpopular truth to be presented without evasion or equivocation by a few whose task is made harder by the timidity and time-serving of those who accept the premium which Orthodoxy offers upon the suppression of heresy. Where are the scientific and philosophic writers in this country, holding positions, who dare speak with the plainness and directness which mark the addresses and essays of Huxley, Tyndall, Maudsley, Romanes, and others in England?

SOME of our liberal papers are not as "liberal" as their professions would lead one to suppose. They claim to be in favor of the freest and fullest

discussion; but when a question arises on which they know their readers are not agreed, even though it be of great importance to the liberal movement, they are ready to prevent controversy and to suppress the truth in regard to it. And this, to our knowledge, is sometimes done in the professed interests of "harmony," when in fact the real motive is to guard against the failure liable to result from a disclosure of the truth, of some personal interest or preconcerted scheme. The policy in such cases is to appeal to those who, with all their claims to liberality, are filled with the spirit of sectarianism, and who are easily persuaded that controversy on questions on which Liberals differ, and the deliberate suppression of the truth, are right and proper when the object is "to prevent a division of our forces" and "to direct all our strength against the enemy." Those who protest against this dishonesty, who insist on presenting the facts and discussing differences, are accused of "captiousness," "fault-finding," "illiberality," etc.; and, while their motives are thus impugned, their statements, with the reasons and arguments therefor, are carefully kept from the readers of the papers in which they are weak after week the objects of ungenerous and disparaging criticism. Of course, this is not Liberalism; but it is the method and spirit of some papers which claim to be, and which are nominally classed with liberal journals. To such is commended this passage from an article we find in *Lucifer*, a little paper published at Valley Falls, Kan., in whose columns appears much from which we dissent, but whose words here given are not only courageous, but just and timely: "I repeat, I cannot understand why I should be reproached with an asserted desire to fight when I criticise the words and acts of Liberals, while other writers are regarded as engaged in a perfectly legitimate work when fiercely assailing the orthodox and attacking Orthodoxy. Truth is truth wherever found and by whoever taught. Error is error wherever found and by whoever taught. Why should I not call to the bar of liberty and reason the free-thought lecturer and writer as well as the Christian priest and author, when I believe the former to be in the wrong? Or do liberal speakers, editors, and writers constitute a mutual admiration society, each member sworn to indorse all that all the rest say and do? If so, that lets me out! We are 'fighting' wrong wherever we find it, whether under the cassock of the priest or the coat of the infidel, in the Council of the Church or the Congress of the League."

For The Index.

GROWING OLD.

It's only the dead who never grow old,
Waiting in windowless cell,
Where the years unrecorded may never unfold
A change in the place where they dwell.

The living grow old, and their image impaired
Is scattered along on the years,
Where identity rests when proof can be squared
With life in its different spheres.

For the absent and lost what changes are wrought
Are out of our knowledge and care,
But just as they lived, by photograph thought,
They're fixed in our memory there.

And the image I hold no iconoclast dares
To break with his sacrilege base:
It's the child of my love, unheeding my prayers,
With death's aureole on her face.

Yet only a child my memory knows,
And then I am lost in my dreams
That somehow, as nature's economy flows,
Eternity saves and redeems.

For in fancy I feel a little hand-clasp
Is clinging with innocent art,
And little white arms with a tender grasp
Encircle the void in my heart.

A. D. MARCKES

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

KAMA LOCA.

BY W. A. CRAM.

What is Kama Loca? According to the doctrine of "Esoteric Buddhism," as presented by A. P. Sinnett,* man is not simply a material, visible body, and a soul or spirit dwelling in this body, manifesting life through it, as has been popularly believed or accepted in Christendom. According to the teaching of occult Buddhistic science, man is a much more complex being in his constitution. In brief, the human being, while living in this world, is constituted of seven distinct elements or principles, the five lower being developed and active, the two higher in a kind of embryonic state. This is their order, beginning with the lowest and grossest: first, the material body; second, vitality; third, the astral body; fourth, the animal soul; fifth, the human soul; sixth, the spiritual soul; seventh, the spirit,—the spiritual soul and spirit in our present earth life being in embryo, awaiting some higher state for development. The animal soul and the human are the active wills of the whole body throughout life here. The animal soul, being the lower, is subject to the human. In the complete human being there are two bodies to these souls: the material one that we commonly see; and a finer, invisible one, called the astral body, which we may consider within the grosser, material one, though we must ever bear in mind this finer invisible one is of matter only a degree higher or more refined than we can see. It is a higher continuation of our visible world of matter, adjoining it, though just over the borders of the visible. The astral body is then essentially the invisible body of the animal soul, the ethereal duplicate of the material one. The animal soul being subject to the human soul in this life, the human soul is able to use this invisible astral body through the

medium of its servant, the animal soul. At what we call death there is a wonderful separation of these elements or principles. First, the visible, material body drops off, crumbles to dust, and is resolved into gases. Thus, the animal soul is freed from the grosser matter, and now lives outwardly in its astral body. Then the human soul cuts loose from the animal soul, and with its embryonic spiritual soul and spirit ascends to a higher state of being.

But what of the animal soul and its astral body? Freed from the grosser elements and left by the higher human soul, it seems to be at large. Now, this astral body is only one degree more refined than the gross, visible matter of our world,—only just over the borders of visibility from us. It naturally gravitates to its own kind and degree, which is the vast realm of invisible matter adjoining and surrounding our visible world. We might say our atmosphere was the realm where the animal soul in its astral body took up its abode, when at death it was separated from its old relations in the human organism. According to Esoteric Buddhism, this is true but in part; for it is not limited to our atmosphere for its abode, but may rise to a certain degree into the finer ether above our atmosphere. They give the name of "Kama Loca" to this region or abode of those animal souls which once dwelt in human organisms, but were set free from their earthly relations by what we call "death." While in the human body, the animal soul is the subordinate member, it is subject to the human soul as to a master. In the course of the natural life, it gets educated into the emotions, will, hopes, and aspirations of its master in a large degree, just as a good servant here, long subject to a kind master, grows habituated to feel his master's life a great deal his own, almost unconsciously thinks and acts according to his master's will. So this animal soul, without any distinct or strong individuality of its own, thinks, hopes, and strives, from the will of its master, till it scarcely has any conscious life outside of that master. At death, being left by the head that has so long ruled it, and ushered into a new world,—"Kama Loca,"—it finds itself all abroad, drawn downward to the old material scenes and interests, and upward to its old master, the human soul. With no distinct organic life or personality of its own, it lives a kind of amorphous spiritual life, living over the emotions, hopes, and aspirations it received from its master when in the human body with him. According to Esoteric Buddhism, we may consider ourselves as surrounded by the company of these animal souls dwelling in our atmosphere,—"Kama Loca,"—all invisible to us, yet coming and going, an ever-present host of the unseen, their conscious life being in the main a revival, a living over, thoughts, hopes, and emotions of the life they once experienced in human bodies like ours, still retaining quite a close relation with the elements and powers of this world. Their bodies being but one remove from visibility, as in our life, under certain conditions, they may become visible to people of very sensitive organizations, presenting at times quite remarkable likenesses to the old human forms they once were members of, being thus mistaken for the "ghost" or "materialized form" of some one who has died.

While dwelling in "Kama Loca," they are related to and work through elements and powers in some measure common to our life. Thus, electricity, in weak and imperfect ways, we have learned to control and use; but it more abounds as an element or force in the realm about us,—"Kama Loca,"—so that the animal souls inhabiting that region, in crude and imperfect ways, may use

it to produce phenomena cognizable by our senses,—as rappings from unseen agencies, electric sparks, moving material objects no moving mechanism visible, playing on instruments by unseen hands, writing on sealed slates, etc. According to the doctrine of Esoteric Buddhism, all these phenomena may be produced by these animal souls dwelling in "Kama Loca," just adjoining us, since they possess and use elements and powers in some measure common to our lives. Moreover, there are certain individuals, living in our world and life, whose human and animal souls are but loosely united, the human soul having but imperfect control over the animal in their bodies. Hence, at times, they may become temporarily separated. If animal souls of quite strong individuality in "Kama Loca" find a human being where the two souls are but loosely united, they may, by a strong purpose or desire, force out the animal soul from its earthly tenement for a while, and themselves take temporary abode in the body, and influence the human soul there to think, speak, and act, in a measure, according to their emotions and desires, and thus re-enter partially their old way of life. They may influence such a one to speak their thoughts and emotions. In such a case, the ideas and feelings spoken may bear, in a lower degree, strong resemblance to the thoughts and emotions of the human soul with which they were once conjoined, in the natural life of a human being, so that some might remark that it was the one who had died come back to earth again. In such cases of influence, the words and acts will be noticed to fall below the knowledge and power of the human soul these animal souls appear to personify, if that human soul while in earth life had been largely educated. And this is quite natural, since the animal soul cannot possibly express the highest state of thought or feeling of the master soul that had once ruled them in a human body. Thus, if the animal souls in "Kama Loca," that had once been conjoined in this life with the human soul of a Parker or an Agassiz, could so influence some man or woman as to speak their thoughts, they could only utter but weakly and imperfectly the thoughts of their late master, since they could have but inadequately apprehended them; yet, at the same time, their ideas would bear a certain resemblance to the form and spirit of the thoughts and life of Parker or Agassiz as they had been known while on earth. Do, then, animal souls always remain in "Kama Loca," doomed to this very crude and subordinate life? If we understand the occult science of the Buddhist*, all these souls sooner or later are again reincarnated in the forms of human beings for further education, so that they, on their particular line of evolution, attain higher and higher degrees of being through each new reincarnation.

Is there any scientific basis for "Kama Loca" and its inhabitants, the animal souls that have once held subordinate places in the human bodies of our world? As to the locality called "Kama Loca" by Esoteric Buddhism, there can be no matter of doubt, since science is more and more discovering that our visible world, this earth globe, is but as a grosser nucleus of matter and forces to the vast sphere of higher and finer matter and forces that enfold it as an atmosphere; that the invisible is far more than the visible. Moreover, of this great realm of unseen matter and force that surrounds our seen world, we are learning something. It is discovered to be the region of elements and powers not altogether separate from our seen, but that they at certain points mutually interblend, as, for instance, electric and chemic forces and other subtle powers of our organization and life that act in our world, yet are more abun-

* Esoteric Buddhism. By A. P. Sinnett. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

dant and active in the outlying and invisible region that enfolds us as a measureless ocean of forms and being, whose tide sweeps over and through our world at all times; for all the most potent and directive forces of chemical action—vegetation and animal growth—flow in upon our world from the great unseen adjoining. From all analogy and reason, we must suppose that this realm of unseen elements and powers is not a dead world, but rather the scene of evolution of forms and life of some kind and degree; that we are not surrounded by death, but life. Ever the vision of worlds and life is deepening and widening, and each newly discovered degree is found to be subject to the same law of evolution of organization and life as the old. Witness the microscopic and telescopic discoveries of realms of forms and life, a thousand-fold greater than what had been discerned by the uneducated naked eye. How can we escape the conviction that this must be the fact and method of nature in the next degree of the unseen, just outlying our present seen?

Hence, the region named "Kama Loca" is one of the facts of modern science; and that it should be the scene of organization and life of some kind is the most legitimate conclusion reached by following out the line of natural discovery and the lead of rational scientific imagination.

What of the animal souls that may people "Kama Loca"? The term souls, although so general in use, is somewhat ambiguous. We use it here in the popularly accepted sense, as that invisible reality which is not of matter nor by matter, but of which matter is the sensible expression or instrument of action. It is the noumenon of which matter and organization are the phenomena. Of the human being, we say the soul is the origin of life,—of the willing, hoping, loving, and striving. At death, this soul is set free from the body of living matter. Thus, conscious life passes from that body, since the soul is the seat of consciousness. Just here, the question arises whether there be but one soul, one individual consciousness, in a complete human organism, or whether we must count one principal and many subordinate. If we go back to the simpler forms of animal life, at one stage we find the nucleated cell plainly possessing an individuality of existence. Must we not postulate a consciousness of being of very low degree in it? Higher in the scale of being appears a number of these primitive animal bodies, strung together in a kind of community of life like a string of beads, with some kind of a common nervous thread uniting them all, so that, while each individual segment or cell has a distinct existence, it also has a life in common with all the others, united by a primitive nervous thread, insuring a sort of community of action. Still higher in development is the organism where some one or more of this community of cells or individuals has a larger nervous system, and this by virtue of more brain and better organs has become master of the whole community, stamping the whole organism with the stronger individuality of its own will and emotions. The most perfected animal is only a higher continuation of this process of evolution into a greater differentiation of parts and a completer subordination of the parts to the one central will. In the human organism, the different organs are not subject directly to the central will, but to many subordinate wills, located at various directive points throughout the body; and these lesser controlling wills to the central one. Thus, we locate the master will or mind of the man in the brain: there are received all the important reports of sensation, from thence issue all the important commands. Thus, the master mind or soul feels and wills in a measure through all the

countless cells and varied organs of the body; and each individual cell, and each community of cells constituting the separate organ, is educated more or less into the feelings and will of the master soul in the brain. Now between the master soul and the cell individual and the organ community are subordinate wills or souls, located throughout the whole human system in the ganglia or minor brains, found at the branching ways of nerves and organs. These are seats of emotion and willing, controlling special portions of the system under the direction of the central will. Hence, we cannot regard the human organism as the seat of one will or soul, but of many of different degrees of development.

At what we call death, what changes in the relation of the principles or elements of the body are wrought? Of the central will or soul, we conceive that it is set free from the grosser elements and powers of the visible body to rise into a new and higher state of being. The material cells we can trace through decomposition, crumbling away to earth mould or resolved into gases, awaiting some new combination into vegetal or animal growth. But what of those lesser wills or consciousnesses that were located in the smaller brains, the ganglia? Are they lost at death? Many of them, no doubt, have received a far higher development in willing, thought, and emotion than the master souls of worms and insects or than some of the higher animals. They have been imbued, educated, more or less, with the larger conscious life of the central soul which they so long served. We cannot believe them annihilated at death: they, too, must have a habitat and being. Where? We trace the grosser material elements and forces of the body, over which these minor wills or souls ruled, under the direction of the master will or soul. We trace these elements and forces through dissolution, passing into earth mould and into the atmosphere. May it not be—what more natural in the line of evolution than that these minor souls, holding awhile a kind of community relation, as in the body, should pass into the great realm of the unseen that surrounds our little seen? Such might be the animal souls of "Kama Loca." In that unseen realm adjoining ours, they would hold an intermediate position between our world and that higher realm of the human souls who had ascended through death; related to both, it may be serving both. We may conceive of some such condition and relation as this: a realm of the unseen adjoining our seen, we know. How hardly can we escape the conviction that it is but a higher continuation of our seen world and life in the line of evolution! Into this higher, outlying unseen, we may quite naturally suppose that souls, freed from seen matter, pass to finer, more perfect degrees of matter, force, and life.

Of the souls or separate individual consciousnesses that dwell in the human organism, at death the master soul ascends to that degree in the unseen for which it is fitted. Of the lesser subordinate individual consciousnesses or souls, that ruled in the lesser brains, the ganglia, as the seats of willing, emotion, and striving, although educated into much of the life of the master soul that ruled over and through them, they are not so largely developed, hence will gravitate to a lower degree of the unseen, remaining, it may be, quite close to the old earth of matter in our atmosphere, organizing and controlling matter and forces, only just over the borders of visibility and tangibility to us. What more natural than that they may produce phenomena sensible to us, under certain conditions? Still working in and through elements and powers close bordering upon us, com-

mon to them and to us, may they not quite naturally at times produce raps and voices, audible to us, through electricity or some other of the subtle forms of force with which we are ever surrounded and permeated, in the midst of which they live, through which they may find their most common action? If, moreover, these souls dwell in and manifest through unseen matter bordering on our seen, and therefore so nearly visible to us, is it unscientific to imagine that they may "tone down" their unseen forms of matter to a condition where they may be visible to our duller senses, and so appear as materialized forms of those departed into the unseen?

The scientific principles of fluorescence point how open may be the way. It requires no far stretch of the "scientific imagination" to conceive of these unseen beings, through the subtle yet mighty forces that permeate their realm and ours, as an unseen tide flowing back and forth, moving objects visible about us. Yet, again, if they still retain much of the spirit and power of the willing, hoping, and striving they were once inspired with and educated into by the master human soul that has ascended above them, being so closely related to us, may they not quite naturally find means to communicate something of that life to us? Lastly, conceiving of these souls as still holding some relation and communion with those master souls that have gone above them, may they not receive and bear from them to us, though in a weak, imperfect way, some messages, some tokens of love and good will, some communications of thought and aspiration, some facts of that higher life they have reached and toward which we move? Is "Kama Loca" such as this? Shall we some time grow to find, plain to our sense and understanding, what now we grasp but weakly, and "see through a glass darkly"?

CORRESPONDENCE.

CUSTOM OF HEBREW DIVORCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Editors of The Index:—

Few people are aware that much family trouble and forced seeking for charity are caused among the Jews in America by the above-named habit, which is a relic of the ancient times when Church and State were as one, and of course is without legal value to-day in this country. Much, on the contrary, has been said and written in praise of the strictness of the Hebrews in preserving intact the marriage state, reflections having been cast on our condition as less admirable in this respect.

These divorce papers, so called, are made by the assistance of some Hebrew rabbi, and are written in the old characters in thirteen lines accurately formed. It is deemed necessary that the paper, when complete, should be handed to the woman in the presence of one or two witnesses. When she accepts it, either knowing its contents or not, the divorce is complete. Remarriage can take place; and only occasionally do the parties feel the need of appeal to the civil courts in the matter, and then usually it is from the information received from outside their number.

In both the following cases, the husbands had deserted their wives and families and left the city, causing hardship and requests for aid, which, when inquired into, led to the real cause of the trouble, and a speedy bringing the men to court to obtain the support required by our laws of husbands, of any nationality or creed, for their families.

In order to provide all needed facts to substantiate this article, the names of the parties are given for identification.

Simon and Leah Silverman: former at Attleboro, Mass.; latter at 65 Salem Street, Boston. Myer and Rachael Maccola: former at Washington, D.C.; latter at 5 Morton Street, Boston.

Divorce.

This is to certify, in the hand of the woman Shena Leah, that she is free, who is the daughter of Harris,

that she is divorced from her husband Simon, the son of Myer. This is public, this is written and sealed in Boston which is near the sea and the Charles River, in the third week of September, which is the twenty-third day of Ella in the year 5643 since the beginning of the world. The witnesses to this are Solomon, the son of Rafael, and Abraham, the son of Eliza. And she can marry any Hebrew under the Hebrew law, except a (descendant of Aaron) Kahen; and Siskind, the rabbi of the Mikra Kodash holy church of New York, arranged this matter between them and divorced them.

REV. S. M. SISKIND.

52 1-2 Eldridge Street, N. Y.

In the third week, the fifteenth of the month of Air (May) in the year 5643 since the beginning of the world as we count it here, in New York near the sea and the river Hudson, I, Myer, the son of Gedalia, living in New York, which is a great seaport and near the river Hudson, being troubled in my soul and with sickness, being at the point of death, come to separate from you my wife, Udis Rachael, the daughter of Joseph. I give you freedom to part with me and to be separate from me to have your own will to marry any other man. And no man can prevent you from doing this from this day forever. And you have the right to any man, and this I give you to show, a written paper, as a separation. This is a divorce separating us according to the laws and religion of Moses and the Israelites.

Witness, Moses Simon, the son of Mordecai, Isaah, the son of Isaac.

Objection has been widely made to other religious sects who have assumed illegal positions in regard to marriage and divorce in America. This then, equally, should be adversely criticised and prevented, rather than to allow it to be hidden away, so that many never hear of the fact at all, one would suppose.

JOHN DIXWELL, M.D.

Boston, 1884.

[The following extract from Dr. Mielziner's recently published work, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, may be of interest in connection with the curious divorce papers cited by Dr. Dixwell:—

"As long as the Jews had autonomy in all their matrimonial affairs, and Jewish courts were permitted to exercise a kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in cases of divorce, they were strictly governed by the Rabbinical law concerning such matters. Since the beginning of the present century, this autonomy has ceased in most of the European countries. Here in America it never existed. Under these circumstances, a valid marriage can be dissolved by the competent courts of the State only. The laws by which these courts are governed differ in many respects from the rules of the Rabbinical Code. The rabbi in our time has no power or authority to enforce a dissolution of marriage where it is required by the Jewish law, or to direct the act of a ritual *Get* [Document, meaning what is called "bill of divorce" in the Bible,] so long as the marriage has not been duly dissolved by the competent court of the country. In general, the Jewish parties whose marriage has been dissolved by court apply for a ritual *Get*, in order to be permitted to remarry according to the Jewish Law; and, in this case, the rabbi will comply with their request."

It seems from this extract that divorce papers like the above have no validity for Hebrews in this country under the modern Jewish law of divorce, as they certainly have none under the laws of the States. This form of the bill of divorce, as given by Dr. Mielziner, refers to "the city situated on the river," "and containing wells for water." He says the present form of the document was probably established by the Babylonian teachers of the fourth century, who laid down some very minute rules for its peculiar orthography and calligraphy. It may be written in any language; but the Rabbinical idiom, which is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, is still used.—B. F. U.]

SOCIAL HAPPINESS.

Editors of *The Index*:—

The late death of Charles F. Barnard, the founder of the Warren Street Chapel, suggests the subject of "Social Happiness." Thanks to Channing and Parker, we now enjoy more favorable conditions for the growth of cheerfulness. Creeds do not constitute character, but they affect character. With all his

natural tenderness of heart, Mr. Barnard could not have succeeded in making so many thousands of children happy in their social relations, if he had accepted the current beliefs and doctrines of the Trinitarian churches. Even as it was, he was hampered by traditions and narrowness of Unitarian churches. He was an innovator when he instructed and entertained children. And, even now, efforts to promote social happiness are hindered by the doctrines and prejudices of churches. The popular feeling is still opposed to joining the worship of God with amusements for the young.

The laws of associated life are not taught and exemplified by the churches. They were organized for another purpose, although social morality has never been wholly lost sight of. We are soon to have sociology recognized as its importance demands, and not as a side issue.

Morality and philanthropy, under the inspiration of more rational views of the source and life of the universe, will seek the aid of science to improve the moral and social condition of the world, to remove the causes of unhappy homes, and of the immoralities which darken our streets and fill our prisons. We are to have such eloquence as Phillips used to improve the financial and social condition of the masses. Music Hall should be filled every Sunday to receive instruction and inspiration on such themes as social happiness, and through the week we need joyous gatherings of young and old in the interests of pure and unadulterated benevolence.

Boston is all the better and happier for Mr. Barnard's boldness and enthusiasm. We owe the Public Garden, the Museum of Fine Arts, the attention paid to children and the unfortunate, to him. He had a genius for doing good, at the expense of personal health and strength. Though he lived to be over seventy years of age, his real life work was consummated many years ago. His ideas of social happiness are still acted upon by his successors at the Warren Street and the Appleton Street Chapels. They have no doubt modified the workings of numerous churches.

W. G. B.

BOOK NOTICES.

ATHEISM IN PHILOSOPHY, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Frederic Henry Hedge, author of *Reason in Religion*, *Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition*, *Ways of the Spirit*, etc. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884. pp. 390. Price \$2.00.

By philosophic atheism, Dr. Hedge means "speculative denial of a supermundane, conscious intelligence,—theories of the universe which regard it as the product of blind force, or as a self-subsisting, self-governing, independent being." In speculating about the universe, there is no evading the question of origin; and here atheists differ widely, almost as widely as they differ from theists. Two prominent examples the author selects for illustrations, one drawn from antiquity, the other from modern times,—Epicurus and Arthur Schopenhauer. The lives of these philosophers are sketched, their systems expounded, and some of their distinctive positions critically examined. A chapter is also devoted to a critique of pessimism as taught by Eduard von Hartmann.

Of Epicurus, Dr. Hedge says: "I call him an atheist in philosophy; for, though he recognizes the existence of the national gods, it is only as accidents, not as powers. He recognizes no divine agency in his system. His gods have no right to be, in the light of his philosophy. . . . Finding them fixed in the popular belief, he uses them as illustrations of a blessed life. The testimony of the ancients is decisive on this point." His system Dr. Hedge regards as superficial, and his thought crude. Literature, he thinks, has probably suffered little by the loss of three hundred volumes ascribed to Epicurus. "For him Plato had lived, and Aristotle was living, in vain." But his life was a serene and, in some respects, a noble one; and he was widely and deeply beloved. "On the whole, it was a pure and beautiful life which those garden philosophers lived, if not, as judged by Stoic and Christian standards, a very heroic one." One feature of the gatherings in the garden of Epicurus, mentioned, was the presence and participation of slaves; "and a beautiful trait in the character of Epicurus, noticed by Seneca, is the treatment of this class of fellow-beings, whom he called his friends, thus proving his superiority to the prejudice of his age, and illustrating by his own example the human-

ity commended in his doctrine." Yet Dr. Hedge thinks that the word "Epicurean," although it does not represent the idea and purpose of the Epicurean school, represents the natural tendency of its philosophy.

Of Schopenhauer our author says: "I select this German, partly as being the only modern atheist who seems to me really profound, and partly because of the points of contrast between him and Epicurus, showing the range of the atheistic mind. The contrast is striking. Epicurus was a flat materialist, Schopenhauer an out and out idealist. Epicurus was an optimist, Schopenhauer a pessimist. Epicurus was sunny-tempered, bland, humane: Schopenhauer was a cynic and malcontent. Epicurus gathered his followers about him in a garden, and invited the world to partake of his cheer: Schopenhauer shut himself up in a German *Studierzimmer*, and wreaked with curses on the world his spite at the world's neglect of his wisdom. Epicurus despised and decried all learning: Schopenhauer was richly, widely, profoundly learned. Epicurus exhorts us to make the most of life: Schopenhauer teaches that renunciation of the will to live is the true wisdom. Epicurus lived abstemiously, and taught that pleasure is man's chief end: Schopenhauer lived daintily, and taught that the end of man is suffering." The exposition of Schopenhauer's philosophy is lucid; and the criticism of it is marked by discrimination and fairness, as is the essay on some portions of Von Hartmann's philosophical teachings. The author writes from the stand-point of a Christian theist, but with such acquaintance with the subjects treated, with such varied scholarship and breadth of thought, and in a style so clear and fine that his work is fairly entitled to careful reading by those whom the author calls atheists. In addition to the essays mentioned are several others, every one of which is well worth reading. The titles only can be given here: "Life and Character of Augustus," "Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz," "Immanuel Kant," "Irony," "The Philosophy of Fetichism," "Genius," and "The Lords of Life."

B. F. U.

BLACK AND WHITE: LAND, LABOR, AND POLITICS IN THE SOUTH. By T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Globe*. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1884. Price \$1.00. pp. 310.

We have in this unique volume a powerful presentation by a colored man, and one who was for the first nine years of his life a Southern slave, of the present aspect of the case of the black man versus the white man of the United States. It is a volume well worth reading, written with a fire, force, and eloquence rare in these days, and, read in conjunction with Judge Tourgee's *Appeal to Caesar*, issued by the same publishing firm, will be pretty sure to awaken earnest thought on one of the most vital problems of our domestic economy. Mr. Fortune, in his natural indignation at the many mistakes made or wrongs perpetrated upon his race by the whites, often makes his indictments altogether too sweeping against the latter; but, remembering the indignities and injustice which the negroes have been in the past obliged to endure, we can easily understand and overlook their representative's passionate, one-sided, yet brilliant rehearsal of their wrongs. He seems to think that the duty of the American government toward the colored race stopped far short of justice with the mere act of manumission; and, contrary to the general feeling among his people of rejoicing over and glorifying of President Lincoln's celebrated emancipation proclamation, he denies that there was anything save statesmanlike policy for the purpose of saving the Union in that document, and that no high sense of justice or humanitarian feeling induced the issuing of that proclamation, which was only made possible by the arrogant and suicidal demands of the Southern leaders. "Everything," he says,—"humanity, justice, posterity,—was placed upon the sacrificial altar of the Union, and the slave-power was repeatedly and earnestly invited to lay down its traitorous arms, be forgiven, and keep its slaves." He declares that in mere manumission the duty of the government toward the blacks is only begun; that the power which made them freemen should also educate them, protect them in the exercise of their new liberty, and make some suitable provision for their future by apportioning to them for cultivation a share of the land in which the nation is rich. He agrees in many respects with the theories of Henry George, and declares that "the parasite which is eating away

the energies of the people, making paupers and criminals in the midst of plenty and the grandest of civilizations, is the powerful monopolies we have created,—the "monopoly in land, in railroads, telegraphs, fostered manufactures, etc.,—the gigantic forces in our civilization which are in their very nature agents of public convenience, comfort, and absolute necessity. Society in the modern sense could not exist without these forces: they are part and parcel of our civilization. Naturally, therefore, society should control them or submit to the humiliation of being ruled by them. And this latter is largely the case at the present time." He agrees with Mr. Tourgee in the fear of a racial conflict, unless something determinative be done to change the present condition of affairs at the South, and thinks with him that education of both whites and blacks is one of the first essentials toward a better understanding between the races and a better spirit.

S. A. U.

THE AMERICAN LESSON OF THE FREE TRADE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND. By Gen. M. M. Trumbull. Chicago: Schumm & Simpson, *Radical Review* office. 1884. pp. 300. Price, paper, 50 cts.; cloth, 75 cts.

The first edition of this work, now revised and enlarged, was published in 1882. In a letter to the author, John Bright spoke of it as a "useful and very interesting *History of the Free Trade Struggle in England*." With the additions which have been made to the volume, its value is greatly increased, especially for those who desire to understand the morale of the contest between free trade and protection, which is as applicable to this country as it ever was to England. Mr. Trumbull says that all the arguments used now by those who advocate the American protective system are borrowed from speeches delivered in the British Parliament in 1844 in support of the English protective system, which was wisely abandoned in the interests of progress and prosperity, after England had persevered in it at a wasteful expense for centuries, and when, having gone through an education in economics, she discovered its folly, and adopted the principles of commercial freedom.

Mr. Trumbull maintains that the laws of moral science are as inflexible as the laws of mathematics, and that no enactments of legislation, no differences of climate, can make right or beneficial selfish restrictions on trade between nations. "It is easy," he says, "to persuade most people that to 'protect' their own artisans from the competition of 'foreign pauper labor' is an act of patriotism. This admitted, it is easily narrowed down to our State, our own country, our own city, our own village, or even our own street. In the last century, the farmers of Middlesex, the county in which London is situated, petitioned Parliament against improving the abominable roads of England. They frankly claimed that, so long as the roads were bad, they had a monopoly of the London markets for the sale of their vegetables, fruit, and grain; that, if the roads were improved, the farmers of other counties would be able to bring their produce to the London markets, which would be disastrous to the 'industry' of Middlesex. This looks very foolish on the face of it, and yet it is the doctrine of American Protectionists to-day."

Very interesting are some of the so-called "protection" laws of England, enacted in different centuries in the professed interests of the people; but we have no space to quote any of them here. By the free trade struggle in England is meant the campaign which extended from 1838 to 1846, or from the formation of the Anti-corn Law League to the final overthrow of the protective system. The account of this is very instructive. The author is thoroughly acquainted with the period, deeply interested in his subject, and writes in a clear, forcible, and popular style. However widely the reader may dissent from some of his conclusions, he cannot doubt his ability, his earnestness, or his aim to treat the subject with fairness. This work is evidently by the same author who wrote *Signing the Document*, and *Other Essays*, under the name of "Wheelbarrow," which we noticed in these columns a few months ago.

B. F. U.

THE JEWISH LAW OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES, and its Relation to the Law of the State. By Rev. Dr. M. Mielziner, Professor of the Talmud and of the Rabbinical Discipline at the Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati: The Bloch Publishing and Printing Co. 1884. pp. 149.

This treatise by a very competent author gives the fullest information regarding the elaborate law

of marriage developed on the basis of the Mosaic code, and which, with modifications, is still acknowledged by religious Israelites as the rule of their practical conduct in matrimonial affairs. "The Marriage Relation according to the Ethical Doctrines of the Bible and the Talmud," "The Sources of the Jewish Marriage Law," "Modern Modifications," "Legal View of Marriage," "Monogamy and Polygamy," "Prohibited Marriages," "Qualifications to contract Marriage," "The Form of Marriage in Ancient Times," "The Form of Marriage in our Time," "Marital Duties and Rights," "Divorce," "The Husband's Causes," "The Wife's Causes," and "The Jewish Law of Divorce in Modern Times" are among the subjects treated. Considerable attention is given to the questions which have arisen in modern times regarding the Jewish law of marriage and divorce, and to the resolutions passed during the last forty years by various Rabbinical conferences and synods for the purpose of bringing some of the provisions of this law into harmony with the changed circumstances of our time. The work is not only of value to jurists and clergymen of all denominations, but it will make a desirable addition to the library of every educated man.

B. F. U.

SONGS OF THE SILENT WORLD, AND OTHER POEMS. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.25.

The mysteries of "the valley and the shadow of death" seem to have taken strong hold of the mind of Miss Phelps in her later works. In her prose stories, *The Gates Ajar* and *Beyond the Gates*, this tendency to dwell on the problems of a future life is the prominent feature and the main attraction of those books. And, in this small volume of recent poems, many of them exquisite in their rhythm and beauty of word-painting, this shadow of death hovers continually over them all, making the reader arise from their perusal with wet eyes or a heart saddened by the plaintive strain running through them, and with a surmise that the beyond holds all that is dearest and nearest to the heart of the writer. Death, Immortality, Love, the Sea,—these form the somewhat monotonous though lofty refrains to poems of considerable strength, warmth, and grace. A strain of deep religious fervor, devoid of anything like cant or sectarianism, permeates these poetical outpourings of a genuine and loving woman's heart. An excellent portrait of Miss Phelps adorns the first page of this volume, giving it an added value to her many admiring readers.

S. A. U.

FLAXIE FRIZZLE STORIES. FLAXIE GROWING UP. By Sophie May, author of *Little Prudy Stories* and *Dotty Dimple Stories*. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price 75 cents.

Sophie May's delightful series of story books for the young are too well known to need commendation from us. The Dotty Dimples, Little Prudys, and Flaxie Frizzles, of the United States, know their good friend and faithful portrayer too well to make it very necessary to call their attention particularly to this new phase of *Flaxie Growing Up*; but, although this Flaxie is an exceptionally fortunate girl in her friends, fortune, and surroundings, yet her feelings, adventures, haps, and mishaps, are so like those which occur to many girls of her age that these will find much pleasure, and, if they choose, profit in learning to "see themselves as others see them," through Flaxie's experience and taking to themselves at less cost the lessons taught her by that experience. This book with its handsome binding, clear type, and illustrations, will make a welcome holiday gift to other Flaxies growing up.

S. A. U.

In the *Art Amateur* for November, Montezuma's Note Book is pretty severe upon the decorations of a Broadway hotel, which we presume to be the Hoffmann House, upon the Opera House decorations, and indeed upon most things he mentions except the Art Year Book for 1884 of the Exposition of the New England Institute, whose exterior he praises highly. Greta has a rather flippant article on "Boston Architecture." The two biographical articles on Alphonse Legros and Joseph de Nittis are very interesting. They were representative men, showing the kind of work done and its results in our own day. Legros especially was a man of strong individuality, who put ideas into his work. A union of humane humor with devotional piety seems to have characterized him. We would rather have one such history com-

pleted in the number than have it carried through two and a second one begun. This cutting up of a subject is very distracting, and is inexcusable except where an article is really too long for the space which can be allowed to a given purpose. There is much practical good sense in the articles on "Wood Engraving," "Working Art Clubs," and "Materials for Oil Painting," which wisely recommend the use of good tools. In *Decorative Art*, we have the "Fitting up of the Bedroom," "Artistic Book-binding," and the usual variety of suggestions and illustrations for fancy work. Boucher's allegorical designs of Painting and Music are very prettily engraved in imitation of red chalk.

E. D. C.

THE Catholic World for November has the following list of contents: "Scriptural Questions," by Rev. A. F. Hewett; "Frenchwomen portrayed by a Frenchwoman," Kathleen O'Moore; "Two Translations of the Dies Irae,"—I., George M. Davie; II., John Mason Brown; "Solitary Island," Part Second, Rev. John Talbot Smith; "Fray Junipero Serra," Bryan J. Clinche; "Down the River to Texas during the Flood," Thomas F. Galway; "A Critic of the Great Republic," Rev. Walter Elliott; "Katherine," Chapters XV., XVI., E. G. Martin; "The Liquefaction of the Blood of Saint Januarius," Louis B. Binns; "A True Reformer, Nicholas Krebs," by Rev. Henry A. Braun, D.D.

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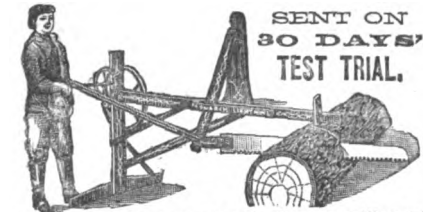
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LIGHT, LIBERTY, RIGHT.

VOL. XVI., OLD SERIES.—NO. 179.
VOL. V., NEW SERIES.—NO. 22.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1884.

THREE DOLLARS A YEAR.
SINGLE COPIES SEVEN CENTS.

Entered as Second Class Mail-Matter.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A BILL giving women who pay taxes the right to vote in municipal and town elections has just been defeated in the Vermont legislature by 113 to 69.

It looks now as though the Franchise Bill would pass the House of Lords, but on terms giving Lord Salisbury and his party the privilege of refashioning the electoral system,—a compromise which the Radicals do not contemplate with satisfaction. Such a result, sure to reinvigorate the functions of the House of Lords, although it will doubtless be a victory for the cabinet, will fall short of what the Liberal party expected.

THE liberal organization formed under the name of the Unitarian Society, chiefly by the efforts of Mr. Rowland Connor, at East Saginaw, Mich., about four years ago, has now a church which represents an outlay of \$20,000. It was dedicated last Sunday. Judging from the descriptions of the building in the East Saginaw papers, it is a handsome and unique structure. May Mr. Connor long remain with the society! His radical lectures given often to large audiences and printed in the daily papers, and widely circulated in Northern Michigan, have had a most liberalizing influence in that part of the State.

In a letter to the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, Moncure D. Conway says: "Democracy of the European type has confirmed my belief that suffrage ought to be restricted to those who are intelligent enough to know something of the power they are wielding in the ballot. With that proviso, self-government ought to be extended through every part of a nation. My main reason for sympathizing with the American democracy is that I have hope of its establishing free trade. Free trade is not an English notion of mine. It was always my belief; and it was confirmed in me by the wisest man I ever knew,—Emerson. Since

I have been in England, I have perceived here a growing desire that America should retain its protective system. So long as it does so, England will preserve almost a monopoly of trade in the East and of the carriage of commerce by sea. I am not likely to become a partisan, having lost none of my radicalism. I would abolish the Presidential office, if I could, and have only one House of Congress. These notions may appear wild to your readers."

JEAN PAUL said that nothing would be more to the advantage of a German university than a law obliging every professor to take a walk with some other professor at least once a week. So it will greatly invigorate the Free Religious Association to have its members and friends meet often for a social meal and friendly talk. The October supper was a great success, though the plan proved susceptible of some improvements, which will be made next time, as follows: On Wednesday, December 10, the doors of Parker Fraternity Hall, Appleton Street, near Tremont, will be open at 6 P.M. Tables, having seats for all, will be spread, with a more substantial supper than before, in the hall below at 6.30. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. At 8, Mr. F. M. Holland will read a brief essay written for the occasion, on "How Religious Liberty is Invaded in Massachusetts." Other speakers will be in readiness. Music by the choir of the Parker Fraternity Society. Tickets, 50 cents, at *The Index* office. A prominent feature will be the opportunity for social intercourse, in which it is hoped that all who attend will join freely, both before and after the speeches. Two petitions against those laws which discriminate unjustly against men giving testimony in the courts on account of religious unbelief, and which compel all owners of property to contribute to sectarian societies, will be ready for signature and discussion. A cordial invitation is addressed to all who believe in just and equal taxation, in freedom of thought, in the separation of Church and State, and in social progress.

THE articles in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* in favor of forming in this country a Psychical Research Society have attracted wide attention; and there is some prospect that such a society will soon be formed, on a sound financial basis, for the investigation of alleged spiritual manifestation and of mental phenomena in general. We notice that our neighbor, the *Banner of Light*, does not look upon the project with favor. It thinks "that in America, at least, there is the greatest danger of these psychical societies rapidly degenerating into self-appointed jundos, whose debates, instead of seeking to arrive at the truth sought to be conveyed by the phenomena presented, will take the character of Star Chamber conclaves for the deciding of who are and who are not legitimate mediums. It is not necessary for us to revert to the past history of the cause in America to prove that this danger is real, and not chimerical. How often has the effort been made to substitute human authority and human ignorance in place of spiritual power and angelic inspiration. The angel-

world workers will take care of all this in time, though self-seeking mortals accidentally occupying prominent places in the ranks of Spiritualism may succeed for a while in multiplying the difficulties of the situation." Still, making all allowance for every danger apprehended by the *Banner of Light*, might not a society, composed of Spiritualists and non-Spiritualists, formed for the purpose of scrutinizing the claims of "spiritual power and angelic inspiration," help fair-minded men and women to arrive at the truth as to the genuineness or spuriousness of the phenomena examined?

THE *Spiritual Offering*, a Spiritualistic paper published at Ottumwa, Ia., reprints from *The Index* a statement of some of our views made in a lecture at Montreal, reported in the *Montreal Star* and copied into these columns a year ago, in reply to the statement of a minister of that city that an agnostic is one who has no opinions. Our purpose was simply to show that one who admits his ignorance in regard to whatever lies beyond the phenomenal world may yet have convictions in regard to matters within the province of the knowable and the known. The *Spiritual Offering* expresses hearty approval of many of our expressions, but objects to our ignoring a future existence. We did not affirm anything in regard to a "future existence," for the reason that, from lack of data, we could not do so intelligently and honestly. We do not deny the reality of such an existence; but nearly every attempt we make to examine the alleged phenomena to which Spiritualists appeal in support of their claims to knowledge regarding the subject, is resented as unreasonable incredulity, if not impertinence, on our part. The article concludes thus: "Mr. Underwood's articles of belief are an improvement on the old; and we should be glad to have him proclaim them throughout the land, rallying and organizing his agnostic forces to battle for the right and against the wrong. When we see agnostics doing something besides using the sledge-hammer of destruction against the old, presenting some plan of reconstruction, we shall have hope for their accomplishing some good." The views referred to we have presented during the past dozen years and more in almost every State from Maine to Oregon; but we do not regard them as finalities, nor do we think it would be wise to make these views, many of them on disputed points, the basis of an organization. What would such an organization be, if effected, but another sect? Organization for the accomplishment of definite and distinct objects—such, for instance, as the secularization of the State or the maintenance of the right of free, untrammelled discussion—we approve; but the necessity of organizing men and women to advance the particular views we hold, and to oppose all others, is not apparent. Rather, we trust to increasing intelligence, the progress of science, the diffusion of liberal thought by lectures, papers, and books, and to a multitude of other agencies which do not depend upon any such organization as our Spiritualistic contemporary suggests, for the decay of error and the triumph of truth.

THANKSGIVING DAY.

Thanksgiving as a religious festival has come down from a great antiquity,—we may say, indeed, from time immemorial; for probably no antiquarian research could now discover when the first Thanksgiving proclamation among mankind was made. We are apt to think of Thanksgiving as peculiarly Christian and Puritan, for such is the origin of the festival in this country. But Thanksgiving days were a prominent feature of the Hebrew faith; and the old days, believed to have been established by Moses, are still observed by the loyal Jews wherever they are scattered over the face of the earth. And according to Hebrew traditions there were Thanksgiving ceremonies before the time of Moses. The germ of the Hebrew festival may be found probably in the legend of Cain and Abel, who are represented as bringing the one "of the fruit of the ground," and the other "of the firstlings of his flock," as thank offerings to Jehovah.

And a similar germ of thanksgiving as a religious festival may be found in other religions. The religions called pagan have even more of such festivals than the Hebrew and Christian religions. The Hindu faith abounds in them. Ancient Greece and Rome had them. They existed in the old religion of Scandinavia. And, when traced to their origin, they appear everywhere to have sprung from man's sense of a gracious bounty in the powers of nature. Such expressions as "of the fruits of the field" and "of the firstlings of the flock" are phrases, perhaps, that dropped out of the first harvest song that man ever sung, and indicate the primitive faith of the human race in a benignant Providence operating in the natural forces amid which the race has its being. And alongside of these thank-festivals in the primitive religions of mankind were days and seasons of other religious observances, corresponding to the Hebrew and Christian fasts; ceremonies of expiation and penance, indicating a belief that there was a Power in nature not always benignant, but capable of being propitiated into kindness by certain acts of man.

But, with regard to Thanksgiving Day in the United States, it is a well-known fact that it originated in New England, and is one of the legacies of Puritanism. As the Puritans began their voyage in the "Mayflower" with a day of solemn fasting and prayer, so they ended it, as they landed at Plymouth, with bending on their knees upon the new-found coast in solemn thanksgiving. Many fast-days followed in those early months and years, and some fasts that were not voluntary, but compulsory from scarcity of food. But afterwards, as the years rolled round with their harvests, a thanksgiving day began to come as regularly as the years, in special commemoration of the infinite bountiful Giver to whom the Puritan devoutly believed he owed all his prosperity.

Thus, the American Thanksgiving Day had an origin as natural as it was devout. And, since the Puritan Church and State were strictly one, the Puritan having no other thought than to establish a religious commonwealth as nearly as possible after the pattern of the old Hebrew theocracy, it was perfectly natural, too, that the Thanksgiving Day should be both a religious and a civil institution. Between religious and civil institutions there was then no distinction. All citizens were assumed to be members of the church, and of the same church; and at first they were. The town meetings provided for the support of the church as they provided for roads and schools. Hence, it was safely assumed that the whole community was equally interested in the observance of Thanks-

giving. It was merely the appointment of an extra religious service on a secular day by people who believed substantially alike, and went to one church, and agreed as to the significance and importance of the service. And if, in the Thanksgiving proclamations or appointments of those earliest New England days, by whomsoever issued, certain phrases had appeared indicating the special Puritan theology, there was no dissenter whose conscience could have been offended. The Puritan did not profess to establish the principle of absolute religious toleration, much less a government of equal rights in respect to religious conviction. What he desired and the only thing he aimed at in coming to the wilderness of America was conscience freedom for himself and his fellow-believers.

But, as time went on, and the little colony in the wilderness expanded into a people of many faiths, it began to be seen that, to secure the conditions of absolute freedom in religion, the institutions of State and Church must be separated and kept entirely distinct; that the State must be organized to care specially and exclusively for the secular interests of society; and that religion, in all its doctrines, practices, and institutions, must be committed wholly to the free convictions and support of voluntary believers. This is a complete overturn of the doctrine of the Puritans when they colonized New England,—namely, *the identity of Church and State*; yet it was the only way, as the experience of history taught them, by which they could justly preserve their own religious rights and liberties. Gradually, they learned to apply the Golden Rule in the matter of religious faith, and did for others what they wanted others to do unto them,—leave them alone in respect to religion. But not till the Federal Constitution did there come a perfect legal expression of this ground of equal rights in religion. That instrument severs the institutions of Church and State completely, establishing a government to promote the moral, social, and industrial welfare of the people of the United States, but leaving religion as a matter between each individual and his own conscience. *Theoretically*, the separate States have intended to take the same ground, the old States changing their laws and constitutions in the direction of individual religious liberty, and the new naturally conforming to the larger views of religious liberty that have gained ground in the country since the Puritan days. Yet, in most of the States, either in the constitutions or laws, there are survivals of customs and phrases that belong to the old order of things when the State and Church were one, and are opposed to the new order of things, by which Church and State are separated. And, even in the usage of the federal government, in violation of the spirit of the Federal Constitution, and without any warrant from its letter, things are permitted which infringe on the equal religious rights of a portion of the citizens.

Among these survivals of customs infringing on religious liberty—though perhaps the most harmless of them all—is the appointment of special seasons of Thanksgiving and Fast by the authority of the civil government, national or State. The appointment of Fast Days may now be left out of consideration. They rest upon a theological idea which has been proved false and which is nearly obsolete. They would be objectionable, even if they were appointed only by the act of the churches themselves; and hence, as concerns our special thought to-day, we had better leave them aside, with this simple remark,—that, if there be any reasons why the civil government in our country should abstain from the appointment of thanksgiving days, these reasons are very much strengthened against the appointment of fasts by

the civil power. But a Thanksgiving Day,—a day for the expression of the grateful and joyous emotions of religion; a day of special remembrance of the things that bring cheer and happiness and prosperity and good will into human life; a day for recalling the bounties of nature and our relations to them; a day for commemorating and hence for perpetuating the mutual obligations and affections of the home and for strengthening the best bonds of society,—the occasional setting apart of a day for these objects is certainly in harmony with the spirit of rational thought, and the usage is to be cherished and improved rather than abolished.

Thanksgiving Day being, then, a day good in itself, which it is rational and useful to have, is there any harm in leaving its appointment to civil authority, where usage in our country has hitherto left it? Why is it not perfectly just and proper that the executive power of the State or the nation should fix and proclaim the day as now? To this question, we answer that, while we do not think any *great* injustice or any *great* harm ensues from the present custom, still the custom, so far as concerns the federal government, is in violation of the spirit, if not the exact letter, of the Federal Constitution, which very guardedly and intentionally commits religion to the free conscience of the individual citizen; and, so far as the State governments are concerned, the custom is in violation of that drift and progress of things which has been going on from colonial times toward the entire separation of Church and State, as the safest bulwark of religious freedom. In other words, this country has committed itself, openly and expressly in the Federal Constitution, and impliedly in the Constitutions and progressive legislation of the several States, to the principle of the separation of the functions of Church and State, as the strongest governmental guarantee of individual liberty of conscience. If this principle be a sound one, and this method of protecting religious liberty be sound,—and the soundness of the principle and the method is evinced clearly in the experience and tendencies of all modern civilized nations,—then whatever is in violation of them is a harm, to be checked and abolished. The harm may not be apparent in any special instance, nobody may loudly complain of the injustice, yet, in the end, harm is done by all such violations of any fundamental principle which in itself is recognized as sound and good. It is proved by the history of religion in the United States that it is not only just, but entirely safe, to commit religious institutions to the voluntary support of the people. And there need be no doubt but that Thanksgiving Day would still be observed, though no President or Governor should appoint it. The harm of its appointment by civil authority does indeed seem small. But it is often through the accumulation of little harms that great harms are done.

WM. J. POTTER.

HEREDITY AND INEBRIETY.

We cannot here attempt, and do not attempt, to prove the law of heredity. It must be assumed that it is established as a law of general application, the apparent exceptions to it being instances in which we are ignorant of some of the conditions of its action. It must be further assumed that it applies to passions and appetites as well as to mental and physical features, and that an appetite for drink is capable of being inherited in the same way, and probably in the same degree, as are other characteristics that go to make up what we call the individual, or the personality. And here we should be warned not to be too much misled by the verbal distinction often made between an inherited and an acquired taste for drink. It is

plain that an impetuous, high-strung nature, such as may lead one irresistibly to acquire the taste for drink, may be as well inherited as the taste for drink itself.

Without considering fully the bearing of this view of the sin of intemperance on the question of the moral responsibility of the unhappy beings who are burdened by it, the assumption that fondness for liquor is an hereditary trait, if fully accepted, certainly raises some very weighty suggestions.

In the first place, alcoholism being an inherited trait as regards both mankind at large and the individual, we see that it is not a peculiarity deliberately acquired at some stage of the development of a society, or of the growth of an individual. Does any man confer with himself at some period of his life and say, "Now, I'll be bad, and love liquor?" It is absurd to suppose so. Neither has mankind at large, or any given nation, calmly determined to become a community of drinkers or of drink lovers. Alcoholism in the individual has the same relation to the whole man as do mental traits, and a similar one to physical traits, like dark hair or a Roman nose. In the nation, it occupies the same position as a trait as do vivacity and changeableness, for instance, in the French, or apathy and perseverance in the Germans.

There is here opened a field of inquiry promising rich results. An investigation of the origin of this trait, could it be carried far enough, might give data enabling us to lay down with scientific accuracy a plan for its eradication. Here can only be stated the suggestions as to such a plan which our first assumption naturally draws after it.

As regards its treatment there are three points of view from which alcoholism may be looked at: that of the individual, whether subject to it or not; that of society; and that of the State.

The individual, having a knowledge of the law of heredity as part of his mental status, not merely as an occasional conviction, would rule himself thus: Not being an intemperate, he would take care that he did not come into such circumstances, or degenerate into such a mental or physical state as would lead him to become one. He would look on intemperates who might come under his observation and influence as unfortunate rather than as vicious; he would supply them, as far as possible, with motives and aids to removing the burden resting upon them, and would assist in changing their circumstances from those in which temptations might be constant to those in which they might be rare.

The intemperate would, so far as he could make the knowledge of the nature of his weakness prevail over the weakness itself, be vigilant to avoid temptation, and so to conduct his life as least to give opportunities for his thirst for liquor to overpower his conviction of the harmfulness of its indulgence. As an individual, too, the intemperate would allow the knowledge that his weakness is hereditary to influence him in respect to marriage. He would feel strongly, being conscious of his own inheritance of woe, the justice of the demand that he should not bring into the world others with a like inheritance; and society and the world would be ever making this demand. He would see that every human being born with an irresistible tendency to alcoholism is a creature of wretchedness in itself, and is an additional burden to an already overburdened world. On the importance of this lesson, too much stress cannot be laid.

The view of intemperates taken by society, under the influence of our first assumption, would be similar to that taken by the individual. Organizations devoted to their amelioration and to the suppression of intemperance would see more

clearly the supreme value of intelligence to those for whom they were laboring,—of an intelligence, that is, through which it may be plain that inebriety is something to be scientifically battled with, not something to be subdued at the call of sentiment. Charitable organizations would realize the futility and even the wrongfulness of expending their energies on attempts to redeem such persons as, if redeemed, would not be worth the sympathy and energy expended on them. There are certainly many men whose natures are so weak that they cannot, even when for a time released from the bondage of a terrible vice, stand alone in the world. More than that, such men, depending on the capable and the virtuous for aid or for their very existence, and so being a hindrance to the latter's advance, often perpetuate themselves in children born to an inheritance of physical weakness and moral depravity. Philanthropy thus often increases future wretchedness while alleviating present misery. Properly to treat such members of society without checking the growth of our sympathies is very difficult. But, heartless and cold-blooded as the proposition may seem today, it is probable that in the future some of those who now get much of our sympathy and aid in the form of helps to living a life like that of the most of men will get that aid and sympathy in a different form. A powerful public opinion may encourage the taking an attitude toward the incapables which will lead to their withdrawing from life, in large part; to their refraining from matrimony; and to their making themselves, in comparative exile from their fellow-men, as little of burdens to the world and as far self-dependent as possible.

The world has advanced from a condition in which every man's actions were for the most part directed and restrained to a condition in which they are comparatively unrestrained; that is, from a condition in which the circumstances of a man's birth had an overpowering influence on his whole life to one in which the life depends largely on the man's nature,—on his character and capacity. We are advancing to still another stage,—one in which the individual will be restrained in his conduct by laws established by the whole people instead of by a monarchy or a ruling class. Whether such a condition is the best form of society, or the final form, we cannot now inquire. Certain it is that we are entering upon it, and that mankind at large now demand such legislation as will soon bring us fully within the reach of its benefits and its evils. Of this legislation, a good instance is the laws regulating the use and sale of liquor. Under the influence of what may be called the socialistic spirit, such legislation has been in late times demanded, and will no doubt continue to be demanded for some years to come. What should be its nature, in view of the fact of the heredity of alcoholism?

In the first place, the liquor-traffic should be more largely prevented. Knowledge of the nature of alcoholism, of the fact that a tendency to it may be inherent in any child, and that it may be transmitted by any person subject to it, has been seen to be essential to the right conduct of the individual. Such knowledge should as far as possible be impressed on every child. Something more than the value of temperance and the dangers of intemperance should be taught in the schools. The teaching of the principles of heredity, and of the conduct every individual owes to humanity in consequence of those principles, should be compulsory. Further, there should be laws aimed at making confirmed inebriates as little burdensome to the world as possible,—perhaps, to that end, more often confining them, and in proper cases forbidding their

marriage. It may be said that such measures as this last are beyond the proper sphere of government; but a government which can properly say that its subjects shall not, except under certain conditions, make, use, or sell certain articles, is not acting on novel principles when it says they shall not marry except under certain conditions. The advisability of restrictive legislation being once admitted, prohibitory laws will be seen to be proper, and to conform to the demands of the principles of heredity. If the thirst for drink be an impulse which will be inevitably yielded to or withstood, according to the conditions in which the possessor of it may be, it seems entirely proper that the government should aid the individual by adapting the circumstances to his weakness and shielding him from temptation. And, if the thirst for drink acquired by one generation may appear as positive alcoholism in the next, the government should put all possible obstacles in the way of the acquisition of that thirst. And, if the intemperate use of liquor by the fathers tends to make the children useless or dangerous members of society and burdens upon it, surely the government is justified in prohibiting that intemperate use.

It may be said that this examination teaches nothing new, that the suggestions raised by the assumption of the general application of the law of heredity are those which have always been followed by the advocates of temperance and of prohibition. To this it can be answered, in the first place, that it is encouraging to find that the work in the past has been on the lines which late scientific thought would point out as the proper ones. It may further be said that there is much that is new in the suggestions that we should view the inebriate with more charity, that we should look upon him more as an unfortunate and less as a vicious person, and that the sympathy tendered him should be tempered with a knowledge of his possible uselessness. There is new force given also to the reasons for making the teaching of temperance scientific as well as moral; for showing the child that temperance is good because it is productive of good results, as well as good because it is right. And, in general, this brief examination again impels us, while not neglecting the aid of sentiment in our work, to give more scope to the influence of reason.

JOHN COTTON DANA.

MYTHOLOGY.

VIII.

To the student of the history of humanity, every object he meets has its interest; nothing is so trivial, threadbare, commonplace, but it has its freshness and value, an important tale to tell in relation to society and mankind. The geologist takes up a lump of clay, and he finds it filled with the relics of organisms that were once athrob with life, and that have much to give him in regard to all the subsequent history of the planet. All the world is illumined and significant, striking, through his science. There are sermons in stones.

So, to the explorer of history, all has its suggestion and vital worth. The modern dwelling is the modified and transformed hut of the savage, the steps of the inevitable evolution to be clearly seen in the leading features of the structure. In the cellar put under all the homes, the preserved cave still of the old troglodyte. In getting out above ground, man brought his house with him.

The gentleman lifts his hat as he passes an acquaintance or friend on the street. He thereby carries a reminder, as he perpetuates the form of an expressive symbol, of acknowledged subjection in long bygone ages. The wedding ring and the proud bracelet to-day bear unconscious reminis-

cence of the fetter by which woman was bound when she had been captured in the chase, which was formerly probably with all races, and is still with some savages, the method of obtaining wives in marriage. This relation was, on the part of the female, one of the most absolute subjugation and slavery. The old Norse word meaning marriage was "*quân-fang*," "bride-seizing." In the German, "*brüt-lausti*," "bride-racing," signifies marriage. Our English phrase, "to catch a wife," carries reminiscence probably also of the same custom in the far back time.

The names used in our tables of weights and measures—grains, barley-corns, feet, ells, spans, miles (*mille passus*), etc.—tell clearly of the early counters and metres employed by man as he began to take measurements. The character still standing at the head of our physicians' prescriptions, the symbol of the planet Jupiter, is a significant relic of the old astrology. I read lately that in the civilization of Peru, at the time of the Incas, idol worship being in full play, the great deities of sun and moon were represented by discs with human countenances, very much like those we see in our almanacs. May it be that these figures among ourselves carry reminiscence of a like nature-worship with our distant ancestors?

So the beliefs and the customs founded upon them, which we constantly meet, furnish many a fruitful suggestion in regard to past history. Reference was made in a former number to the Christmas banquets, as successors and representatives of the feast of our pagan ancestors given to the deities at Yule tide. The Christmas tree, it appears, came from the old world-tree of mythology. In the Norse, it was Yggdrasil. Yggdrasil represented in symbol probably the universe. Its roots ran down deep in the kingdom of Hela, or death; its branches wave in the highest heights of the skies; the Nornas water it from the fountains of being; and under its profound shadow the gods hold their meetings. De Rougement says of this tree that it is "one of the most magnificent emblems invented by the human mind." The Christmas tree, I think, has more significance and true beauty, as we recall its so-called pagan origin.

In connection with this mythologic tree, certain woods have found, and still hold, peculiar veneration. The ash—Yggdrasil was of ash—is regarded as sacred and of magical power. Pliny speaks of the antipathy of the serpent to the ash, showing thus that the superstition in regard to the tree is as old at least as his time. In Cornwall, it is believed that a blow from an ash stick is instant death to an adder; while, if struck with stick of any other wood, the reptile will show signs of life till sundown. This belief in regard to the life of a snake continuing till set of sun, even though he should be decapitated and crushed to a jelly, was current in my time. I recollect well to have heard it in childhood; and, for aught I know, it obtains yet. In some parts of England, ash rods are exhibited to cattle and sheep to cure them of diseases. In Staffordshire, as reported by Grimm, the common people believe to this day that it is very dangerous to break a bough of the ash. A piece of wood of the mountain-ash is frequently carried in Cornwall for years in the pocket, as a charm against ill wish and a cure for rheumatism.

The elder, the hazel, and other woods have shared the veneration given to the ash. In Somersetshire, they never burn the elder wood for fear of ill luck; and the tree is seen planted in England beside many rural cottages, not unfrequently also in our own country, especially New England, the reason originally being in its supposed protective power against witches. In Germany, the hazel was formerly employed to hedge in courts of justice: even

now, it is used to hedge in corn-fields. The superstition in regard to the magic powers of the witch-hazel is active and potent in our own country. The oak was a hallowed tree; and the names Holy-oak, Holywood, etc., tell their own story in regard to this sacred belief.

I have noticed that, in all the rural cemeteries with which I am acquainted, the graves are all laid in one direction, due east and west, or nearly so. I hear that this obtains generally throughout our country. The practice was observed widely through Europe in the Middle Ages, and it is still known there. Probably of those who bury, hardly one in ten thousand may have asked,—or, if asking, been able to answer,—Why all in this direction? More commonly, I believe, the head is laid toward the west, face looking toward the east.

It is perpetuation of the old custom of orientation, grounded in the thought of the soul's finding its new life in the east. There was a tradition that the body of Jesus was laid with the face looking eastward. The duty of burying the dead with the face toward the east is expressly enjoined in an ecclesiastical treatise of the sixteenth century. The burial among the ancient Greeks was in this same line of east and west, sometimes with the head toward the west, sometimes the reverse. The same custom obtains among savage races in the present, as Australians, Fijians, Winnebago Indians, tribes in South America, the Ainos in Japan, etc. The most of these bury with the face toward the west, as the familiar thought with them is that so the body would follow the departing soul.

Thus, unconsciously to this hour, we are continuing in this simple and little noted observance a worship very ancient in the history of humanity, and of wide, almost universal diffusion. Every time I pass by a graveyard in the country, I see a reminder that carries back to the belief of a far distant savage ancestry.

The wedding cake, the bride-loaf,—so essential a part in the observance of marriage,—bears also to old mythological epochs. It has a long history behind it, comes remotely from the symbolical corn-ears that were worn by the bride. These ears were afterward made into cakes and sprinkled on the bride's head. Corn, in one form or another, appears always to have entered into the marriage ceremony; and Sir John Lubbock has shown that it is found among rude savages and semi-civilized people. Mommsen says, "Nothing is more significant than the close connection in which the earliest epoch of culture places agriculture with marriage."

There were talismanic virtues recognized in the corn or the loaf; and pieces of it—in the north of England, for instance, where plates of short-bread are broken over the bride's head as she enters her new home—are scrambled for by the company for the good fortune they insure. A piece drawn through the wedding ring imparts divination, so that, laid under the pillow at night, it gives prophetic dreams. The custom of putting a ring in the cake is founded on a very old belief in the magical virtues of the ring. It confers luck, has indeed all the fruitfulness and marvellous power for enrichment of the Grail, this itself being another form of the same symbol. The horse-shoe is another, the same originally as the ring. Speaking of this, Mr. Drake, writing for New England, says, "One sees this ancient charm against evil spirits in every household."

Very interesting results we should find in tracing to their sources other customs, quaint and whimsical, trivial in seeming, yet standing for matters of gravest reality once, and largely held so now: such as binding a piece of red flannel upon the

throat, for example, to cure irritation or inflammation there,—the color must be red, no other will answer; or winding a stocking about the neck for the same purpose,—the garment must be taken fresh from the foot, this is one absolutely indispensable condition; putting on new clothes—some article of apparel, at least, new—on Easter day, held an imperative obligation in the north of England, and not to be neglected, except on severe penalty; throwing a shoe to assure luck to a departing friend, or laying the shoes crosswise in relation to each other beside the bed at night to secure charms against cramp and "rheumatics," etc.

All these, and many more not to be mentioned here, are capable of mythological explanation; and they carry us back a long way toward the infantile, at least the child, condition of the human mind.

Of all the magic talismans in history, the cross is the most conspicuous. It has played the most decisive rôle in society almost from the beginning of time. It is far older than Christianity, and goes back, as a religious symbol apparently, even to the stone age. It was known and venerated as a sacred sign among pile-dwellers in ancient Italy, among Etruscans, Egyptians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Hindus, and races in Central and South America. The inhabitants of the *terramares* in Italy—their time is probably thousands of years before Christ—wrought it upon their pottery for household use and their cinerary urns. They had not attained the potter's wheel or baking their ware in the fire, had scarcely begun what we call civilization, yet they had this symbol. It was their talisman as they laid their dead in the tomb. It would be very valuable, did the space permit, to trace as far as possible this history, to learn what was the original significance of the sign and how it came to be an object of such wide-spread and degrading idolatry.

Examples of its superstition are seen in the instance above named, of the shoes placed crosswise; another, in the charm performed by the Welsh housewife against the evil spirits, making the sign of the cross over the dough she is kneading, lest they should prevent its rising; or that of the dairy-maid in Wales laying two sticks of the roan or mountain ash-wood running crosswise under the churn, to guard against the witches and secure the bringing of the butter. The German peasant uses this sign of the cross to dispel a thunder-storm.

Not without appropriateness and significance rightly read, as a religious symbol the cross has become the great fetich of Christendom, holding a sway of incantation and bewitching jugglery to the mind, almost unbroken to this hour. It is believed in as if it had magic power to take away all sins, and to protect as an omnipotent luck-charm against all evil influences, to save from the very jaws of hell itself. Its connection early and perhaps naturally wrought with sacrificial blood has given it doubled force as a charm.*

"How great the wonders of that cross,
Where our Redeemer bled and died!"

"O wood, most blest, whereon great God extended hung," says one of the Sibylline leaves.

The threads of the past are shot and inwoven in all ways into the tissues of the present, and form with it one web. It is difficult to separate and distinguish the one from the other. To eject and eliminate dead matter from the living organism, even in the physical, requires good chemistry. In the intellectual and the moral or religious, few in any age have been equal to it. We inherit our faiths. We are in large degree, all of us, what

*In old pre-Mexican manuscripts, now owned in Europe, Baring-Gould tells us, referring to Klemm, is represented in the end a colossal cross, and in the midst a bleeding deity.

early education, what the folk-lore and religious opinions of past ages have made us. Probably not one in four in society anywhere holds his views on any subject, whether educational, political, or religious, independently, as the result of free and careful inquiry. And far more is this the case in religion. Free and independent thinking and investigation here are the rarest of experiences with any of us. "Our belief," says Max Müller, not properly our own, "is mainly belief in the beliefs of others," these, for most part, our predecessors and progenitors. "Nothing is more rare in any man," says Emerson, "than an act of his own."

To see what creatures we are and vassals of the inherited and traditional, receptacles mere, repeaters of what has come down to us, may perchance help us to self-knowledge and an ambition to seek liberation.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND DEMOCRACY.

That modern democracy had its dawning during and immediately subsequent to the later years of Shakspeare and Cervantes is a matter of history. At the time these two died, the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More had been published for just a century. During that time there had been a gradual tendency in society toward the democratic idea; and, in the century immediately following, political speculation burst forth into the richest bloom in such works as the *Atlantis* of Bacon (1624), the *City of the Sun* by Campanella, the *Argenis* of Barclay, and the *Oceana* of Harrington (1656), all of them interpenetrated with democratic principles, which found practical embodiment in the Civil War and the establishment of the Commonwealth. In the light of these facts, it is a fertile and searching suggestion, recently made in the *Critic* by Mr. Whitman, that behind the feudal plays of Shakspeare, as well as in the great work of his contemporary, Cervantes, there lurk the satire and scepticism, respecting chivalry, of one in whom the modern political idea was taking root. And, further, if the sun of feudalism dyes the pages of Shakspeare with the color and dazzle of its setting, and, as in an arctic midnight, also begins immediately to send up premonitory gleams of its rise into democracy, then with stronger reason should we look to find in the pages of Walter Scott yet more emphatic witness of the growth of the new political cult; for he wrote at a much further remove from the life of chivalry. Shakspeare saw feudalism in its setting: Scott saw it only in a third momentary and phantom after-flush. Shakspeare wrote his historical plays for men whose ancestors, a few generations back, had been participants in the events which form the warp and woof of his stories; he treated of themes which still thrilled the hearts and memories of his audience. But Scott's love of mediævalism seems to me to have been (unconsciously to him) chiefly sentiment or imagination, half-sham, like the stuccoed ornaments on certain rooms at Abbotsford. In reading Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, you get the impression that the romancer was a Tory and aristocrat in family pride and in literary and antiquarian tastes, but essentially democratic in his fundamental and interior human sympathies. The main proof, however, is to be found in the novels, wherein the most lovingly and carefully delineated characters are always the "irrespective" people of the *dramatis personæ*. Shakspeare's princes and potentates, his rich stream of lords and ladies, move across the stage in greater pomp and majesty than do Scott's; yet, in general, they, too, are made little account of in the action of the pieces. Cymbeline, Alonzo, King of Naples, King Duncan, Don Pedro in "Much Ado," the dukes in the

plays of "Othello," "Merchant of Venice," "Measure for Measure," "As You Like It," and "Twelfth Night,"—they are all little more than figure-heads on the stage. And herein both the poet of the Avon and the poet of Abbotsford show plainly where their vital affinities lie. It is true that by the magic of his art Scott contrives temporarily to enthuse us for a few of his princes,—e.g., the Queen of Scots, the King of the Lion Heart, and King Jamie First,—and even enkindles in our hearts, while we read, something of the blind and instinctive enthusiasm for royalty that glows in the bosom of his Magdalene Graeme, or Lady Bellen-den, Sir Henry Lee or Redgauntlet. But, on reflection, we easily see through the illusive atmosphere of respectability and fashion thrown around the sentiment by the romancer. In our cooler moments, we are convinced that Mary is an immoral woman; James the First, dissolute, weak, vain, and unfaithful to his promises; Charles Edward, a libertine; and George the Fourth, an idiot. And we feel that there is whimsical paradox and anti-climax in the wild devotion paid to persons so unworthy.

Descending from monarchs to titled subjects, we see that Scott, in spite of himself, can make out of his heroes and his nobility nothing but lay figures or milk-sops. Take the six first written and best of the novels, *Waverley*, *Guy Mannering*, *The Antiquary*, *Old Mortality*, *Rob Roy*, and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, and see around what groups of characters the interest centres. On the side of the aristocracy, you have the following list of comparatively uninteresting persons: the members of the Waverley family; Fergus McIvor, Colonel Mannering, Lovel, Sir Arthur Wardour and his daughter, Die Vernon, Francis Osbaldistone, Lady Bellen-den of Tillietudlem, Edith Bellenden, Lord Evandale, Henry Morton, and George Staunton. But, on the other side, you have these immortal characters, painted with the minutest detail of enthusiastic portraiture from the life of the common people: Dandie Dinmont, Duncan McWheebie, Meg Merri-ries, Dominie Sampson, old Caxon, the barber, Edie Ochiltree, Jonathan Oldbuck, John Burley of Balfour, Ephraim McBriar, Cuddie Headrigg, Mause Headrigg, old Ailie, the housekeeper, douce Davie Deans and his daughters, Madge Wildfire, Saddletree, the Laird of Dumbiedikes, and Duncan of Knockdunder.

Now, it is a curious thing that, while Sir Walter's deeper sympathies are thus proved by his romances to have been democratic, and while we know that the chief pleasure of his private life was taken in the company, not of titled and fashionable persons, but of such dependants as Tom Purdie, and such friends as the rustic James Hogg, and William Laidlaw, and the witty publisher John Ballantyne, and that he loved better to swing an axe with his men in the woods than to walk the floor of the Edinburgh law courts in wig and gown, yet all his life he succeeded in persuading himself that the currents of his being set toward caste and feudal aristocracy. But he builded better than he knew. Grant that he could ask and carry home with him as an inestimable treasure the cup which had touched the lips of imbecile royalty in the person of George the Fourth; admit that, as a politician, he was a violent opponent of all Whiggery and reform and a sneerer at the mob, and that he was stoned and spat upon by the people while making a Tory speech at Jedburg, some even crying, "Burk Sir Walter!" and admit that, in his novels of *Old Mortality*, *Woodstock*, and *Peveril of the Peak*, he grossly caricatures the Paritans and Covenanters, and sedulously whitewashes the aristocracy, makes of Cromwell a petty intriguer and bloodthirsty

assassinator, of the pure and noble enthusiast Harrington a half-crazy fanatic and venal time-server, and leaves it to be inferred that Bletson's atheism and his republicanism are in him connatural doctrines,—grant all this, and grant that he could stake his happiness, his fortune, and his life in the building and furnishing of a splendid Gothic hall which should be the seat of his descendants to remote generations, and revive within its walls the glories of departed chivalry, still it seems to me, as I have said, that in his sincerest moods, and his deepest affinities as a man, he partook, even a great deal more than Shakspeare, of the always waxing sentiment of democracy, the sentiment of the worth and sterling manliness of the toiling people. And it is precisely because the feudal sentiment was rooted chiefly in his imagination, and not in his heart and his reason, that the framework and machinery of his romances are become to us the merest rubbish, while their portraits of humble individuals will always endear him to the heart of his race as the Shakspeare of domestic life.

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE FLORENCE CONVENTION.

The unexpected snow-storm on Wednesday, November 19, did not prevent the gathering of a sufficient number of brave people in the Cosmian Hall at Florence that evening for the opening session of the Convention of the Free Religious Association. A cordial address of welcome was delivered by the pastor of the Free Congregational Society, Mr. W. H. Spencer. He called attention to the motto above its platform, "Above all things, Truth beareth away the victory," as well as to the breadth and elevation of the position held by its enlightened and philanthropic founder, Samuel Hill, who loved liberty not merely as an end in itself, but as a means of doing good.

In reply, the President of the Free Religious Association, William J. Potter, after observing that it was needless to speak at Florence of the aims of the Association, went on to show that the value of a religion does not depend on its age or its conformity to the dead records in dead languages of the history of dead nations, but solely on its capacity to feed the wants of the day. The religion of the nineteenth century must in the first place be rational. It must not repel science, as Presbyterianism does in South Carolina. It must also be moral, or rather it must be morality. Then, again, it must be philanthropic, and give its attention to practical problems rather than theological. And, finally, it must be based on the consciousness of man's relations to the great power working in and through all things, the higher law above all the promptings of selfish pleasure. Such must be the religion of the nineteenth century.

Rev. J. C. Kimball, of Hartford, Conn., added that this religion must have organization, and that the tendency to organize was as marked to-day as ever before.

On Thursday morning, the 20th, Mr. F. M. Holland, after saying that it was also necessary that the religion of the nineteenth century should be free, and should serve liberty not slavery, as had been done by the old religions, proceeded to deliver an address on "Secularization of the State."

Mr. B. F. Underwood, after dwelling on the difference between secularization and secularism, which issues are confounded by the Liberal League, objected to the religious use of the Bible in public school and to the taking of oaths. These the State has no right to impose, and it is contrary to the interests of morality to let people suppose that they are any less bound to tell the truth for not

* To be printed in *The Index* soon.—Ed.

having performed such a ceremony. In answer to a question from Mr. Marsh, he insisted that a Liberal ought never to take an oath. Speaking next for the taxation of churches, he asked why the Parker Memorial building should be exempted, but not the Paine Memorial by its side. He praised Governor Hoadly's Thanksgiving proclamation, and condemned the employment of chaplains, but admitted that the State has a right, in order to promote the use of Sunday as a public holiday, to suspend business and forbid disturbance. Mr. Potter, after mentioning that one of the officers of the Free Religious Association had been fined as a Sabbath-breaker, protested against prohibiting the collection of damages by people injured on Sunday by the badness of the roads. Mr. A. T. Lilly, of Florence, called attention to the efforts to place God in the Constitution.

After partaking of a generous collation, the Conference heard Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Mrs. E. P. Bond, of Florence, speak earnestly in behalf of the education of children of radical families and societies. Both ladies admitted that a liberal Sunday-school ought to have nothing to say about theology; but Mrs. Spencer suggested that, after the lessons arranged for the benefit of all the children, there might be a devotional service for those whose parents believed in one, and then a discourse. She pointed out with great force the danger that children who were not given equal social advantages with their orthodox neighbors might grow up prigs or hermits, or selfish longers after such pleasure as might make up for what they had lost. Mrs. Bond, while pleading like Mrs. Spencer, and with deep pathos, for the need of religious training, urged that it should be left wholly to the parents, but that a liberal Sunday-school, while not inculcating faith, should take care not to close the child's mind against it. Mr. Hinckley said the time had gone by when the mind needed anything but plain, unadulterated truth, and there was danger that any definition of the unknown might interrupt the natural development of that sense of universal relation which is the basis of religion. He then told how his own school advanced from infantile observation of plants, stones, and insects to a thorough study of the great religions. Mr. Holland suggested that the Free Religious Association might hold a children's festival. Mr. Hill showed how much of the crime of the day was due to insincerity, which is characteristic of Orthodoxy. Mr. Underwood and Mr. Ferry spoke in regard to having agnostics and theists work together. Miss Eastman urged that radicalism was not so chilly as it seemed to be felt by the essayists. Facts are not cold. Mr. Lilly was glad he had no connection with people who teach what they do not know, and who, after letting knowledge carry them as far as it can, appeal to sentiment in hope of going still further.

After a supper of which all partook together, Mr. Hinckley gave a thoughtful essay, entitled "The Human Question." One great mistake of reformers was to treat of social evils without taking any notice of their causes. Drunkenness, for instance, is sometimes due to the wild exhilaration of youth and sometimes to the gloomy despondency of declining years. Prostitution was often caused by poverty, and might be remedied by teaching women to earn their own living. Similar instruction might put an end to juvenile vagabondism. Churches have been dedicated to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. On the temple of the future should be written, *Sacred to humanity*. Miss Eastman spoke on our duty to speak our most advanced thought, and thus give others the benefit of its truth while we had a chance of finding out our errors. Mrs. Diaz said

it was the fashionable and frivolous women whose extravagant ways of living were responsible for the existence of prostitutes. The poor might do well to send missionaries to the rich. The dangerous classes were the upper ones rather than the lower. The dangerous women are the belles. The dangerous men are those who will not pay the debts they are perfectly able to meet. The poor and ignorant and wicked are not so dangerous as those whose selfishness makes them wickedly rich, wickedly learned, and wickedly good.

Petitions for taxing churches and protecting unbelievers from discredit as witnesses were circulated during these sessions, which gained peculiar interest from the active participation of the people of Florence.

F. M. HOLLAND,
Assistant Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THIS paragraph is taken from the Philadelphia Times:—

The ministers, as usual at their Monday morning meetings, found something to talk about yesterday. The Presbyterians were quite agitated about the subject of evolution, which has been brought up lately by some rather advanced views expressed by one of their preachers in the city. There were almost as many varieties of opinion expressed as there were ministers present. Some half-dozen ministers having expressed, with more or less modification, the strictly orthodox Scriptural view of the origin of man, one or two others ventured to assert, without saying anything about evolution, that Darwin's *Origin of Species* was a useful and profitable book for any minister to study. Rev. Dr. Bacon said he guessed it was, and added that it was one of the best books ever written for a religious man, to kindle his thoughts and deepen his speculations with regard to the wisdom of the Creator. In response to the question whether he believed Adam was the first man, Dr. Bacon said: "I am willing to admit that the name of the first man who had a spirit was Adam, but not to admit that he was the first of his species. I don't see any disgrace in being descended from a well-formed, sinewy chimpanzee." Rev. Mr. Baker said the Scripture conveys the suggestion of the existence of a race of human beings previous to the creation of man. If not, where did Cain get his wife? Cain must have married into a race of strange people and degenerated the stock. After some further remarks, the meeting closed with prayer.

MR. JULIAN HAWTHORNE opens the biography of his father, Nathaniel Hawthorne, with a statement that evil traits are more likely to come under the law of heredity than virtues, because "the former belong to a man's nature, as distinguished from that self-effected modification of his nature which we call *character*. A tendency to drunkenness, for example, or to pocket-picking, is more easily traced in a man's ancestry than a tendency to love one's neighbor as one's self, or to feel as charitably disposed toward those who injure us as toward those who injure our enemies. In other words, nature is passive and character is active; and activity is more apt than passivity to be original, or peculiar." The assumption that the evil in man belongs to his nature, and that the virtues do not, is a new way of asserting the doctrine of total depravity. Traits are the most persistent that are the most fundamental, that have been repeated through the longest periods of the species' life. What is called "nature" is more subject to heredity than what in distinction to nature is called "character," since it is more firmly established, being the result of innumerable ancestral experiences; while what is called "character" becomes more and more enduring as it is repeated through generations,—in other words, as it becomes nature. Whatever in the environment of a being serves as perturbations to modify heredity, as bodies in space, observed or unobserved, prevent in the march

of planets the realization of the first law of motion, bears upon both the good and the evil propensities. Their exemption from the effects of surroundings is not in proportion to their goodness or badness, but rather to the completeness with which they have become incorporated into the constitution.

WE listened last Sunday to an interesting lecture before the Parker Memorial Science Class, by Mr. James Carey, one of the members, on the mysteries of electricity and magnetic currents as shown in the use of the telegraph and telephone. Returning from the lecture in a musing mood, induced by thoughts the lecturer had awakened of the future possibilities opened to mankind by the progress of applied science, we carelessly opened a series of circulars which lay at hand. These circulars purport to be issued by "The National Developing Circle," whose head-quarters are in this city. As we read, the marvels of the telegraph and telephone suddenly became commonplace and faded into insignificance in comparison with the greater wonders, related in the most matter-of-fact way, of the doings in this mundane sphere of those whom we had supposed released by death from the sordid and sorrowful cares as well as the pleasures of this life. One of the circulars gravely informs us that "the time has now come when wise and watchful spirit guides see fit to extend their plans of operation, and place within the reach of every hand and home an instrument of fine and subtle developing power." What that instrument is is indicated in a general way in a paragraph relating to a certain medium whose name has frequently been mentioned in connection with fraudulent "spirit manifestations": "It was agreed [by a band of spirits] that, if a medium (possessing such an unlimited amount of magnetic power) could develop mediumship in a local circle with so small an expenditure of that power, why could not the currents of magnetism be sent through him to various distances, a stated time being appointed for the circle to sit, and thus establish a sympathetic circumference, the developing medium acting as the magnetic centre?" In order to make this "sympathetic circumference" as large as possible, another circular—purporting to be direct from the spirits of Thomas Paine, Andrew Jackson, and William T. Hodges (whoever he may be)—declares: "As Controlling Spirits of the Circle, we hereby appoint the following named Spirits to have the charge of the circles held in the following named States and Territories, and empower them to appoint spirit assistants to aid them in their labors in developing mediums in said States and Territories." By what authority this spiritual hierarchy exists and acts of course we know not, nor do we know on what principle its appointments are made. It sends the arctic explorer, Kane, to Colorado, not to Alaska; Emerson to Connecticut, not to his native Massachusetts; Garrison to Michigan, not to a Southern State; Robert Dale Owen to Alabama; Garfield to the District of Columbia; Alice Cary, whose life was passed principally in the East, to Florida; John Brown is assigned to West Virginia; and, rather appropriately, Col. Baker to California, Daniel Boone to Kentucky, Gen. Burnside to Rhode Island, Calhoun to South Carolina, Sam. Houston to Texas, and Gen. Robert E. Lee to Virginia. "Running Water," "Wild Fawn," "Red Wing," "Wild Bill," "Lightfoot," "Red Face," and "High Wind" are among the spirits appointed to look after the spiritual interests of other States. To carry out the great work revealed to the "powerful developing medium" by his "spirit guides," money is solicited. "Nothing will be done without a consultation with the spirits of the band." *Mirabile dictu!*

The Index.

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

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

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What we Know of the Bible.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH FOR "THE INDEX,"
BY MISS ANNA WALDBERG.

Two answers have been given to that question. One of them is what Prof. Warholm says with Holm-lazius, that the whole Bible is inspired,—*verbatim et literatim*, the direct work of the Holy Spirit. The other answer is that the Bible, as well as every production of the human mind, has grown under the law of development. Believers in this opinion have some support for it in the names of the Bible. Even until the fifth century after Christ, it was called only the Scriptures. After that time, it was called Biblia (Greek books), a name that, only a few centuries ago, changed into the singular for "the Bible." When the Bible was written, by many independent writers during the long period of thirteen to fourteen centuries, it was natural that their impressions and language should have varied greatly. But this view was entirely suppressed during the Middle Ages by the dogmas of the Church. With the Reformation, the claim of the right to reason about the Bible began. But, very soon, a reaction took place; and, in the reformed churches, the inspiration dogma was established with its whole rigidity.

Doubts about its inspiration awoke at the same time. Spinoza attracted attention to the two different narratives of the creation in Genesis: first chapter, first verse; second chapter, third verse; and second chapter, fourth to twenty-fifth verses; and two accounts of the giving of the law on Sinai: Exodus, chapter twenty, and fifth book of Moses, chapter five. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the French physician Astruc discovered that the narrative part of Genesis is constructed from two old records, which, on account of the different names of God occurring there, are called the Elohim and the Jehovah records. In support of this theory, a German, Eichhorn, entered upon deeper investigations; and he found that the different names of God represented two very different ideas of God. These investigations have been prosecuted ever since by great scientists. Semler paved the way for a critical investigation of the New Testament. The efficacy of Lessing was awakening

* A lecture given the 9th of February, 1884, by Carl von Bergen, Ph.D., in Stockholm, Sweden. Dr. Bergen is the leader of a Free Religious Society in Sweden, called the Protestant Union, formed in 1881.

for that purpose. His words are significant, when he says, "Luther, great and misapprehended man, you have delivered us from the yoke of tradition: who shall deliver us from the yet more insufferable yoke of the letter?" Lessing maintained that occasional truths such as the miracles of the Bible (if they are historical) never can serve as proofs of metaphysical truths, and that Christianity existed before the Scriptures of the New Testament. The historical criticism of these Scriptures then cannot hurt the former. He even maintained the hypothesis of an old Jewish-Christian evangel—the Nazarene evangel—as being the derivation for the now existing synoptical gospels. He edited the epoch-effecting "Apologi, or a Defensive Pamphlet for the Reasonable Worshipers of God," by Reimarus (the Wolfenbüttel fragments), bringing about a conflict with the orthodox of his time, particularly with Rev. Götze in Hamburg, in which he defended the idea of a progressive education of mankind.

Herder was another apologist for the modern views of the Bible. His activity was the foundation of the comparative science of religion. Physics and astronomy, that began to flourish at that same time, aided in explaining the derivation of the different religious creeds. Dupuis thinks that a sun myth is to be considered as the ground for the mythology of the different nations. In the beginning of our century, Creuzer edited his *Symbolism and Mythology*. Notwithstanding his imperfect views, his great work was vastly important to other writers, as Augéti Dupéron, who discovered the old records of the Persian religion, Zend-avesta, and the holy scriptures of the Indies, Veda, and rendered a comparative search of the religion of the Aryan nation possible. Through this, the thoughtful came to the belief that the religious development of mankind has grown in an unbroken line, excluding all gaps or miracles, and that the development of heathendom was a preparation for the gospel (*preparatio evangelico*).

At the head of the new Biblical critical school is the one at the university of Leyden, in Holland. Prof. Abraham Kuenen has shown the chief result of his researches in his work *The Religion of Israel*. His opinion is that Genesis, which is considered as the oldest part of the Bible, is later than the Prophets.

John Smith, an Englishman, has, in studying the Assyrian cuneated letters, found the narrative of the creation and the flood corresponding to the one in Genesis, showing their Assyrian-Babylonian origin.

Kuenen says, further, that the fifth book of Moses, which shows such a high moral religious point of view, cannot be derived from the childhood of the Jewish people. This book was written 620 years B.C., and was the one that was delivered to King Josiah by the high priest Hilkiah (II. Book of Kings xxii.). It is impossible that, if the contents of this book of laws—that Jehovah commanded the Jews to worship with offerings only in Jerusalem, and that he could not suffer any other gods besides himself, and that he would not be worshipped with the lascivious extravagances usual with the other religions—had been known ever since the time of Moses, they could have been so forgotten that its reading could cause the greatest consternation to the king and his court.

In the beginning, the offerings of the Jews and the religious ceremonies could be made by anybody, though on solemn occasions the Levites performed them. After a while, the Levites alone had that right; but in the tribe of Levi there was no difference of rank (the view of the fifth book of Moses). After that, a more decided difference was drawn up between the genuine ministry, the descendants of Aaron, and the rest of the Levites, who in the temple service performed a subordinate part. This is the view of the second, third, and fourth books of Moses. The Dutch theologian Oort was the first who paid any attention to this difference, and Kuenen made his discovery in regard to it in his great work.

The Jewish religion developed originally from polytheism (still remaining in the plural form, Elohim as the name of God) to a monolatry (worshipping of one national god, Jahve or Jehovah, by the side of which were several other gods of inferior rank), and at last monotheism (worshipping of Jahve as the only god). The original form of the polytheism from which the worship of Jahve developed was probably a worship of the dead persons' spirits,—*animism*. Elohim was thus from the beginning the same as the lares and penates of the Romans. When it is told that the witch of Endor called up the spirit of the

dead Samuel, she said, when Saul asked what she saw, "I see gods [Elohim] rise out of the ground."

The older Jahve cult was characterized through the deliverance from Egypt. When that had taken place through Jahve's mighty arm, the people were after that sworn to his service. It was his own people. The covenant was external, the service consisted especially of ceremonies. The change from monolatry to monotheism depended upon the purifying of the idea of God through the prophets. Jehovah was the only God: he alone was holy, and required a pure mind and life. The other gods were no gods, as we can see, because they required sensual extravagances by the worship and cruel offerings of human beings. The Prophets had a great influence on the development of the Jewish religion.

Of the one hundred and fifty psalms, according to Ewald, only fifteen are by David; but, according to the Dutch criticism, none. David, as he is described in the historical books of the Old Testament, was a sensual, cruel king, who stood on a very low religious ground. The Psalms, which are in great part of inestimable religious value, even for our time, could not have been written by him, except a few showing a spirit of vengeance. The Proverbs are, according to latest researches, not by Solomon, neither are the sceptic Ecclesiastes, nor the Song, the latter being no prophecy of Christ and his Church, but only a love song, but as such of a noble kind, glorifying one of the greatest human virtues, fidelity.

Christianity is life and spirit and the influence of an irresistible person. The Bible is only the fixed impression which that person made on his surroundings. Efforts made to write down those impressions were combined with great difficulties and errors. A whole century passed (according to another opinion a century and a half) before what is called the New Testament was wholly written. That is not astonishing, when we consider the illiterate surroundings amidst which this religion originated, and the many traditions that were so highly appreciated that they were at first given a higher rank than the evangelical literature, such, for instance, as the general idea of the first Christians of the immediate return of Christ to judgment,—an idea that may be seen all through the New Testament.

Later, when they found that they must live a little longer in this world and that the time passed without that great change, the Christians felt a desire to read about the words and deeds of Jesus. At first there appeared only some occasional writings, such as the Epistles of Paul, undoubtedly the oldest part of the New Testament. The school of Tübingen reduced the true Epistles of Paul to four; namely, the Epistles to the Romans, both Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Galatians. But, later, the Bible students think that also the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians, the Philippian, and to Philemon, were written by Paul. Paul contested his great feud against the Jewish Christian direction in the Epistles to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, and to the Romans. In the last, he gave a decided negative answer to the question whether the Jewish Christians would be preferable to those converted from heathendom to Christianity, and pronounced the doctrine that faith alone makes a person happy, not good works; or, in other words, that the improvement of the soul must begin inwardly and alter man's outward life. This doctrine of Paul has caused two great religious revolutions: first, when the Christian religion delivered itself from the narrow Jewish view; and, after that, when through the Reformation the Church delivered itself from Catholic forms and ceremonies. I think that this doctrine will cause one more great religious reform in opposition to Orthodoxy, which is so dogmatic. The so-called Catholic Epistles (two Epistles of Peter and three of James, Jude, and John) have been named so, because they were not dedicated to anybody in particular and were closely connected with the origin of a Catholic (common) Church, through the joining of the Jewish Christian aim and that of Paul. None of those are derived from the author whose name they bear. The Second Epistle of Peter is very likely of the latest date among the writings of the New Testament.

Revelation, as well as the books of Daniel and Enoch, belongs to the so-called apocalyptic literature. Such writings were meant in times of suffering and persecution to encourage believers to steadfastness. They were written in an allegoric form. From necessary prudence, not to attract the attention

of the persecutors, such words were used as would not be understood except by those who had the key to the meaning. The key to Revelation is in the number of the Beast 666 (Rev. xiii., 18). The solution of this was impossible as long as the Greek alphabet was used. At last, some German scientist thought that the author, being a Jew from Palestine, although he wrote in Greek had meant the Hebrew language, and found the solution in the words Neron Kesar (the Greek for Nero Caesar = Emperor Nero). Writing these words with Hebrew letters and adding the worth of the ciphers (the Hebrews wrote ciphers with letters), you get the sum of 666. Nero, the cruel persecutor of the Christians,—who, according to a tradition, was not dead, but only wounded and had fled,—was, according to this book, coming back as anti-christ, but his power would be of a short duration and immediately be followed by the coming of Christ and the victory of God's kingdom. This book was probably written after the fall of Nero and a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem. The sayings of Christ, which became the beginning of the evangelical literature, consisted partly of short, often seemingly paradoxical, simple, striking utterances, that, once heard, stayed forever in the memory of the hearers and were told from generation to generation: partly in parables, in which he represented his doctrines of the kingdom of God; and at last partly in the mighty descriptions of his second coming to the final judgment.

With those sayings of Christ belong the evidences of his Messiahship and the endeavors to reconcile this with his death on Calvary, through a new application of the prophecies of the Old Testament, trying to prove that Messiah should suffer and die and then go to his glory. The historical representation, therefore, mostly mentioned his sufferings. From this are direct connections with his last visit to Jerusalem and the establishment of the Lord's Supper (the only incident in the life of Christ Paul mentions). All the rest is lost in the darkness of myths and tales. The necessity of justifying the suffering and death of Christ and making it correspond with his Messiahship for the Jews, who found the idea of a crucified Messiah offensive, was the original cause of a history, in union with his sentences, parables, and prophecies. From those notes of the actions and words of Christ, the three synoptic evangels were derived. They were so called, because they can and ought to be viewed together. Such a combination is impossible, though, between them and the Fourth Gospel. According to the former, the chief scene for the activity of Christ was Galilee and only once in Jerusalem. According to the latter, it was in Judea, and he visited Jerusalem several times. According to the Gospel of John, John the Baptist knew Jesus from the beginning. According to the synoptics, he did not know Christ before the baptism. According to the synoptics, the driving out of the money-changers from the temple happened shortly after Christ's entrance into Jerusalem, and was one of the causes of his imprisonment. According to the last Gospel, that happened in the beginning of his public activity. The synoptics let him say that all his twelve disciples, without exception of the traitor Judas, are going to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. The Fourth Gospel let him beforehand—in a wonderful way—know of the action of the traitor. The 14th of Nisan was, according to the synoptics, the last passover meal, as it also must be by the Mosaic law. According to the Fourth Gospel, Christ ate a common meal the 13th of Nisan with his disciples, and the day after was the day of his death. The first three Gospels give a human image of Christ, and represent him as the Messiah who was expected by the Jews. The Fourth Gospel represents him as independent of the human development, and puts him in the sphere of the divine and supernatural. If the synoptics are historical records of the life of Jesus, it is impossible that the Fourth Gospel can be so.

In the origin and development of Christianity as in all human development, the higher has proceeded from the lower. What is worth living remains at last in victory. The truth cannot be worshipped by a retention of prejudices, but through going forward to a free research.

Does any man wound thee? Not only forgive, but work into thy thought intelligence of the kind of pain, that thou mayst never inflict it on another spirit.—Margaret Fuller.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LOWER LAW OF COMPETITION AND THE HIGHER LAW OF CO-OPERATION.

Editors of The Index:—

The Sixteenth Annual Co-operative Congress of England met at Derby this past June, 1884, and represented two hundred and thirty-five co-operative societies, which sent four hundred and twenty-three delegates. This Congress was first inaugurated by William Pare—a veteran in co-operation—in London in 1839, at which sixty-one societies were represented by sixty-four delegates. The difference between the two representations marks a striking co-operative growth.

Mr. Edward Vansittart Neale, the well-known writer upon co-operation, and Secretary of the Congress, in his preface speaks of the "numerous attendance," and that "the number of delegates who desired to take part was considerably in excess of the time which could be allowed them, and showed a real interest in the subject-matters discussed, which was gratifying in itself and satisfactory in its promise." He calls these annual meetings "centres where the coals are raked together, and the fire of co-operative zeal becomes quickened into new life."

It is a significant fact that the general work of this Congress was done in a line of co-operative production,—the relations of capital to labor rather than that of distribution, which has been heretofore usual in these deliberative Congresses. Mr. Sedley Taylor, the President, in his inaugural address devoted himself mostly to a consideration of this new departure and its best methods. The feasibility of co-operative production, it was declared, will prove equal to that of distribution. He referred to the great success attained in France in "profit-sharing," which, he said, "has at command potential energies capable of opening an entirely new source of profits, and so of independently creating its own fund." He advised that the workmen themselves make the experiment, without waiting for capitalists, by organizing more widely than they had yet done industrial and agricultural production on a genuine profit-sharing basis. Much capital has already been amassed through the distributive societies.

As one of the finest illustrations of the evident truth that the law of force legitimately dominates so long as man is in the lower stage of civilization, but, when the higher reasoning and spiritual powers of his being are evolved, that the law of force naturally gives way to that of justice or love, the law of competition or antagonism to that of co-operation or harmony, I quote from Mr. Neale's preface to the Report:—

"The object of co-operation may be defined to be the determination to substitute, in the ordinary business of life, reason for selfish impulse, concord for strife. The attempt may be denounced as beyond the power of man, as a vain effort to alter the unalterable, to fight against nature. But rather would I describe it as an attempt to carry on to its completion the work of which nature shows us the beginning. The world of nature may be aptly called a sub-reasonable world, a world where reason is latent; where the primitive, indispensable factor of self-assertion, without which there could be no individual being, has not in its evolution attained to the faculty of self-government. Therefore, in the world of nature, we find everywhere that 'struggle for existence,' in which the genius of the great naturalist of England has of late taught us to see the disguised action of a reasonable power shown in making this struggle, and its inevitable consequence,—death,—into an instrument of progress, whereby the ever-fresh creations of life have been moulded, through their own mutual interactions and the 'survival of the fittest,' into the beings best adapted to their surroundings, fittest to live. By this process of what Mr. Herbert Spencer has called differentiation there have been developed from the undistinguished mass of latent energies which once constituted the nucleus of our solar system all those manifold forms of existence differing from each other which compose the natural world. As its ultimate result, there appeared upon the earth reasonable beings; and with their appearance there has set in an operation the converse of differentiation, which, borrowing a word from Mr. Spencer, though used in a very different sense, I call integration. What Nature separates, Reason unites. Everywhere, this is the function of reason. It finds differ-

ences: it seeks unity. It finds the ever-changing, phenomenal many: it looks beneath appearances for the unchanging, one,—the combining conception which holds together the vanishing utterances of time in the enduring grasp of the eternal. The science which forms the boast of the present age is only the result of this action. . . .

"Now, what in art, in industrial invention, in science reason thus seeks, shall it not seek to effect in life? Are the relations of human beings to each other in their separate lives alone exempt from the action of this harmonizing faculty? Must they alone be left to adjust themselves as best they may by the natural process of struggle and differentiation? Are they alone of all human activities 'deaf to the voice of the charmer,' unsusceptible of that harmonizing unity which in every other sphere the integrating faculty of reason can discover or produce? Not so, in my judgment. Not so, say instinctively all who have taken up co-operation as a great social principle, capable of producing and destined to produce the redemption of society from the manifold evils arising out of the actual state of struggle. Not so. The social life of mankind is not given over to hopeless struggle. It is not exempt from the blessed influences of all-integrating reason. Its present ills may be cured by modes of action which the actual condition of society has made possible through its vast organizations for repressing violence, its enormous accumulations of material resources, its countless labor-saving inventions, its unprecedented facilities of locomotion, its corresponding means of diffusing thought, and that wide-spread political freedom which, emancipating men from the necessity of fighting for the permission to unite, leaves them at liberty to determine how they shall use their freedom to build up the higher social order of a reasonable world. The present ills of society may be cured . . . by giving to the natural powers of the system a new direction, and stimulating them to work out the desired cure by their own inherent energies. By using methods and forces known to be possible and available, we may gradually bring about changes which, when effected, will seem as natural as it seems now that the stage-coach should be superseded by the express train, and the old American liner, which crossed the Atlantic in a month, should give way to the steamer that effects the voyage in a little more than six days; and will be as superior in their results to what we now see produced as the modern modes of locomotion are to those which they have superseded."

Another distinctive feature of this Congress of Derby is the economic aspect of co-operation with respect to the household; and still another, urging upon co-operators the duty of educating themselves as essential before much can be done.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES,
A. G. Sec'y Sociologic So. of America.

PROTECTION vs. FREE TRADE.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of November 6, you state that Mr. Blaine, in his speech to the preachers at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, declared that "the tariff is the issue which lies at the very foundation of the prosperity of the American people and the very foundation of the Christian religion"; and that quite different from this view is that of Mr. Fiske, who in his latest work incidentally remarks, "Our robber tariffs, mis-called protective, are the survivals of the barbarous mode of thinking which fitted the ages before industrial civilization began."

You impliedly condemn Mr. Blaine's remark, and evidently indorse Mr. Fiske's. To be very brief, let us put a single case, and in the light of that case test the principle involved and determine, if we can, which of these apparently extreme statements is more nearly correct. Let us eliminate all discussion of details, and put the *facts* in the form of assumptions, so that we shall not primarily linger over them. If need be, we will examine them afterwards.

Assume that England has free trade, France a protective tariff, that both make any one class of goods. Assume that a Frenchman makes and can sell in his home market two, and only two, thousand pieces of the goods at a given price; that, if he makes three thousand pieces, he can make each of the three thousand pieces at a lower price—say two pence—than when he makes only two thousand; his selling price at home remaining the same, he will gain four thou-

sand points more on that home trade, merely by making the larger amount, the pieces costing him that amount less.

Assume that he sends the last thousand pieces to London and, to make a quick sale, sells them at a loss of three points on each piece: he will lose three thousand points on this part of his trade; but, on both trades taken together, he gains one thousand points. And so continuously, and on calculation of that profit, he repeats that operation. His neighbors do the same, and all in every country in the same trade follow suit.

It is easy to see that the English merchant is satisfied with this state of affairs, for he gets his goods for less than cost, less than any one anywhere can make and sell all his product for. The English maker, working man at least, must compete against all these goods sent and sold, as we have assumed at a calculated and intended loss balanced into a gain on the whole as set forth above.

Ordinarily, the English maker must also lose, and lose till he is ruined, by this mere trick of trade, this hopeless, unjust, fatal competition, or give up his trade, and turn to another to be attacked and ruined in like manner in that. Any device to countervail this trick of trade, this operation blameless as the world goes,—any adjustment to modify this particular kind of competition in the interest of fair play for working-men, would seem to lie very near the foundation of every just or sagacious government and of the success of every humane religion.

This a tariff might do, by making the Frenchman in the case pay to the English government more on each piece than he could possibly gain by his unwholesome "free trade" with the English merchant.

Now assume that this case is repeated in every line of goods, that similar operations produce similar results in all lines: do not the necessity and beneficence of a judicious general tariff, at least under the circumstances assumed, plainly appear?

Is there a single unwarranted assumption,—one that might not stand for an admitted fact?

This situation has nothing in common with medieval tariff, it is purely a product of modern commercialism—modern "free trade."

Many other independent lines of argument, many different sets of facts, lead to the same result. We here rest on this single case. In the light of this case, is Mr. Blaine very far wrong? And is the incidental remark you quote from Mr. Fiske about "robber tariffs" the "survival" of a habit of making rash generalizations from facts imperfectly understood? Possibly it is.

JOSEPH SHELDON.

NEW HAVEN, CT., November, 1884.

MEMORITER.

For The Index.

When gliding years have worn their track
In furrowed lines they show,
The ghost of youth in thought comes back
From out the long ago.

Again we hear the voices true
And list the whispering sigh,
And youthful hands are reaching through
Where years in chasms lie.

Our joys and griefs have each in turn
Wrought out their vital test,
Maturing life that we may learn
How quiet love may rest.
The soul-lit eye with beacon light,

Illumes a pathway clear
Through storms that rise in fancy's flight,
And guides us safely here.

When raven locks by "silver threads"
Foretell the blossom crown,
With hearts still young our older heads
Will choke the tempest down.

But dormant chords with magic touch
Ring out in life's refrain,
And loving arms instinctive clutch
At phantoms of the brain.

A. D. MARCKES.

GOD-MAN.

For The Index.

"In apprehension, so like a God!"—*Hamlet*.

Take the mouldering dust,
Wake it into life,—
Matter is but servant of the mind.

Touch the silent keys:
Genius can evoke
Music wherein gods commune with men.

Read the soul of man
And the farthest star:
Truth is one, and is forever true.

Think the wildest thought,
Hope the utmost hope,—
Time shall be when all shall be fulfilled.

Wonder not at deed,
Wonder more at thought,
Wonder at the hope that feeds itself.

Genius is divine,
Genius is the True:
Man becomes what'er he worships,—God!

GOWAN LEA.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.—The Springfield Republican describes the work of the Society for Psychical Research in England, and says: "It is proposed to organize a similar society in this country; and the lead is taken by the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of Chicago, which, under the editorship of John C. Bundy, has shown an earnest desire to get at the truth in Spiritualism and to expose the falsehoods, quackery, and corruption that disgrace it, and repel many who would willingly believe in the communion of spirits from looking into the matter at all. Mr. Bundy has made enemies by his course; but he has gained the respect of all who value truth, whether Spiritualists or not. His journal has long demanded that mediums shall submit to test conditions, and he was influential in the successful effort made to purge the Lake Pleasant camp-meeting last summer of its disreputable elements. The *Religio-Philosophical Journal* proposes that this society shall be started by Spiritualists, and makes the unexpected statement that 'we can name off-hand twenty Spiritualists whose aggregate wealth exceeds \$60,000,000,' who should endow such a society. The *Journal* presents a scheme for the society, assuming that it shall be founded in the belief that 'a portion of the phenomena now generally acknowledged as occurring are manifestations of spirits once in mortal form.' The first step, according to its plan, would be an experimental school of psychical research, to examine mediums and sensitives, with a salaried secretary, and a corps of experimenters who should, as a whole, compass 'chemistry, mathematics, mechanics, anatomy, physiology, electricity, mesmerism, biology, psychology, phrenology,' etc. All these should be fair-minded men, approaching the subject to find the truth and not to confirm a preconceived theory, and capable of standing by the record of experiments and vouching for their accuracy to the world. The head of the school should be a Spiritualist possessing the confidence of those who hold that belief and of the general public as well. This scheme is interesting, and deserves only good-will; but since scientific men in England have believed in Dr. Slade, and since Robert Dale Owen, who possessed the confidence of Spiritualists and practical people alike, was completely humbugged by Katie King, the examination of mediums and sensitives by any sort of committee will be regarded with very little respect. The difference between Mr. Bundy's proposed society and that at work in Great Britain is very great." The *Religio-Philosophical Journal* last week contained a reply to the Republican objections and is urging the formation of the proposed society with great vigor.

ORGANIZATION.—Monroe's *Iron-clad Age*, published at Indianapolis, doubts the wisdom of attempting to unite Liberals for organized work. In an article on

"Organization," this journal says: "A formal organization of the infidel philanthropists might be of benefit to themselves in some cases, but it is doubtful if the emancipation of the human mind from superstition and prejudice would be hastened by such organization. We must be broad and liberal, not narrow, selfish, and clannish, if we would gain the confidence and respect of the world; and we must excel in good works, not in wars. And, besides, infidels are a hard lot to organize. The efforts in this direction have not advanced the cause nor inspired the confidence of the public in the benevolent, unselfish character of the leaders in the movement. Desultory efforts in the open field are revolutionizing thought on every hand, and perhaps we had best be content with these till the disintegration of the churches, so visible on all sides, proceeds a little farther."

BOOK NOTICES.

FICHTE'S SCIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE. A Critical Exposition. By Charles Carroll Everett, D.D., author of *The Science of Thought*. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1884. Price \$1.25.

This work forms one of the series of "German Philosophical Classics," published by the above firm, of which *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, by Prof. George S. Morris, and *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*, by Prof. John Watson, have already been published.

Fichte took such particular pains to hammer his principles in their abstract form into his readers as to render his original works somewhat tedious reading for the general mind; and the people who have the inclination or the time, in this fast age, to study thoroughly and attentively his *Science of Knowledge* are very few in number. But, when we consider the importance of Fichte's ideas in the history of philosophy, Prof. Everett has done a very valuable work in rendering them in a style comprehensible by the general philosophic reader without very great effort. He has illustrated them in such a plain and familiar way and with so much clearness that his readers will get a better idea of the main principles of Fichte's system than they would from any cursory reading of his original works.

This work consists of two hundred and eighty-seven pages divided into thirteen chapters, the first treating of Fichte the man, and the others devoted to his philosophy. The second is an exposition of its relations to that of Kant. The succeeding chapters give a very complete, concise, and clear statement of Fichte's system. In the final chapter is a comparison of it with those of Schopenhauer and Hegel, which are especially interesting, in which he shows that the main ideas of Schopenhauer were the same as those of Fichte. In both, consciousness is a striving which springs from dissatisfaction; but "we find, however, one great point of difference. The system of Fichte recognizes a goal toward which the will is pressing. This goal, indeed, is infinitely removed, and thus can never be reached; but the movement toward it involves a gain with every advance. . . . The will of Schopenhauer, on the other hand, recognizes no such goal. Its course is movement, but not progress."

Of his contemporary German philosophers, Fichte has received much less general attention than Kant, Schelling, or Hegel; yet his contributions to our philosophic knowledge are as important as theirs, and the central principle that formed the *real core* of their systems was seen as vividly by him as by any of them. None of his contemporary thinkers saw more plainly or emphasized more strongly the great fact that all conscious realization was the result of the collisions and interchanges of antithetical but complementary opposites. This indeed is what implicitly constitutes the core and foundation of his philosophy, and not any conscious ego, in any other sense but as the resultant of antithetical or polar opposites; because, as he himself declares, the absolute ego, as such, comes to consciousness only through the antithesis of opposite conditions. This is also the fundamental principle in Hartmann's philosophy; and, so far as the evolution of consciousness is concerned, the main ideas of Hegel were previously enunciated by Fichte.

Near the close of his interesting volume, in comparing Fichte with Hegel, Prof. Everett criticizes his exposition of consciousness as being mechanical, and says, "If Fichte had seen, as he came so near seeing,

that the spirit is absolute, not merely absolute spirit, but the absolute, and that the process by which spirit is spirit is its very being, he would not have needed these mechanical appliances." That the absolute being consists of nothing but a process is an inconceivable proposition and impossible to thought. We cannot conceive of reality consisting in mere change, of any change in condition without something existing in these opposite conditions. If the condition is the alone reality, then every change in a condition would be the annihilation of the condition from which it changed. It would be in a worse plight than Alice's cat in the fairy tale, of which "nothing was left but the grin." In this case, even that would not be left. When we get so that we can conceive of absolute nothing becoming something or of nothing moving, we may accept Hegel's dictum that "process is Being." As no man has ever been able to conceive this, it is safe to say that Fichte would be perfectly justified in repudiating any such pretended advance on his system. Hegelian critics of Fichte's philosophy have often made the charge that his exposition of the evolution of consciousness was mechanical. But can we ever form any rational or even intelligible idea of conscious determination without involving the action of something external upon the individual consciousness? Even Hegelians have to posit an "other," something outside consciousness, to get up any kind of mental action, even that of self-consciousness. If there was no such action, then there could be no relation, no reason for any action. Mental action may involve mathematical and mechanical principles that all our science has not begun to dream of. The wonderful mechanical arrangements in the human body and brain indicate such principles; and may not mental and sentient phenomena involve geometrical and mechanical principles as much more subtle and complex than our mechanics as thought is more subtle than tangible matter? F. S.

HEIDI: Her Years of Wandering and Learning. A Story for Children. Translated from the German of Johanna Spyri. By Louise Brooks. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1884. pp. 668. Price \$2.00.

This first English translation from the works of Fräulein Spyri, who holds high rank in her native Germany as a popular writer of juvenile tales, was undertaken as a labor of love on the part of Mrs. Brooks, who publishes it solely for the benefit of the kindergarten department of the Asylum for the Blind at South Boston; and all profits accruing from its sale will be donated to that institution. The story itself is a very pure, healthful, and charming one, and presents graphic pen pictures of the contrast between life in the German cities and the Swiss mountains. Heidi, the simple little Swiss girl, is a delightful character in her sincerity, cheerfulness, lovingness, and passionate love of nature; and her wealthy lame friend Klara is as lovely a creation in another direction. In fact, even the worst characters in the story are shown to be quite human when the right chord was touched. There are many pages in this beautiful book which will excite the laughter as well as the sympathies of the American readers of the honest little maid's adventures. S. A. U.

CHATS. By G. Hamlen. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1884. pp. 279. \$1.00.

These *Chats*, which have for their motto, from Burns' "Cottager," "Now talked of this and then of that," are serious, sensible, pleasant talks on a wide variety of subjects of every-day importance to young people. There are nearly fifty of these "Chats," and each contains kindly administered advice on some pertinent subject. The titles of these "Chats" do not always indicate their real purport, "Miss Cash," for instance, being a lesson in economy designed for shop girls of all sorts, who need to live well on very little money. "One of the R's" gives hints on the art of reading well. "Out in the Snow" gives some ideas in regard to true politeness and girl's rights. In a gentle way, she points out many every-day mistakes and inconsistencies to which young as well as old are liable. Some of her more definite subjects are "Comparing to be Old," "Brain or Stomach," "Politics," "Conversation," "Reading a Newspaper," "Judging in Haste," "Quoting," "Loungeurs," "Some Words on Language," "Quacks," and "Too Systematic by Half." The book is nicely bound and clearly printed, while the style is readable and attractive. S. A. U.

DORCAS, THE DAUGHTER OF FAUSTINA. By Nathan C. Kouns, author of *Arius the Libyan*. Illustrated. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1884. For sale by Clarke & Carruth. Price \$1.25. pp. 255.

This is a religious novel, delineating with much power of expression and refinement of style the sufferings and faithful endurance of the early Christians in the third century. There is an interesting love story between a lovely Christian girl and an earnest sincere pagan centurion, who finally became a convert to the Christian faith and a leader in the Church through his love for Dorcas, whom he of course married. The manners, morals, history, and fashions of the Romans of that day are graphically depicted. The book has nearly a score of fine illustrations, is handsomely bound, and nicely printed.

The leading article in the December number of the *North American Review* is "Labor and Capital before the Law," by Judge T. M. Cooley,—an article which shows that law is a progressive science; that, when a state of things arises for which there is no precedent, a new precedent must be made; and how the common as well as the statute law is thus made to keep pace with the general advance of civilization. To the same number, William K. Ackerman contributes some suggestive "Notes on Railway Management"; Dr. Schliemann tells what he found in his excavations of the ruins of Tiryns in Southern Greece; and Principal Shairp supplements his scholarly article on "Friendship in Ancient Poetry" with one on "Friendship in English Poetry." The other articles in the number are "The British House of Lords," by George Ticknor Curtis, and "Responsibility for State Roguery," by John F. Hume.

The first calendar for the coming year received at this office is the work of a lady, Mrs. E. S. Miller. It is unique in its scope and variety of subjects and authorities, as shown in the prefacing lines, which we give:—

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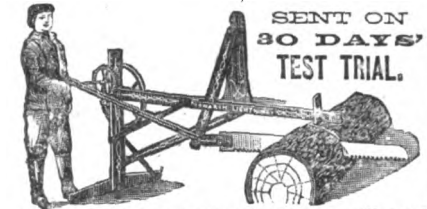
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE German citizens of Boston and vicinity are arranging for memorial exercises in connection with the placing of a monument over the grave of Carl Heinzen in the Forest Hills Cemetery.

THE late Archbishop Purcell's creditors wrote to the Plenary Council at Baltimore: "People are beginning to think that, if heaven needs all the substance of the widow and orphan to keep the clerical profession in affluence and splendor, it is time to retire from the sanctuary and delve for some other scheme of salvation."

RECENT disclosures are not creditable to the "highest" circles of London life. Only a few months ago, the papers recorded the death of Mr. Justice Williams in a brothel at Nottingham, attended in his last moments by painted prostitutes, which last week found a counterpart in the announcement that Hon. George Hubert, Dean of Hereford, who is fifty-nine years of age and enjoys a stipend of \$5,000 a year, is brother of the Earl of Powis, and has been a great sportsman, had been committed for trial for outrageously indecent conduct in company with disreputable characters in Hyde Park.

THE Salvation Army officers distributed circulars lately in Salem, this State, of which the following is a copy: "Salvation army, ho! Hallo! who is this? Why, Kansas Jack! The Salvation Army's saved desperado, who will swoop down on us and lasso as many of the devil's braves as possible, hauling them into the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of which through grace he is now a subject. But who is this fellow? Why, Captain Walsh, the converted minstrel from Brooklyn city, who will speak, play, and sing for the glory of God and the good of your soul. The best thing out! Take it

all in. Meeting commences at 8 P.M. Collection at the door to save disturbance. Everybody expected to give. Give your heart to Jesus."

SAYS the Springfield Republican: "Rev. Martin K. Schermerhorn's purpose to join the Protestant Episcopal Church is surprising chiefly because, when last heard from, he was bent upon organizing a theistic church in New York City, which should not affirm the Christian religion any more than the Buddhist or the Brahman or the Hebrew, but should rest on those principles of radical unity found in the existence of one God and the pursuit of good. This venture probably proved a failure. He compiled his *Sacred Scriptures of the World* for use in the pulpit, and left the Unitarians because they were not ripe for his catholicity. This happened two or three years ago, when he resigned from the Channing Memorial Church at Newport, R.I. Mr. Schermerhorn is a bright and graceful writer and speaker, but not a strong man; and he will be very much at home in the Episcopal Church, where his religion of humanity will meet with the most generous indulgence."

MANY of the Harvard students have signed a petition to the Board of Overseers, which asks that the attendance at prayers be made voluntary for those students who are twenty-one years old, and that for boys under age attendance be made optional, according to the wishes of their parents or guardians. A correspondent of *Crimson*, the college paper, writes: "There will be a canvass of the college, and we hope that every one will sign. If every one will show an interest in this movement, we have better prospects of succeeding than we have ever had before." One of the students, asked by a representative of a Boston paper, "How do the students regard morning prayers?" replied, "As an exercise to be got rid of, if possible." To the question, "What would be the effect of making attendance on prayers voluntary?" he said: "I don't believe fifteen men would go to them. Some fellows go now willingly, because the habit has grown upon them, and it is a convenient way to start the day; but they might just as well at the prayer hour go over to the Delta and walk with uncovered heads once around the statue of John Harvard." The students, generally, regarded it as "a mockery from a religious point of view." A writer in the Boston Transcript says that "for the cause of religion there is woful need of saying that perfunctory religion of the college-morning-prayers sort is a delusion, and that to enforce such perfunctory delusive pietism is a scandal which ought to be abated. If there were any possible way to make college morning prayers genuine and useful to those who incline to pietism, and to such as might be freely drawn to attend for the sake of possible benefit, the plea against compulsory attendance would yet stand just where the students put it. But there is no way, never has been any, and never could be any. Morning prayers have no use but that of a police muster, and there is nothing more imperatively demanded at this moment than their cessation, that an injury to religion, as well as the scandal of their enforcement, may be abated."

THE dedication of the new church of the Unitarian Society of East Saginaw, Mich., on Thursday, November 23, was a very sensible and interesting affair. The exercises were opened with an organ voluntary, which was followed by the chorus, "Joy, Joy, Freedom To-day," sung by the choir. Short selections from the Scriptures and from the writings of noted men were read by Mr. Rowland Connor, when the choir sang a beautiful dedicatory song, the words and music of which were arranged for the occasion. Addresses were delivered by Mr. F. E. Kittredge, Mr. Charles Ellis, and Mr. Connor, a trinity of heretics. Mr. Connor said that the society was indebted to Hebrews, Christians, and free thinkers. On the subscription paper were the names of Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Catholics, Episcopalians, Spiritualists, and Materialists; and, "whatever the motives which had led to these subscriptions, they at least testified to good fellowship and public spiritedness as well as to the decay of bigotry." The departure from conventional methods of church building had, he said, been dictated not by a spirit of innovation, but by the needs of the society and the community. Their Sunday-school and social rooms were intended to give opportunities for the organization of literary and scientific clubs, for the instruction of children in morality, and for that social intercourse which, rightly enjoyed, is the flower of civilization. Their main audience room had been shaped from similar motives. They desired a room in which, so far as possible, all might see and hear with equal ease. Church building in this country had been patterned too much after the European cathedral, which was adapted to the confessional, to processions, to worship only. They needed a building for preaching primarily, and it was this need which had shaped the main room and gallery and arranged the seats. The seats were indeed a great departure from the ordinary and often uncomfortable church pew; and, because of their introduction, some newspapers had charged the Unitarians with trying to make church-going pleasant and comfortable. They were willing to admit the essential correctness of the charge. Mr. Connor dedicated the church to Truth, Justice, and Love. The report in the East Saginaw News, from which the above is condensed, says: "The services closed by the singing of a hymn to the air of 'Old Hundred,' in which the words Justice, Truth, and Love were used as those of the Trinity are in the Doxology." A radical liberal writes from East Saginaw: "The work was done in the broadest manner, and there were no theological limitations whatever. The society is liberal and progressive in every way. The church is a perfect gem throughout, and is a great credit to the society and a most worthy monument to Mr. Connor's patient perseverance. Liberalism can have no better advocate in the highest and best sense than he is, and no surer gain than the establishment of such societies or churches as his." Of the entire correctness of this statement we have no doubt. We congratulate Mr. Connor on his great success.

CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

We called attention two weeks ago to the rapid development in this country of the policy of the Roman Catholic Church to withdraw Catholic children from the public schools and educate them in parochial schools under its own supervision. We pointed out the danger to republican institutions which this policy threatens, and raised the question whether anything can be done to avert it. To this question we now return.

That the Catholics have a perfect legal right to institute schools of their own for the education of their own children is, of course, to be admitted. They have the same right to do this which Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, or any other sect, have; and no statute in this country can interfere with this right. But, this right being conceded on the ground of liberty of conscience, the State must firmly stand by its unsectarian public school system as one of the strongest ultimate defences of this same freedom of conscience and as a necessary bulwark of republican government. Let there be on the part of the State no weakening in the position that, as a matter of self-preservation, it must provide and guarantee a common school education, open and free alike to the children of all citizens. And, in order that it may the better maintain this position against the antagonism of the Catholic Church or the indifference of any other sect, there are certain measures that ought to be adopted and rigidly adhered to.

1. The public schools should at once be made really as well as theoretically unsectarian. They are not generally so now, and will not be until the reading of the Bible as a religious exercise, and other special forms of worship, are excluded from them. This is a simple act of justice which it is a public wrong to delay. Not only do Catholics object on the ground of conscience to their children being obliged to join in reading the Protestant Bible or in Protestant ceremonies of worship, but Jews, agnostics, free thinkers, may and do object for their children on similar ground. And since the public schools are supported by the impartial taxation of all citizens, and all kinds of religious believers and non-believers are thus called upon to pay for them, it is a manifest injustice that they should be used to secure an advantage to any one religious sect or group of sects. It is true that this exclusion of the present form of religious exercises from the public schools would not now meet the objection to these schools made by those Catholics who are most eager to establish their parochial schools. Their objection is to the secular school system as such, and their aim is to have schools in which religious instruction can be imparted under their own supervision. But not all Catholics have yet been brought to this position. It is evident, from the article in the *Catholic Review* to which we referred two weeks ago, that there is not a little of "indifference" and "opposition" even among Catholics to the parochial schools. Many of them prefer the public schools as better than their priestly schools, and think that the Church may amply provide for religious instruction elsewhere. Others, perhaps, do not like the idea that their children should be brought up as a religious clan by themselves. They see that this is a free country, with political and social opportunities open to all; but they foresee that these opportunities are more likely to be gained by those who have been educated amidst public interests and relations than by those who have been closely guarded within an ecclesiastical enclosure. For these reasons, it is still important, as one means of resisting the present Catholic policy with regard to education in this country, that the public

schools should be freed from those religious exercises to which the conscientious Catholic objects. And, even if these reasons did not exist, justice demands that these exercises should be abolished, not only for the sake of the Catholics, but many other citizens; and what justice demands should be done.

2. The State should strenuously resist any attempt on the part of the Catholics to secure a division of the public school fund for the support of their own schools. This attempt will doubtless be made. The *Catholic Review* is already advocating it. In its last week's issue, it commended for adoption in the United States the usage in the Canadian Province of Quebec, which makes "a fair division of public funds to Catholics and Protestants alike, according to the relative number of each." To meet all attempts of this sort, whether made by Catholics or any other denomination, every State and the United States should have a constitutional provision prohibiting public taxation or the use of public funds for the support of any sectarian schools. In this country, where, notwithstanding certain exceptions in practice, the avowed principle is completely to separate ecclesiastical from civil administration, there can be no half-way work in such a matter as this. Either the public school system must be put above the reach of all sectarian control and aims whatsoever or else it must be entirely abandoned, and education be given up to such voluntary support as can be secured for it. No republican government in this age will take the latter course. So to do would be suicide. Nor can any State in this country consistently or safely undertake to raise money by taxation for the maintenance of denominational schools over which it has no control. To secure fairness, the public school money would not merely have to be divided into two portions, Catholic and Protestant, but it must be apportioned impartially among all the different sects and religions that are represented in the community, and also to those who adhere to no religious sect. Such an anomalous system in the United States would be full of mischief. It would be manifestly unjust that the fund should be divided in proportion to the number of scholars in the various religious groups, since no right of representation in the management of the schools would go with the taxation. The only plausible plea on the ground of justice would be that each of the groups should receive for its own schools that part of the funds which has come from the taxes of its own members,—a plan which would necessitate that assessors should classify tax-payers according to their religious beliefs! It is a fundamental principle of government in the United States that the State knows its citizens, not as Catholics nor Episcopalians nor Baptists nor Jews nor Liberals, but only as citizens; and no civil government here would assume the duty of taxing the citizens according to the lines of a denominational checker-board for the support of schools of their multifarious forms of belief. The only alternative is a system of common schools non-denominational, non-sectarian, supported by the impartial taxation of all citizens, and open impartially to the children of all citizens. If any class of citizens choose, for any reason, to establish and support other schools for their children, this they have a right to do; but they cannot justly plead to have their share of the public school fund remitted to them. If remitted in one case, it must be remitted in all cases of the kind; and the result would be the destruction of the public school system, on which the very prosperity and safety of republican institutions rest.

3. The public schools should be made so good that Catholic parents, as all others, will see that

their children will suffer detriment by not attending them. And here there is much chance for improvement. Though the public schools are by no means open to all the charges which many Catholic zealots bring against them, yet they are capable of being made greatly better than they are. This their best friends are beginning to see, and various reforms are already proposed. It is certain that, for the money expended upon the public schools, much better results might be secured in preparing the young for the various duties of society and citizenship. Reform should aim at three points: first, to train the mental faculties to work accurately rather than to stuff the mind with knowledge; second, greatly to increase moral instruction and training; third, to graft industrial education upon the public school system. With reforms in the directions here indicated, such as many of our wisest educators are now advocating, our public schools might be made so excellent that parochial schools, even if upheld by the rigid authority of the Roman Catholic Church, would find it difficult to compete with them; and the more enlightened Catholics would not be likely to submit readily to the double taxation which the parochial schools necessitate, when they would only be getting a plainly inferior article.

And, finally, since education is so all-important as a condition of republican government that the government is under obligation to guarantee a certain amount of education to all children in its domain, it might well be maintained that, even if parents choose to send their children to parochial or private schools, the government should have a right to establish some method for examining these children annually within the limits of the common school age, in order to ascertain whether they are receiving the requisite amount and kind of schooling; and one requirement at such examinations, as well as in public schools, should be ability on the part of the older pupils to show that they had been instructed, to a certain extent, in the history and free institutions of their own country. The necessity of meeting such public examinations would tend to counteract some of the evil effects of sectarian parochial schools.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND WOMAN.

III.

In one of the essential doctrines of Christianity,—namely, self-sacrifice,—women have been carefully trained, until, as John Stuart Mill says, that has come to be their pet virtue. This is nowhere better illustrated than in their religion. There is no depth of personal degradation they have not touched in the religious worship and sacrifice of ancient civilizations, and no humiliations of the spirit that mortals can suffer when ostracised by those in no way superior to themselves that educated women in our day have not endured. Seeing this, I have endeavored at many of our suffrage conventions to pass some resolutions embodying the idea that woman's first duty was self-development; and at last, after a prolonged struggle and much opposition, even by women themselves, the following resolutions were passed at our thirtieth anniversary, held in Rochester, July, 1878:—

Resolved, That, as the first duty of every individual is self-development, the lessons of self-sacrifice and obedience taught woman by the Christian Church have been fatal, not only to her own vital interests, but through her to those of the race.

Resolved, That the great Principle of the Protestant Reformation, the right of individual conscience and judgment, heretofore exercised by man alone, should now be claimed by woman; that, in the interpretation of Scripture, she should be guided by her own reason, and not the authority of the Church.

Resolved, That it is through the perversion of the religious element in woman, playing upon her hopes and fears of the future, holding this life with all its high duties in abeyance to that which is to come, that she and the children she has trained have been so completely subjugated by priestcraft and superstition.

The following Sunday, the Rev. A. H. Strong, D.D., President of the Baptist Theological Seminary of that city, preached a sermon especially directed against these resolutions, which met strong clerical criticism and opposition by all the fraternity in the State who chanced to see reports of the proceedings.

One amusing episode in that convention is worthy of note. Frederick Douglass, who has always done noble service in our cause, was present. But his intellectual vision being a little obscured that warm afternoon, he opposed the resolutions, speaking with a great deal of feeling and sentiment of the beautiful Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice. When he finished, Mrs. Lucy Coleman, always keen in pricking bubbles, arose and said: "Well, Mr. Douglass, all you say may be true; but allow me to ask you why you did not remain a slave in Maryland, and sacrifice yourself like a Christian to your master, instead of running off to Canada to secure your liberty like a man? We shall judge your faith, Frederick, by your deeds." The time has come when women, too, would rather run to Canada to taste some of the sweets of liberty than to sacrifice themselves forever in the thorny paths marked out for them by man.

Whatever oppressions man has suffered, they have invariably fallen more heavily on woman. Whatever new liberties advancing civilization has brought to man, ever the smallest measure has been accorded to woman, as a result of church teaching. The effect of this is seen in every department of life.

There is nothing so cheap as womanhood in the commerce of the world. You can scarcely take up a paper that does not herald some outrages on woman, from the dignified matron on her way to church to the girl of fourteen gathering wild flowers on her way to school. I hold men in high places responsible for the actions of the lower orders. The sentiments and opinions expressed by the clergymen and legislators mould the morals of the highway. So long as the Church and the State, in their creeds and codes, make woman an outcast, she will be the sport of the multitude. Whatever can be done to dignify her in the eyes of man will be a shield and helmet for her protection. If the same respect the masses are educated to feel for cathedrals, altars, symbols, and sacraments was extended to the mothers of the race, as it should be, all these distracting problems, in which their interests are involved, would be speedily settled. You cannot go so low down in the scale of being as to find men who would enter our churches to desecrate the altars or toss about the emblem of the sacrament, because they have been educated with a holy reverence for these things. But where are any lessons of reverence for woman taught to the multitude?

And yet is she not, as the mother of the race, more exalted than sacraments, symbols, altars, and vast cathedral domes? Are not the eternal principles of justice engraven on her heart more sacred than canons, creeds, and codes written on parchment by Jesuits, bishops, cardinals, and popes? Yet where shall we look for lessons of honor and respect to her?

Do our sons in the law schools rise from their studies of the invidious statutes and opinions of jurists in regard to women with a higher respect for their mothers? By no means. Every line of the old common law of England on which the American system of jurisprudence is based, touch-

ing the interests of woman, is, in a measure, responsible for the wrongs she suffers to-day.

Do our sons in their theological seminaries rise from their studies of the Bible, and the popular commentaries on the passages of Scripture concerning woman's creation and position in the scale of being, with an added respect for their mothers? By no means. They come oft-times fresh from the perusal of what they suppose to be God's will and law, fresh from communion with the unseen, perhaps with the dew of inspiration on their lips, to preach anew the subjection of one half the race to the other.

A very striking fact, showing the outrages women patiently endure through the perversion of their religious sentiments by crafty priests, is seen in the treatment of the Hindu widow, the civil law in her case, as in so many others, being practically annulled by theological dogmas.

"The most liberal of the Hindu schools of jurisprudence,"* says Maine, "that prevailing in Bengal proper, gives a childless widow the enjoyment of her husband's property under certain restrictive conditions during her life"; and in this it agrees with many bodies of unwritten local custom. If there are male children, they succeed at once; but, if there are none, the widow comes in for her life before the collateral relatives. At the present moment, marriages among the upper classes of Hindus being very commonly infertile, a considerable portion of the soil of the wealthiest Indian province is in the hands of childless widows as tenants for life. But it was exactly in Bengal proper that the English, on entering India, found the suttee, or widow-burning, not merely an occasional, but a constant and almost universal practice with the wealthier classes; and, as a rule, it was only the childless widow, and never the widow with minor children, who burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre. There is no question that there was the closest connection between the law and the religious custom; and the widow was made to sacrifice herself, in order that her tenancy for life might be gotten rid of. The anxiety of her family that the rite should be performed, which seemed so striking to the first English observers of the practice, was in fact explained by the coarsest motives; but the Brahmins who exhorted her to the sacrifice were undoubtedly influenced by a purely professional dislike to her enjoyment of property. The ancient rule of the civil law, which made her a tenant for life, could not be gotten rid of; but it was combated by the modern institution, which made it her duty to devote herself to a frightful death. The reasoning on this subject, current even in comparatively ancient times, is thus given in the *Mitakshara*: "The wealth of a regenerate man is designed for religious uses; and a woman's succession to such property is unfit, because she is not competent to the performance of religious rites." Thus the liberal provisions of the civil law were disposed of by burning the widow, and she was made willing for the sacrifice by a cultivated sense of religious duty. What is true in this case is true of women in all ages. They have been trained by their religion to sacrifice themselves, body and soul, for the men of their families and to build up the churches. We do not burn the bodies of women to-day; but we humiliate them in a thousand ways, and chiefly by our theologies. So long as the pulpits teach woman's inferiority and subjection, she can never command that honor and respect of the ignorant classes needed for her safety and protection. There is nothing more pathetic in all history than the hopeless resignation of woman to the

*Early History of Institutions, Lecture XI, on the Property of Married Women.

outrages she has been taught to believe are ordained of God.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

No one's right to life, property, or liberty should be in the least interfered with on account of theological differences. Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Christian, theist, atheist, and agnostic, all have equal rights before the law. The only logical alternative is such persecution as we look back upon with horror. If the massacre of St. Bartholomew was wrong, it is because legal equality, unaffected by doctrinal disagreement, is right. Justly does the constitution of Massachusetts, like those of other States, guarantee that "no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace or obstruct others in their religious worship."

Fail to carry out these lofty principles, suffer any citizen to be liable to molestation or pecuniary loss on account of peculiarities in belief, and there is a double wrong. Not only is the individual defrauded, but all the community is injured by the interruption of that even course of justice which must be kept up sacredly, in order to have any one's right to life, liberty, or property remain secure.

Precisely this double wrong is now possible in our enlightened Commonwealth on account of the statute declaring that evidence of disbelief in God may be received to affect the credibility of a witness. Exactly the same phraseology is used of discharged convicts. So the constitution of Texas, while it gave negroes the right to testify, added,—"the credibility of their testimony to be determined by the court or jury hearing the same." Texas said that the testimony of a negro might be admitted, but not as equal in value to that of a white man. Massachusetts says that the testimony of an atheist or agnostic, perhaps a man like Humboldt or Darwin, or John Stuart Mill or Herbert Spencer, may be admitted, but not as equal in value to that of a Mormon or a Jesuit. Even if this clause in our statute did nothing worse than declare that atheists and agnostics as such are less worthy of belief than other men, that would be a sufficient reason for its repeal. If there is any man whose testimony is to be received with suspicion, it is not he who will swear to nothing of which he has no personal knowledge, and who is willing to avow unpopular views which he holds, not only to his social obloquy, but, in case he has been in the ministry, to his constant pecuniary loss. Is the man who will speak nothing but what he thinks truth, however much it costs him, less worthy of belief than the fellow who comes ready to swear to anything, no matter what? Shall our statutes say to atheists and agnostics: "If you tell the truth about your views, it may affect your credibility as a witness. Cover up your unbelief with hypocrisy, and you will find us ready to believe all you say. If you want to have your life and property and those of your friends protected, you must do your best to cheat the State."

Thus, this law teaches immorality plainly, in spite of the fact that it has not yet been enforced since its passage, less than thirty years ago. One of the senators who heard our petition last winter said that this is a sufficient reason for its repeal. The law against smoking in the streets was repealed simply because it was a dead letter. We want no fossils lumbering up the statute-book and lessening the authority of laws which ought to be

in force. And these dead-letter laws sometimes come to life again, and prove terrible ghosts. Thus, the old obsolete usage of trial by combat was called up in England, not many years ago, to let loose a murderer. In 1381, Parliament commanded that every sheriff should take an oath to put down Lollardism; and this custom was kept up until 1626, when one of these officials protested against having to swear to attack the national Church, which had been for nearly seventy years in power. So the law was repealed as a dead letter; but, if it had remained in force sixty years longer, it would have proved a dangerous engine of oppression in the hands of James II. Is it impossible that sectarian fury may yet stir up this statute against atheists? I should not enjoy testifying in court with a loaded blunderbuss pointed at me, even if it had never been fired off. Probably the discharge would not hurt me, but it might interrupt the proceedings and confuse the jury so as to prevent doing justice. This seems to have been the result, when one of the Star-Route trials was interrupted by enforcing a statute similar to that of Massachusetts. Wisely does Oregon declare in her constitution, "No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness or juror in consequence of his opinions on matters of religion, nor be questioned in any court of justice touching his religious belief, to affect the weight of his testimony." Similar provisions may be found in the constitutions and statutes of other States. Michigan and Vermont go so far as to forbid all inquiry about the religious belief of witnesses, but this is more than any one has asked of Massachusetts. No one should ask it. Knowledge of the theological position of a witness may be necessary to secure justice. Suppose a medium were prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretences. It might be very important to know whether the witnesses were zealous Spiritualists or confirmed disbelievers in the possibility of going beyond the known laws of natural phenomena. It ought to be plainly understood that repealing the portion of our statutes by which the credibility of a witness may be impugned, simply on account of his disbelief, would still leave it possible for a lawyer to ask any questions which really have anything to do with the merits of the case. No special legislation is needed to enable the judge to say when it is proper to question a witness about his religious opinions. All that would be impossible without the present law is that any lawyer may now get up a free fight about theology, without any excuse from the nature of the case, but merely in order to make a false issue, and bewilder the jury enough to cover up the badness of his cause. Atheists and agnostics are good enough citizens to be willing to stand any questions likely to secure full justice. They object only to attempts to delay justice by wantonly and maliciously assailing their credibility as witnesses. Prohibition of such petty persecution would still leave it easy for the lawyers and the jury to find out all the facts they have any right to know. It should further be remembered that unjustly assailing the credit of a witness is not likely to injure him, but only some of the principal parties to the suit, who are not in the least responsible for his opinions, and may be strictly orthodox. It is the interest of every good citizen to have our courts dispense even-handed justice without regard to differences about theology.

Col. Higginson and other friends of equal rights have tried repeatedly to cleanse our statutes from this foul blot. A bill to that effect was passed by the Senate last winter, but voted down by a small majority in the House. This year, we shall try again, as authorized at the last annual meeting of

the Free Religious Association; and we shall keep on trying until we succeed. Victory cannot be far distant, for there are no vested interests in our way. All the argument is on our side, and nothing is needed but to make the state of things generally understood. We invite the co-operation of all reformers, and call earnestly for due notice from the daily and weekly press. Friends wishing to sign or circulate our petition, which is given below, are requested to call at *The Index* office or address

F. M. HOLLAND.

Box 61, CONCORD, MASS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled:—

Your petitioners, citizens of said Commonwealth, respectfully represent, That the portion of Section 17, Chapter 169, of the Public Statutes of the Commonwealth, which is in the following words: "And the evidence of such person's disbelief in the existence of God may be received to affect his credibility as a witness," ought to be repealed.

First, Because the principles of justice and freedom forbid that any man's character should be impeached or his testimony disparaged on account of his theological opinions;

Second, Because Article II. of the Bill of Rights guarantees that "no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, . . . for his religious profession or sentiments";

Third, Because discrediting the testimony of an unbeliever would not injure him, but only some innocent third party, immediately interested in the case, and not responsible for his disbelief;

Fourth, Because, without the aid of the statute, the judge can allow the introduction of any evidence tending to advance the ends of justice;

Fifth, Because the preservation of a dead letter on the statute-book impairs the authority of all laws actually in force.

And therefore your petitioners ask that it may be repealed.

LIBERAL ORGANIZATION.

An Open Letter to B. F. Underwood.

Dear Sir,—I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your lines of the 29th ult., and note your suggestion that I state more fully and definitely what, in my opinion, "should constitute the basis of the proposed liberal organization" and "to what statement of principles and purposes" I "would have all members subscribe."

I act upon your suggestion with mingled feelings of pleasure and apprehension; the former, because my heart is deeply involved in the problem; the latter, because the more it is so involved the more do I dread to be misunderstood.

The entire question of the organization of the liberal ranks is, in my opinion, but a repetition of the Columbian problem of placing an egg on end. Columbus smashed the egg to make it stand. So I think we should ask all members of the proposed liberal organization to subscribe to those principles and purposes *only* to which all members could conscientiously subscribe.

If we have any right and title to the faith that is in us as to the ultimate triumph of "Liberalism," that right and title must be based upon the fact that within the incessant change and transformation of opinions by which we are surrounded there must be dominant a constant, unchanging law of development potent to attract all true radical Liberals to one pole, all true adical Reactionaries to the other pole of its magnetic axis. If we then can discover the innermost nature of this magnetism of the ethical law and its socio-diametrically opposed polarities, we shall be in position to state not only what principles,—abstracting from actually existing conditions,—all true radical Liberals should subscribe to, but also what principles we would have them subscribe to, when taking these conditions into consideration.

All the social and political agitation of the present day is, I think, due to the struggle for supremacy between two radically distinct, as yet unrealized, civilizations, one finding its fullest imaginative expression in the social ideals of the Ultra-Catholics (Jesuits), the other in those of the Ultra-Liberals (Socialists). The root of each of these civilizations is a *religious belief* drawing sustenance from the ultimate depths of human wants, affections, and desires. From each of these roots rise the majestic trunk and the far-spreading branches of an *ethical system*. Each shadowing crown bears the leaves, flowers, and fruit of a *social order*. The two trees are of radically distinct species; but the peculiarities of the leaves, flowers, and fruit of the trunk and branches, of the roots and their ramifications, of each tree, are interdependent, and determined by certain opposite traits of human nature, the germs from which they each have sprung. And the peculiarities of each tree are the polar opposites of those of the other. A belief in a God *distinct from* and therefore *without* the universe is the tap-root of Ultra-Catholicism. A belief in a God *identical with* and therefore *within* the universe is the tap-root of Ultra-Liberalism. Hence the true ultra-Catholic expects all that is good from without, the true Ultra-Liberal from within, human nature. The fountain of truth at which the former would drink is *revelation*; that at which the latter would quench his thirst, *philosophy*. The authority of Ultra-Catholicism is armed with the *flaming sword of coercion*, that of Ultra-Liberalism with the *magic wand of conviction*. All for One Only is the principle which governs the Ultra-Catholic state; each one for all, that which must sway the Ultra-Liberal community.

From all this, we must conclude that both civilizations, that of Ultra-Catholicism as well as that of Ultra-Liberalism, are necessary and beneficent manifestations of the social forces, through whose reciprocal action the development of the human race is effected. Such indeed would be the decision of one occupying the exalted position of "Secretary of State for Human Society at Large." But not only is the profession of such secretaries of state for human society too much crowded to be at all profitable, but the span of individual existence of each of us also is so brief as emphatically to necessitate the philosophic man of action's sinking all considerations of social statesmanship in those of the social partisan, taking his stand *within one* rather than *above both* contending parties.

Notwithstanding this necessity, however, the advantages of an occasional philosophic ascent to the heights of "social statesmanship," where all human affairs, becoming equidistant from our point of view, assume their true relative proportions, can scarcely be overestimated. For that height is not a "cold" height removing us beyond all sympathies with mankind: it is but the height from where we can mete out to all men, of whatever creed or endeavor, the equal sympathy of justice. But, for all that, we must not forget again to descend.

In the social order of our day and country, the two civilizations of Ultra-Catholicism and Ultra-Liberalism are incongruously intermingled. This is the characteristic peculiarity of our so-called "Christian" civilization, a hybrid mixture of thoroughly incompatible elements. Not only society as such, but even its individual members, are almost without exception inconsistent and divided against themselves within the limits of their personal convictions.

This latter circumstance is one of the chief obstacles to the successful organization and con-

tinued prosperity of liberal associations. As I believe there will be found few Ultra-Catholics who are not liberal in some of their views, fewer still are the Ultra-Liberals entirely free from Catholic opinions. Most Ultra-Catholics would cry out when brought face to face with the legitimate ultimate consequences of their fundamental principles; most Ultra-Liberals would shrink in horror from the extreme logical conclusions to be inevitably drawn from the adoption of their social axioms.

Hence it is that the more numerous the members of any liberal association are, the fewer will be the principles and purposes to which all of them can conscientiously subscribe. Hence it is also that the *method of organizing* a liberal association becomes almost of more importance than the choice of purpose which is to form the motive of its growth. Indeed, in consideration of this circumstance, I think it of the highest importance for the continued success of any association that it should in no case pursue more than *one single purpose*. Only in this way can it hope for permanence and steady growth. Such restriction should therefore be embodied in its constitution, with the proviso that only absolute unanimity shall effect its abrogation. But, even if the association should be unanimously in favor of the indorsement of two distinct liberal principles, it would be much better to *duplicate* it—i.e., to form two associations, one for the advancement of each purpose—than to pledge one association to the support of both objects. Such duplication would enable each body to assimilate many who could not conscientiously become members in both. Then any number of such societies, each pursuing a different specified liberal purpose, could maintain such relations with each other as would *not* coerce the less radical minorities; and this union of the societies would grow closer with the gradual education in radicalism of the partially dissenting more timid Liberals. Each association would become a school for the further education of its members in liberal principles, a free field for propaganda in favor of all the purposes represented by the other associations. The partially dissenting timid Liberals could be addressed with that advantage which would accrue from the removal of all fear of coercion. One special society should form the tie between all these organizations. The principle upon which it could be based must be one which can be demonstrated to underlie and genetically determine all other liberal principles and purposes.

Any association, to be effective of public good, must be organized as a "*party militant*." As an army, a "*salvation*" army of Liberalism, it must advance upon the enemy. It must not be satisfied to "hold the fort" it has all along held: it must advance and storm the fortifications now occupied by the opposing forces. This it can only accomplish, if it is properly subdivided, officered, and drilled. The customary internal grouping of associations appears to me little better than that of a mob. Even the army of the United States, in which I have served, is, I think, but imperfectly organized. The machinery of our political life is unjustly derided. In so far as it favors the coercion of the minority, it is indeed responsible for much evil; but the subdivision of political masses, their officering and training, and the systematic assignment of the various duties of political agitation, the performance of which must always precede each elective battle, is necessary, beneficent, and proper. Any organization of the Liberals of this country, to be effective of good, must partake of this machinery of political war.

As I stated in one of the articles referred to in

your note, I believe that "The Present Duty of Radical Liberals" consists in the formation of an "ethical party." As I there claimed, I hold that no *political* party is able to keep the path that leads to the right without the guiding light of great moral ideas which it is the office of *ethical* parties to maintain, is thrown thereon from on high. But, since the article referred to was written, I have become almost convinced that even more than this is necessary. To be effective in the performance of its functions, an ethical party must throw a *far-eyed* light; and, to do this, its beacon must be supported upon the heaven-aspiring height of a *religious* party,—that is to say, a *church*.

As already stated, each of the two civilizations which incongruously mingle in the modern state springs from the roots of a religious belief. A belief in a God *distinct from*, and therefore *without* the universe, is the tap-root of ultra-Catholicism. A belief in a God *identical with*, and therefore *within* the universe (i.e., a *Unitary Life of the All*), is the tap-root of ultra-Liberalism. All the various accomplished facts and demands of the two civilizations are but necessary developments and logical conclusions from these two deepest reaching of all fundamental principles. To enter here upon a detailed demonstration of this fact would lead me too far; but I have personally not the shadow of a doubt that the religious belief in a Unitary Life of the Universe or All—i.e., an All-Being—is a principle to which all true ultra-Liberals can and will *eventually* subscribe.

The social demands of Liberals are logically derivable from a Pantheistic view of the universe, even though the individual Liberal maintaining them should decline to be classed as a Pantheist. To give a systematic account of these logically connected demands would, however, be the work of many months; and I must therefore restrict myself to the rather unsystematic enumeration of a few of the more important and available for the purposes of liberal organization.

I. Demands bearing on the Relations of Church and State.

1. The Abolition of the Exemption of Church Property from Taxation.
2. The Abolition of Civil (Legal) Recognition of Religious Days.
3. The Abolition of Civil (Legal) Recognition of Religious Marriage.
4. The Abolition of Chaplaincies in Governmental Organizations.
5. The Abolition of Religious Oaths.

II. Demands bearing on Education.

1. The Abolition of Authoritative Teaching.
2. The Furtherance of Developmental Teaching.

III. Demands bearing on Suffrage and Political Power.

1. The Abolition of Existing Limitations to Suffrage.
2. The Inequalization of Suffrage pro rata of Intelligence.

IV. Demands bearing on the Administration of Justice.

1. The Abolition of Private Expense for Justice.
2. The Legalization of the Plea of "Injustice of the Law."

3. The Enactment of Provisions for Reparation of Wrongs committed by the State against Individuals.

V. Demands bearing on the Relations of the State to the Unavoidable Misfortunes of Individuals caused by Agencies of Nature.

1. The Introduction of Free Insurance of Property by the State.
2. The Introduction of Free Insurance of Lives by the State.

VI. Demands bearing on the Relations of Interdependence in Distress of all Living Beings and their Affections exclusive of that of Sex.

1. The Organization of Succor from Pain of Living Beings irrespective of Race or Species.

VII. Demands bearing on the Sexual Relation.

1. The Liberation of the Marriage Contract from Sectarian Religious Limitations.

VIII. Demands bearing on Property and Taxation.

1. The Abolition of Indirect Taxation.
2. The Enactment of a Uniform Tax on Property.
3. The Resorption of Railways by the State.
4. The Resorption of Land by the State.
5. The Limitation of Inheritance.
6. The Limitation of Property.

In my opinion, any one of the above enumerated objects of agitation, or any other single purpose which is in harmony with the fundamental religious belief of Liberalism in a Unitary Life of the Universe and its ethical corollary that the world cannot be reformed by compulsion from without, but only by conviction from within of the individuals composing it, will answer as a rallying cry for a *first* liberal organization. Yet it cannot be denied that some of the above-mentioned objects of desire exert greater influence than others over the hearts of the liberal masses. Indeed, it appears probable to me that the demands bearing on property and taxation would manifest the greatest concentrating power; but, in this, I may very possibly be mistaken.

Should you be inclined to take the initiative toward the perfection of a liberal organization on the lines drawn in this letter, I suggest that the first step should be to elicit a vote from as large a number of Liberals as can be reached on the relative urgency of agitation for the different objects above enumerated, etc. The purpose which received a plurality of the votes cast, for first urgency, would become the purpose of the first association, the purpose which received the next highest vote would become the object for the agitation of which the second organization would be formed, etc.

Much remains to be said upon the discussion on which I cannot here enter. But I cannot close without once more emphasizing the great importance of the method of organization, also the necessity of abstaining from the coercion of minorities, and for this reason on the multiplication of associations, and the restriction of each one to a single object. Finally, I repeat that, in my opinion, the tie which is to unite all these associations must be a religious one.

I am, dear sir, very sincerely yours,

CHARLES FROEBEL.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

Recently, a gentleman in Scotland set aside a large part of his fortune to be expended in efforts to solve the following question: "What are the best means, consistent with equity and justice, for causing a more equal division of the accumulated wealth of the country, and a more equal division of the daily products of industry between capital and labor, so that it may become possible for all to enjoy a fair share of material comfort and intellectual culture, possible for all to lead a dignified life, and less difficult for all to lead a good life?"

Certainly, this is an immensely important question. Any one acquainted with current events in Europe must know that the social problem there is assuming vast proportions, that the present social condition cannot last a long time, and that there is a demand for a change, which must come sooner or later through a pacific, judicious solution of the above question or by violence and bloodshed. The question is one with which we on this side of the water are concerned, for the necessity of answering it will sooner or later press upon society in this country as it does in the countries of Europe. Only last Thursday, a thousand men, in answer to a call, met in Chicago "to ex-

press their reasons for not giving thanks to the Lord on the national Thanksgiving Day." Their rude shields bore inscriptions like these: "Our capitalistic robbers may thank their Lord that we, their victims, have not yet strangled them." "Shall we thank our lords for our misery, destitution, and poverty?" "Thanks to our lords who have the kindness to feast on our earnings." "The turkeys and champagne upon the tables of our lords were purchased by us." "Why we don't thank: because our capitalistic brothers are happily enjoying our turkeys, our wine, and our houses." Says the despatch: "A procession, headed by two red flags and two black flags of hunger, started off and was wildly cheered; and about five hundred men fell in behind them and marched up Michigan Avenue." The band played the "Marseillaise." Occurrences like these are not without significance for us.

The trustees of the fund generously set aside by the Scotch philanthropist (who declines to allow his name to be made known) have arranged for a series of select conferences between delegates representing numerous associations of capitalists and laborers, and those occupied with industrial problems. The intention is to have the discussions of the conferences, with all obtainable information on the above question, published in a permanent form, thus bringing together valuable data, the result of the labors of many dealing with the subject under very different conditions. The first conference, it is stated, will be held before the end of the present year. The *Herald* of this city, alluding to the conferences, wisely remarks: "Anything which tends to keep before the public mind the great evil and danger to society which must arise from the great disparity of comfort resulting from our modern industrial life, although it may shock those who have only a selfish desire for their own well being and may seemingly give encouragement to wild and foolish socialistic agitation, is none the less desirable. It is not well for any one to dwell in a fool's paradise, shutting his eyes to the stern teachings of history and experience. It is by such blindness, by an unwillingness to gracefully accept the inevitable, that the great class outbreaks of the past have been encouraged. We should be wiser than the Greeks and the Romans, or the nobility of the ancient régime in France. We should profit by their sad experiences; and, if radical changes are necessary in our industrial and social organization, we ought to patiently search out the best means of effecting these changes, and build up a public opinion that will permit the changes to be made without undue friction."

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

We will send *The Index* and the *Atlantic Monthly* one year for \$6.20.

SAYS the Boston *Herald*: "Rev. Dr. Burchard asked in his Sunday sermon the puzzling conundrum, 'Why am I not in heaven?' A good many Blaine men wish he had gone there the day before the Fifth Avenue visitation."

THE *Christian Statesman* calls attention to the fact that "the Free Religious Association is moving again for the taxation of church property in Massachusetts," and adds: "Although not in Massachusetts, we shall bear our part in the discussion, and shall watch its progress with interest. It is really a national question, and the act of Massachusetts will be but an incident in its final settle-

ment." From the same number of the *Statesman*, the following is taken: "The renewed effort to tax church property in Massachusetts is inspired by opposition to Christianity, and especially to any recognition of Christianity by the State. It is part of the programme for the secularization of the State. It proceeds from those familiar enemies of national religion,—*The Index* and the Free Religious Association. Can any one contemplate the increasing tokens of national godlessness in our own and other countries set forth in this paper without the conviction that organized resistance, in some form, to this wide-spread tendency, is the solemn and urgent duty of all Christians?" It is true that the effort to tax church property is inspired by opposition to any recognition of Christianity by the State, and is in the direction of complete State secularization; but the entire movement is inspired by something deeper,—by a sense of justice and love of equal rights and religious freedom. Christianity, like every other religious system, should depend upon its own merits to commend itself to the acceptance of men, and not upon compulsory support enforced by civil power. All religious beliefs and observances, which do not violate laws founded upon the principles of natural morality, should be protected, but none should be favored by the State. In this great republic, where the experiment of popular government is being tried on a grand scale, every vestige of the union of Church and State, which has been, and in some countries still is, a great hindrance to freedom and progress, should be speedily and totally abolished. All religions should be left entirely to the voluntary support of those who believe in or choose to support them. The State should be entirely secular. If this is "national godlessness," then "national godlessness" is national justice, and is exactly what is needed in the government of this country.

"THE renewed effort to tax church property in Massachusetts" is an effort to advance the cause of public justice and morality, and deserves the encouragement and support equally of Christians and non-Christians who are opposed to the wrong of compelling men by law, regardless of their own convictions, to sustain churches used for religious worship. Any sect or any system, like the Christianity of the *Christian Statesman*, for which in our opinion it would be unjust to hold Jesus, the free-thinking Nazarene, responsible, that puts itself in opposition to public justice and morality, is sure in this enlightened and progressive age, sooner or later, to be defeated and damned beyond redemption. In this belief, *The Index* will continue to insist upon the taxation of church property, the abolition of the judicial oath, the exclusion of religious exercises from our public schools, the secularization of Sunday, the discontinuance of religious proclamations by the President and Governors of States, and such other reforms as are necessary to effect a complete separation of Church and State. This righteous movement, inaugurated in Europe by the French Revolutionists, introduced into this country at the beginning of our national existence by Jefferson and Paine, encouraged by Washington and Franklin, advocated half a century later by the able pens of Judge Thomas Herttell and Judge E. P. Hurlburt of New York and Abner Kneeland of this city, and by *The Index* from the date of its foundation, and many years earlier by Houston's *Correspondent*, Owen and Frances Wright's *Free Inquirer*, Vale's *Beacon*, the *Investigator*, and other liberal papers, is right; and it must ultimately triumph. It has of late suffered from the folly of some of its short-sighted friends, as has every other reform in some period of its progress; but, being in accord with the moral and

progressive spirit and tendencies of the age, neither the mistakes of friends nor the opposition of enemies will discourage its adherents or prevent its success.

THE *Christian Union* says of Carlyle:—

There is not a note of joy in any line of any letter or any entry in any journal. His life was one long November day. He bore its cold blasts bravely; but he never knew an intermission in the storm, never saw a ray of sunlight breaking through the gray clouds. He never so much as heard the voice, "Come unto me and rest." "My life here these three years has been sere and stern, almost frightful; nothing but eternity beyond it, in which seemed any peace." This one sentence gives a true picture, not of three years merely, but of the whole eighty-five. The best that Natural Religion can ever hope to give the world it has given in Thomas Carlyle. If there is in his letters any trace of acquaintance with the Christianity of Jesus Christ, we have failed to discover it.

Among the causes that made Carlyle's life "sere and stern, almost frightful," most powerful was that Christian theology, the sad effect of which on Scotch character is described by Buckle, the influence of which (chiefly by inheritance) but partly by education, affected profoundly the entire life of Carlyle. He outgrew belief in it as a system, but he could not outgrow the effects of generations of ancestral belief and the mood induced thereby. It is doubtless true that his life would have been more harmonious and happy, could he have remained in that belief. Much that was anomalous, incongruous, and discordant in his disposition was due to an intellectual development involving the extinction of this faith, and the persistence of traits and tendencies which through many generations had been largely formed and fostered by it, and which in his strong nature, severed from their source of renewal and in conflict with his positive convictions, made him continually at war with himself as well as in antagonism to others. That "the best that Natural Religion can ever hope to give the world it has given in Thomas Carlyle," there is no reason to believe. There are many reasons for thinking otherwise. Carlyle was, all admit, in many respects great. He had rugged strength of character and moral integrity, he was a scornful hater of shams, he was for the genuine and the true according to his understanding. His writings have stimulated and encouraged many, and will continue to do so in the future. But a deep and noble philanthropy he did not possess, his judgments of men and measures were generally distorted by unreasonable prejudices, he was opposed or indifferent to the best reforms of the age, he had no sympathy with the weak and the oppressed, he was unable to appreciate the labors of our foremost men of science. He disparaged and abused men who were his superiors in important respects, and he was a chronic grumbler. Such a character with all its undeniable greatness is certainly not "the best that Natural Religion can ever hope to give the world." The character of Emerson, of John Stuart Mill, of George Eliot is far more admirable.

THE Convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association recently held in Chicago was a great success. "Hershey Hall," says the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, "was packed at every session by as fine-looking an audience as was ever gathered within its walls. Mrs. Mary B. Clay presided; and the leading speakers were Dr. Blackwell, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. H. T. Cutler, Dr. Mary Thomas, Mrs. Haggart, and Mr. Foulke of Indiana. Probably no meeting with the same object was ever held in this city which accomplished as much. Undoubtedly, a stronger impetus has been given to the work, which will grow

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VI.

MYTH AND MIRACLE IN THE GOSPEL STORIES.

The earliest phase in the development of the Christian faith is that presented in the life and teachings of the Nazarene Prophet; that, in short, which we have attempted to deduce in the two preceding lectures from the record of the Triple Tradition of the Synoptical Gospels. The four Gospels also contain the record of a later phase in the growth of the new religion,—that embodied in the mythical and miraculous accretion which gathered at a very early day around the striking personality of the Man of Nazareth. Though the modern scientific spirit, which recognizes the enduring supremacy of law throughout the operations of nature, including the various mutations of human affairs, would perhaps justify us in relegating the miraculous elements in the gospel stories to the realm of the imaginary and unreal on *a priori* grounds, in view of the importance which these elements have ever maintained in the popular apprehension, we cannot refrain from a further careful consideration of their true historical meaning and the probable sources of their origin.

Demoniacal Possession and the Miraculous Cure of Disease.

We have already suggested that there may be a certain historical foundation for the alleged phenomena of demoniacal possession and exorcism, interpreted as the relief of nervous diseases, such as epilepsy or hysteria; and a like germ of actual fact may lie at the basis of other stories of miraculous cure found in the synoptical tradition. The

influence of a powerful mind and will over impressionable natures is so frequently illustrated in the affairs of our every-day life that it requires no supernatural hypothesis for its explanation. A trusted physician or nurse often exercises a more potent influence over an invalid than that derived from medicine or the more obvious hygienic appliances. Belief in the curative efficacy of religious rites and priestly manipulations is common among all ignorant peoples, resting, doubtless, on similar, wholly natural, and non-miraculous facts, exaggerated by the imagination. We have only to suppose a like exaggeration, such as universally occurs in the oral transmission even of the reports of ordinary every-day occurrences, to account for the greater number of the alleged miraculous events recorded in the synoptical Gospels.*

The Birth Stories of the Synoptical Gospels.

A critical examination of the records of other reported phenomena of an extraordinary character discloses so many discrepancies of statement that, apart from any general scientific hypothesis of the incredibility of miracles, and from the fact that the witnesses to the events are all anonymous and testify at second hand, we are justified in rejecting them by the recognized rules of testimony concerning ordinary statements of fact. We have already pointed out some of these discrepancies in the stories of the miraculous birth of Jesus. Apart from the fundamental disagreements in the narratives of Matthew and Luke, it is wholly incredible that Mark, the earliest writer, and John, the latest biographer of Jesus, should omit all reference to this alleged and most wonderful occurrence, if it had the least foundation in fact.

The natural genesis and growth of these legends among an uncritical and unscientific people like the early Christian converts are easily accounted for. Bishop Lightfoot says of the Jews of this period: "They were given over beyond measure to beliefs in all sorts of delusions, exorcisms, amulets, charms, and dreams. They were ready to believe everything strange, wild, and unnatural." Reuani declares that "miracles were considered at that time the indispensable mark of the Divine and the sign of the prophetic calling."† Nor was this tendency an exclusive characteristic of the Jews. The masses of the people, and even many of the educated classes throughout the Roman Empire, were addicted to like beliefs. The birth stories of the Gospels, indeed, were evidently not of Jewish, but of Aryan origin. The earliest Jewish converts, as we have seen, and their successors, the Ebionites, rejected the story of the miraculous birth and the alleged virginity of the mother of Jesus,—a fact which was accounted to them as heresy by the already growing Orthodoxy of the earliest Christian centuries. The birth stories of the Gospels have much in common with the similar legends related of Krishna, Buddha, Apollo, Horos, and other Pagan deities. Through all of them run the easily discernible features of a primitive solar mythology, to which they are referable for their true explanation. The religion of Jesus at once came into contact and competition with the current faiths of Paganism, and the non-Jewish or Hellenized Christian apologists could by no means fail to ascribe to Jesus the possession of powers as wonderful and of an origin as divine as those claimed for the older demi-gods

* A recent interesting study of the alleged miracles of the present and past generations may be consulted in *The Dictionary of Miracles, Instructive, Realistic, and Dogmatic*, by L. Cobham Brewer, LL.D.

† *Life of Jesus*, p. 230. There are some indications that Jesus was himself less credulous than the masses of his people, and that he did not regard miracles as necessary credentials to his office as a teacher of morals and religion. Thus, he rebuked the Pharisees for "seeking after a sign," declaring, according to the oldest Gospel, "There shall no sign be given unto this generation." (Mark viii, 11, 12).

in strength as time passes." The same paper adds: "Mrs. Livermore, in one of her speeches, animadverted upon that stock objection to woman suffrage; to wit, if women are given the ballot, their votes will be largely controlled by the clergy. In the course of her remarks thereon, she said, 'The Boston Index parades this before its readers constantly.' To the large majority of her hearers, no other inference was possible than that *The Index* was an opponent of woman suffrage: whereas, nothing could be further from the truth. Mrs. S. A. Underwood, the wife of the junior editor of *The Index* and a regular writer on that paper, is a pronounced and active suffragist. Mr. Underwood is in full sympathy with the movement, so far as we know. The assertion that this danger does attend the ballot in the hands of women has at first blushed some force; and, no doubt, it has been pointed out by the correspondents in *The Index*, as it has in most liberal papers. The journal is in no fear that the ballots of the women of America can be used by the preachers and priests against religious liberty. But all such objections are evasions of the issue. The question of suffrage for women is one of right and justice, not of favor or expediency. How they will vote when the ballot box is reached is no man's business. Of one thing we may be sure, however: when women do vote, the polling place will not be approached through back alleys and the ballots handed in at the rear windows of drunkard factories. Neither will women enter the gin-mills by the front door after depositing their ballots, as many men now do." To the comments of the *Journal*, we may add that both editors of *The Index* have for years advocated woman suffrage. Neither has ever urged the above objection against it, nor do we think that it has been presented in these columns by correspondents more than two or three times within the past three years. In almost every number of the paper appears some word in favor of the rights of woman. Among our contributors are some of the most talented and best known advocates of woman suffrage, and their articles have commanded wide attention. The allusion to *The Index*, therefore, which Mrs. Livermore is reported to have made in Chicago, has no foundation in truth,—indeed, conveys an impression the opposite of the truth. And we cannot understand how this talented and worthy lady could have made the allusion, for she takes *The Index* and must know its character. She may have been misunderstood. We shall make inquiry of Mrs. Livermore.

For The Index.

THEOLOGY'S DEMAND.

'Tis not enough that *man* must be enslaved,
And all his nature warped to fit a creed;
That faith, undoubting, be his only hope,
His mind from priestly pow'r be never freed;
That bigotry entraps his reason still,
With false assumption of a right decreed.

'Tis not enough that *woman*, too, is held
In hopeless bondage, where her soul is chained
By stubborn dogmas grim and gaunt and old;
That her fair purity of heart is stained
By contact with confessional and cant,
With mental freedom never gained.

Ah, no! the helpless *child*, in cruel greed,
Is rudely fettered with the iron band
Of stern theology that never yields.
The budding wonder with an icy hand
Is chilled, and growing reason cramped and dwarfed,
All at credulity's absurd command.

MADISON, WIS.

JULIA CLARK-CHASE.

of the Aryan mythology.* How completely these stories were ignored by the earliest Jewish Christians, however, appears in the total absence of reference to them in the Gospels, outside the early chapters of Matthew and Luke, in which they are related.

The Similar Legend of Apollonius of Tyana.

Perhaps the growth of the Christian legend can be better understood and illustrated by reference to the history of another remarkable man whose life was contemporary with the earliest Christian century, and whose story, upon its mythical and legendary side, bears striking and noteworthy resemblances to that of the founder of Christianity as preserved to us in the gospel traditions. Apollonius of Tyana was undoubtedly an historical personage. His leading biographer, Philostratus, whose work has descended to our time, was a Greek writer of repute who lived in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Before Philostratus wrote, however, several biographies of Apollonius had already been composed, the first during his lifetime by one Damis, his friend and disciple, and others later by Maximus, of Ægæ, and Mæragenes. Ritter says of the work of Damis, which constituted the main reliance of Philostratus in the composition of his more elaborate biography, that it was "probably free from all intentional dishonesty."† The memoirs of Apollonius by Mæragenes are referred to by Origen in his reply to Celsus, and the leading facts in his career were well known before the time of Philostratus.

The General Reliability of the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus.

The biography by Philostratus was undertaken at the urgent request of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Alexander Severus, in the early part of the third century of the Christian era, rather more than a hundred years after the death of Apollonius. Baur ‡ regards this work as a "tendency writing," the object of which was to harmonize the doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy with the prevailing Platonism of the extant systems of Paganism. He conceives that Philostratus intentionally attributed to Apollonius wonderful works of a like character to those ascribed to Jesus by the Christians, and thus inferentially throws doubt upon the historical value of his biography. The general tenor of the work, however, is unquestionably personal and biographical rather than philosophical. Its defence of the Pythagorean philosophy is fragmentary, incomplete, and wholly incidental to its main object. Its leading facts and features are explicitly asserted to have been derived from the older memoranda of Damis, against which no such suspicion has ever obtained. They were accepted as in the main trustworthy by eminent controversialists of the time, and are confirmed in many particulars by internal evidence and by such allusions to Apollonius as we find in earlier and contemporary writers, and may be regarded as generally authentic, with the same allowance for exaggeration and interpolation in the mythical and miraculous portions of the narrative which we make in our estimation of the Christian Gospels. Ritter, whose treatment of this subject is candid and rational, does not agree with Baur that Philostratus had Christ in mind in composing his biography of Apollonius, and affirms that those who take this view "appear to have looked but

little into the general character of Philostratus as an author."* This conception of Baur may properly be discarded as resting upon no visible evidence, either internal or external to the work itself.

It is noteworthy that all these writings relating to Apollonius were composed in the Greek language, which was the native tongue of their subject. Their authorship is unquestioned; and the memoranda of Damis, the chief source of their information, were written during the lifetime of Apollonius. In all these respects, the biography by Philostratus, which is the only one possessed by us, presents testimonials to its validity superior to the Christian Gospels, the authorship of which is anonymous or pseudonymous, which were written in a language that Jesus did not write or speak, and in the composition of which we have no assured evidence that their writers possessed any memoranda prepared during the lifetime of their subject.

The Life and Labors of Apollonius.

Apollonius was born in Tyana, the capital city of Cappadocia in Asia Minor, shortly after the birth of Jesus.† He obtained his earlier education at Tarsus under one Euthydemus, a well-known instructor, and afterward withdrew to Ægæ, a small village containing a temple dedicated to the god Æsculapius, where he spent some years in study and meditation upon the problems of religion, philosophy, and practical ethics. He there met Euxenus, a disciple of Pythagoras, by whom he was instructed in the philosophy of that eminent teacher. While very young, he renounced the follies and superficial pleasures of society, lived abstemiously upon a vegetarian diet, totally abjured the use of wine, wore no covering upon his feet, and only the simplest clothing. He refrained from cutting his hair, as did the Hebrew Nazarites and Hindu ascetics, and slept upon the hard ground.

After spending some five years in ascetic contemplation and study, he travelled for a long time through the Eastern countries,—Assyria, Persia, Babylonia, India, and Egypt,—studying their different religions and social customs. During his travels, and subsequently, he is said to have performed many marvellous works; though his biographer, in a tone strikingly similar to that of the modern Theosophists and advocates of "Esoteric Buddhism," everywhere disclaims the implication of miracle or violation of law apparently involved in the stories.‡ Apollonius is said to have possessed the faculty of clairvoyance, or "second sight," by means of which he perceived and described the murder of the Emperor Domitian, when many miles distant from the place of its occurrence. He also foretold future events upon the occasion of his own journeyings, and in the more important affairs of Roman history. He is said to have appeared to his friends Damis and Demetorius bodily, though at a distance from his actual abiding place, while yet alive; and to have appeared to the Emperor Aurelian when he was about to destroy Tyana, and to a young unbeliever who ridiculed his doctrine some years after his death.

*History of Ancient Philosophy, Vol. IV. So likewise the author of "Apollonius Tyænus" in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

†Mr. Daniel M. Tredwell, of Brooklyn, N.Y. (Mem. Am. Eta. Soc.), an enthusiastic student of the Apollonian literature, fixes the time of his birth in the precise year from which our era is erroneously dated. Of the exact date, however, there appears to be considerable uncertainty.

‡Pythagoras was also reputed to be a thaumaturgist or worker of miracles, and the healers of disease in general were accredited by the popular superstition as the possessors of remarkable and supernatural powers. These claims should not be regarded as the result of deliberate fraud or dishonesty, but rather as a recognized feature in the current methods of medical treatment, involving an element of mystery and concealment which the profession has not yet wholly outgrown.

Alleged Instances of Demoniacal Exorcism and Cure attributed to Apollonius.

He possessed a remarkable power over the wills and actions of others; something akin, apparently, to the phenomena known to us as "animal magnetism." At one time, he is said to have quelled a turbulent and riotous crowd of people by simply waving his hands over their heads. At Lesbos, he is reported to have cured a young man possessed of devils; and many other instances of demoniacal exorcism are also attributed to him. A young man in Athens, through whom the demon uttered cries of fear and rage, could not face the look of Apollonius,—an incident reminding us of the healing of the demoniac of Gadara by Jesus. In another instance, a statue is said to have fallen, overturned by the evil spirit as he departed out of the afflicted person,—recalling the entrance of the demons into the swine and their destruction in the sea, in the Christian legend.

In Asia Minor, Apollonius is said to have cured many people of the plague then raging; and, in Rome, it was reported and currently believed that he restored to life a girl of noble family who had been dead for some time.* During his life, he was regarded by many as the incarnation of the god Jupiter. He was mentioned with honor by his contemporary, Lucan,† the author of "Pharsalia"; and another contemporary, in contemplating his career, is said to have exclaimed, "We have a god among us!" His death occurred probably at Ephesus, when he was about a hundred years old. It was believed by many that he did not die, but that he was taken up bodily into heaven, as in the stories of the Hebrew patriarch Enoch and the prophet Elijah. A popular legend subsequently assigned the place of his translation to the temple of Diana Dictynna in Crete, upon the occurrence of which event it was said that the voices of young maidens were heard singing, "Quit the earth, O divine Apollonius, and ascend up into heaven."

The Deification and Worship of Apollonius.

After his death, he received divine honors at Tyana and throughout Asia Minor, and was held in universal respect by the Pagan world for many generations. Hierocles, the governor of Bithynia, a noted Pagan controversialist, wrote a work in opposition to Christianity, the main feature of which consisted in an ingenious parallel between Christ and Apollonius. His object, however, was not to claim divine honors for Apollonius, but to combat the similar claim made for Jesus by Christian apologists. His work‡ was rationalistic in its leading features; and he declared that the intelligent heathen did not regard Apollonius as a god, but only as a man beloved of the gods.§ The philosopher Ennapius, in consideration of the remarkable character of Apollonius as described by Philostratus, proposed to entitle his biography 'Επιδημία εἰς ἀνθρώπων θεῶν, *The Advent of the God-Man*. Even Christian apologists, like Sidonius Apollinaris|| and Cassiodorus,¶ have nothing to say against Apollonius, but, on the contrary, speak loudly in his praise.**

A temple was erected to his honor at Tyana, his

*Philostratus, while reporting these marvellous occurrences on the authority of Damis, does not regard them as evidences of supernatural or miraculous power, but refers them to the profound knowledge of the powers of nature which Apollonius had acquired through investigation and study.

†Marcus Annæus Lucanus, a Roman poet, *circa* 23-65 A.D.

‡Λόγος φιλάληθειας, *Words of the Love of Truth, or True Discourse*.

§Our information is derived from the essay of Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*.

||*Circa* 431-484 A.D., some time Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, and author of historical epistles, poems, etc.

¶Lived 468-560 A.D., author of a Universal History to A.D. 519, and other works.

**See *Apollonius of Tyana*. By Albert Réville, Doctor of Theology, Rotterdam.

*The application of the title "Son of God" to Jesus, by a not unnatural misapprehension of the non-Jewish converts to Christianity, doubtless served to suggest and encourage the belief in the divine incarnation.

†*The History of Ancient Philosophy*, Vol. IV., p. 481. By Dr. Heinrich Ritter.

‡*Christ and Apollonius*. Also *History of the Church in the First Three Christian Centuries*, by Ferdinand Christian Baur.

native city; and his statue was placed therein among those of the gods. Another temple was erected to him subsequently by the Emperor Caracalla, and Alexander Severus enshrined him among his household deities. For four centuries, he received divine honors throughout Greece and Asia Minor, and his renown extended to remote countries.*

The Religion and Ethical Teaching of Apollonius.

The religion inculcated by Apollonius tacitly recognized the gods of the Roman pantheon, but tended strongly toward monotheism. He especially recommended, says Ritter, a pure worship of the Supreme God who is separate and alone, to whom should be offered the pure prayer of the spirit, which requires not even words for its expression. He forbade all animal sacrifices, and also taught that no sacrifices of any sort should be offered to the Supreme God, on the ground that whatever belongs to earth is impurity to God. Herein, doubtless, we see the influence of those Eastern philosophies of which Apollonius was a faithful student.

In his travels, not only in his native country, but in Egypt, Assyria, India, and Persia, he taught everywhere a higher morality than that inculcated by the current religions, and endeavored to reform the grosser abuses of the heathen modes of worship, thus spending his life in the effort to benefit and elevate mankind. Soon after his return from his long sojourn in the East, he applied for initiation into the sacred mysteries of Eleusis; but his popular reputation as a magician, or worker of miracles, caused his application to be rejected. Four years later, however, when his character and the beneficence of his labors were better known, he was received and initiated.† "Apollonius," says a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "is not to be looked upon as a shallow and vulgar impostor, though, to influence men's minds, he had recourse to artifices and pretensions unworthy of a true philosopher. With some of the spirit of a moral and religious reformer, he appears to have attempted, though vainly, to animate an expiring Paganism with a new and purer life."‡

Remarkable Coincidences of the Apollonian and Christian Traditions.

We have sketched the salient points in the career of Apollonius thus at length, in order both to rescue from unmerited oblivion the name and story of one who in his day was well counted among the benefactors of mankind, and also, by comparison with the Christian legend, to illustrate the growth of mythical and miraculous accretions around the record of a noble human life. The relegation of these elements to their proper region of unreality does not in the least justify us in questioning the historical verity of the personage about whom they have grown into being; nor do the striking coincidences of the Christian and the Apollonian legends detract at all, as some have claimed, from the probable truth of the story of the man Jesus of the Triple Tradition of the Synoptical Gospels. The contemplation of these coincidences, however, and of the leading features in the Apollonian tradition, cannot fail to throw valuable light upon the genesis and development of the Christian *mythus*, and to convince us that

the story of Jesus, on its supernatural side, is no single or unique phenomenon in the history of the world's religions.

The significant fact of the contemporaneous growth of these two legends, each centering about an undoubted historical personage, will go far to explain the similarity of the mythical and miraculous elements which enter into the popular versions of both. Each came into being in the midst of a society familiar with the leading features of the Greek and Roman mythologies, with which were also mingling the similar beliefs of Persia and India. The acquaintance of Apollonius and his disciples with the Eastern mythologies is noteworthy and suggestive. The likeness of the two narratives, however, appears in just this subsequent accretion of myth and miracle, and in nothing else. The personal histories of Jesus and Apollonius—the one an uncultivated Galilean peasant, dying an ignoble death upon the cross at the age of about thirty-three years, in an obscure corner of Asia; and the other an educated pagan, rounding out a full century in the light of the highest civilization then known to the world, and dying in favor, apparently, with God and man—are totally dissimilar. The one was a Pythagorean philosopher: the other taught no system of philosophy; and that which commingled with his simple moral teaching in after times was not the doctrine of Pythagoras, but that of Plato. The supposition that the Christian story was borrowed from the Apollonian is, therefore, as unreasonable as the contrary hypothesis of Baur; and all comparisons between the two narratives made with the intent to throw doubt upon the identity of Jesus as an historical character, or to undervalue his work as a religious teacher, are futile and irrational.

Moreover, the conclusion in regard to the non-miraculous character of the marvellous works reported of Apollonius, through the frank admissions and explanations of Pseudostratus, is precisely similar to the conclusion to which we are compelled by the critical investigation of the gospel stories. In both instances, perhaps, there may be some foundation for the alleged phenomena of exorcism and cure in the potent influence of mind over mind. We discard at once, however, all idea of reality in connection with such relations as that of restoring life to the dead, except as it may have been based upon the relief of some such condition as trance, and assign to their proper mythological sources the origin of the fables about the miraculous birth and bodily translation of Apollonius. The appearance in both the Apollonian and the Christian legends of certain elements, apparently of Eastern or Hindu origin, and the well-authenticated account of the travels of Apollonius in India, together with the attempt of certain recent writers to attribute a Buddhistic origin to the entire gospel tradition, make it imperative for us to examine further the grounds of this opinion.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE FROM MR. SAVAGE.

DEAR MR. UNDERWOOD:—

If I had time, I would like to notice somewhat in detail your article on "Unitarianism and the Free Religious Association" in *The Index* of November 20. But I cannot possibly do it now.

One point, however, I am not willing to see pass unchallenged. You say, "It is not many months since the writer of this article [yourself,] by request, cancelled a lecture engagement which was to be given in a New England Unitarian church, because it was feared the lecture, if given, might prevent expected financial aid from the Unitarian Association." When I first read this, I believed it to be unjust in

its implications concerning the present official management of the American Unitarian Association. I therefore wrote to Mr. Reynolds, the present Secretary, and asked him the plain question. I quote from his reply: "As regards the statement of *The Index*, so far as the American Unitarian Association is concerned, I can say simply that the officers of the American Unitarian Association have too much to attend to to inquire who does or does not deliver lectures before societies that in one way or another it helps, and that they have never showed any disposition to make such inquiries."

Now, I have no doubt of the facts as you state them. But I am convinced it was the minister's own timidity, and that alone which was at fault. And I am further convinced that such action does not represent the attitude or spirit of Unitarianism to-day.

Most sincerely, M. J. SAVAGE.

Nov. 28, 1884.

[The engagement was cancelled, not by the request or desire of the minister, but of leading supporters of the church, business men, some of them radical Liberals, who, we are assured by one of them, felt no timidity, but deemed it best not to have the lecture (which was to be on Voltaire), lest parties should successfully urge it as a reason for withholding the expected help. There was probably no fear that the Association would institute an inquiry; but it was thought that information as to the lecture, conveyed to officers of the Association without any inquiry on their part, would probably influence them in the matter mentioned. That is all.—B. F. U.]

CARLYLE'S RELIGION.—From an article in the *Spectator* in regard to Carlyle's religion, the following passage is taken: "At first, his religion, which was cast in the stern old Hebrew type, insisted a great deal on the everlasting foundations of truth, on the permanent duty of honest industry, on the severe grandeur of constancy and good faith, on the sublimity of God's eternity, and on the magnificence of the heavens. Further, it poured the utmost contempt on miracle as exploded by science, treated the external story of the gospel as childish legend, based the faith in human immortality on a kind of intuition, and ridiculed all positive revelation as Hebrew old clothes. This is what Carlyle's faith was in his manhood. But, apparently, if Mr. Froude may be trusted, it was more hesitating toward the end. He admitted, we are told, that his deep faith in Providence was without evidence, if not against the evidence. When Mr. Froude told him, not long before his death, that he (Mr. Froude) 'could only believe in a God which [*sic*] did something,'—with a cry of pain which I shall never forget, he said, 'He does nothing.' 'For himself,' adds Mr. Froude, 'however, his faith stood firm. He did not believe in historical Christianity. He did not believe that the facts alleged in the Apostles' Creed had ever really happened. The resurrection of Christ was to him only the symbol of a spiritual truth. As Christ rose from the dead, so were we to rise from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. Not that Christ had actually died and had risen again. He was only *believed* to have died and *believed* to have risen, in an age when legend was history, when stories were accepted as true from their beauty or their significance.' In a word, Christianity was not true; and all who 'were pretending to believe, or believing that they believed, becoming hypocrites conscious or unconscious, the last the worst of the two, not daring to look the facts in the face, so that the very sense of truth was withered in them,' were on the side of cant."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF HIS ORDER. Derived from Tibetan works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur, followed by notices of the early history of Tibet and Khoten. Translated by W. Woodville Rockhill, second assistant secretary United States Legation in China. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. pp. 269. Price \$3.00.

The first part of this volume is devoted to an analysis, with literal translations, of the greater part of the historical or legendary texts contained in the Tibetan *Dulva*, which is declared to be unquestionably the most trustworthy and probably the oldest portion of the Bkah-hgyur. Not only have we here the life of Buddha as related by Buddhist authors, but the Buddhistic account of the history of the world "from

*The poet and controversialist Lucian, writing about 150 A.D., the friend of Celsus, whom Froude calls "the most gifted and purest-hearted thinker outside the Church, who was produced under the Roman Empire," alludes to Apollonius incidentally in his account of the religious charlatan Alexander of Abonoteichus, whom he supposes to have been instructed in magic by the disciples of Apollonius. Lucian condemned the supernaturalism of the followers of Apollonius as he did that of the Christians.

†"The Eleusinian Mysteries," by François Lenormant, *Contemporary Review*, May, et seq., 1880.

‡Article, "Apollonius Tyænus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition.

the time of its renovation" to the time of Buddha's ministry, with a history of the Church during the hundred and ten years which followed his death. The histories of the councils of Rājagriha and of Vaisali contained in the eleventh volume of the *Dulva* are here translated for the first time. They differ in many respects from the versions of these events previously translated from Pāli or Chinese. Mr. Rockhill thinks that the authenticity of the council of Rājagriha has been doubted on insufficient grounds. One chapter of the volume gives a literal translation of the greater part of a work by the renowned Indian Buddhist, Bhavya. There is another chapter on the early history of Tibet in which the author has endeavored to supplement the researches of those who have preceded him in this field with such additional facts as he has been able to obtain. The appendix contains notes furnished by Dr. Ernst Sen Manu and Bunyiu Nanjio, including a translation from the Bhagavati by the former, and translations of two Chinese versions of the Samana-phala Sūtra by the latter. Mr. Rockhill is a modest and unpretentious author, and claims only to have furnished "materials for those who hereafter may undertake to write a history of the Buddha founded on the comparative study of works extant in the different countries in which his doctrines have flourished." The volume contains material which is not only interesting, but new at least to all except original investigators in this field of religious thought.

B. F. U.

FRESH FIELDS. By John Burroughs. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.50. pp. 298.

Those who already know from his earlier works this American prose-poet of nature will need no second-hand invitation from reviewers to become *en rapport*, through this new literary venture, with the author of *Wake-Robin* and *Locusts and Wild Honey*. The "Fresh Fields" which this lover of nature offers us photographic views of, through the mediumship of his careful pen, are European fields, those of Great Britain. Two of the longest chapters, entitled "In Carlyle's Country" and "A Sunday in Cheyne Row," are particularly interesting just now, on account of the recent publication of Froude's *Carlyle in London*. The remaining chapters are on "Nature in England," "English Woods,—A Contrast," "A Hunt for the Nightingale," "English and American Song-birds," "Impressions of some English Birds," "In Wordsworth's Country," "A Glance at British Wild Flowers," "British Fertility," and "At Sea." It is delightful in these days of high pressure, hurry, and condensation to come across a cultured, leisurely, careful observer of nature, keenly alive to all natural charms and closely observant of the ways of nature's children,—the flowers, trees, and birds,—and one, too, who can give his readers, as Mr. Burroughs does, the result of those observations and discoveries in language so clear and a style so charming that they seem to see the things he describes with their own eyes instead of through his.

S. A. U.

THE BIBLE TRIUMPHANT. Twelve dozen Sceptical Arguments Refuted. A reply to an infidel work entitled *One Hundred and Forty-four Self-Contradictions of the Bible*, by Mrs. H. V. Reed, author of *Earnest Words to Earnest Sceptics*. Revised, with a preface and an appendix containing infidel testimonies to the truth of the Bible, by H. L. Hastings. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 15 Paternoster Row. Boston: H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill. 1882.

A few years ago, a little pamphlet was published in which passages from the Bible were set in opposition to one another, to show that the book contained one hundred and forty-four plain contradictions. The compiler was not lacking in anti-theological zeal, but his eagerness to multiply contradictions led him into many mistakes. Some of his imagined contradictions had no contradictions at all. The work of which the title is given above, with a copy of which we have been favored by the author, is a reply to this pamphlet. Mrs. Reed shows clearly enough that some of the alleged contradictions have no substantial foundation; but, in her effort to reconcile other passages which do fairly contradict one another, her theological zeal leads her into fallacies, sophistries, and errors as palpable as any which she exposes. Although she succeeds in exhibiting the ignorance of the author of the little pamphlet she examines, mainly a compilation from previous works of a similar character, she fails to impair the force of

more than about one-fourth, or possibly one-third of them. We suggest now that she try her hand on some of the contradictions shown by scholars like Strauss, Colenso, W. R. Greg, Dean Stanley, and Robertson Smith. Mr. Hastings' addition to Mrs. Reed's work is simply beneath criticism.

B. F. U.

SONGS AND RHYMES FOR THE LITTLE ONES. Compiled by Mary Morrison. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1884. Price \$1.75. Boston: Clarke & Carruth.

This handsome book contains over two hundred pages of rhymes, old and new, adapted to tickle the fancy and inculcate sound morals in the mind of childhood. The compilation forms a perfect storehouse of charming stories told in verse, from which the wearied mother or nurse can bring forward an ever-new and varied stock of amusement to charm the fretful and counsel to check and impress naughty and wilful little ones of the household. Most of the poems are short; but there are a few old friends of sufficient length to send off to a delightful dreamland the most restless and discontented little lad or lassie that shall ever, in the households where this volume may enter, essay to rebel against the power of the "sand man" in his nightly rounds.

THE AGNOSTIC ANNUAL, 1885. London: H. Cattell & Co., 84 Fleet Street, E.C. Price 6d.

This pamphlet of sixty-four pages contains a number of well-written articles, chiefly in exposition and defence of agnosticism. The contents are as follows: "Agnosticism and Atheism," by Charles A. Watts; "Pessimism and Physiology," by C. N.; "The Rationale of Agnosticism," by G. M. McC.; "Islam, or the Universal Hymn," "Agnosticism and Theology," by Charles Watts; "Bruno of Nola: A Poem," by "Lara"; "Mars Hill in London," by M. D. Conway; "The Philosophy of Agnosticism," by "Ignotus"; "Agnosticism and Theism," by W. B. Carpenter, M.D.; "Reply to Dr. Carpenter," by W. B. Taggart; "The Council of Ten," by Thomas Mead; "The Messrs. Facing-Both-Ways of Science," by Edward Aveling; "Agnosticism and Christianity," by F. S. Morris; "Darwin and Theology," by Charles C. Cattell; "The Antiquity of Man," by W. W. Collins; "Scraps," by A. M. D.

THE *Andover Review* for November has the following articles: "The Future Life in the Old Testament," by Prof. Moore; "Competition and Combination," Arthur T. Hadley; "Plutarch and his Writings," A. P. Peabody, D.D.; "The Perspective of American Literature," Prof. Charles F. Richardson; "Aspiration, from the German of Emanuel Geibel," Caroline Hazard. Among the "Editorial Topics" treated of in this number are "East and West," "Services at Ordinations and Installations," "Result of Recent Historical and Geographical Research," and "Papers before the Church Congress at Carlisle." The departments of "Biblical and Historical Criticism," "Literary Intelligence and Notes," "Book Notices," and "Books Received" are full and interesting as usual.

BABYLAND for 1884 reappears in a beautiful bound volume just in time for the Christmas holidays. "Merry" indeed will be the Christmas and "happy" the "New Year" of the babies fortunate enough to receive this as token of the interest taken in them by Santa Claus or other kind friend. Published by D. Lothrop & Co., Franklin Street.

OUR *Little Ones and the Nursery* for December, from the Russell Publishing Co., 36 Bromfield Street, has, in addition to its many beautiful illustrations, more than a dozen interesting tales and poems by first-class writers.

"PANSY" for November is received from D. Lothrop & Co., and is full as usual of pretty pictures and excellent moral stories.

MR. I. M. GAUGENGIGL has attained eminence in his art through pictures, which have been seen in Boston and other cities for the past three years. Every fresh work from his brush makes more manifest the influence of foreign study. His choice of subject is most happy. He is thoroughly in sympathy not only with the subject he selects, but with the public to whom it appeals. For this reason, the fact that he is now engaged upon a painting in the form of a Christmas card, to be reproduced by L. Prang & Co., has an in-

terest for all lovers of art. The demand by amateurs for floral studies is steadily on the increase. Those by Mrs. E. T. Fisher are admirably adapted for the purpose, from their fidelity to nature and the poetic spirit in which they are conceived. Among the more popular publications by this artist are recent studies of Zinnia, and Marigold.

OUR DECEMBER SUPPER.

This social gathering on Wednesday, the 10th, has a special purpose announced in the following hymns, to be sung by all present:—

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE.

TUNE, "Russian Hymn."

O Earth, thy past is crowned and consecrated
With its Reformers, speaking yet, though dead;
Who unto strife and toil and tears were fated,
Who unto fiery martyrdoms were led.

O Earth, the present, too, is crowned with splendor
By its Reformers battling in the strife;
Friends of hum unity, stern, strong, and tender,
Making the world more hopeful with their life.

O Earth, thy future shall be great and glorious,
With its Reformers toiling in the van,
Till Truth and Love shall reign o'er all victorious,
And earth be given to freedom and to man.

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

TUNE, "Hamburg."

Out of the dark, the circling sphere
Is rounding onward to the light:
We see not yet the full day here,
But we do see the paling night.

And Hope that lights her fadeless fires;
And Faith that shines, a heavenly will;
And Love that courage reinspires,—
These stars have been above us still.

O sentinels, whose tread we heard
Through long hours when we could not see,
Pause now; exchange with cheer the word,
The unchanging watchword, Liberty!

Look backward, how much has been won!
Look round, how much is yet to win!
The watches of the night are done:
The watches of the day begin.

In this spirit, we advocate the complete separation of Church and State, and present our petitions for the taxing of churches and the repeal of the law exposing witnesses to discredit on account of unbelief in God. All interested in these reforms are earnestly entreated to come and hear the addresses which will be given between 8 and 9 P.M. Col. Higginson will preside. Mr. F. M. Holland will read an essay prepared for this occasion on "How Religious Liberty is invaded in Massachusetts," and remarks are expected from several other speakers.

Our zeal for these measures will not, however, cause us to forget the principal object of the whole series of meetings in which this occurs; namely, to promote good fellowship among the friends of freedom and progress. We insist that those who find that their consciences prevent their enjoyment of the social advantages gained by attendance at the popular churches are peculiarly bound to give themselves and their families every possible opportunity of friendly intercourse with their brothers and sisters in the common cause. It is our sacred duty to show that life is all the better worth living for being inspired by noble aims. Accordingly, the doors of Parker Fraternity Hall, Appleton Street, between Berkeley and Tremont, will be open at 6 P.M. to all who are willing to contribute fifty cents toward meeting the necessary expenses. A plain but substantial supper will be ready at 6.30. Both before and after the speaking there will be ample time for social conversation; and every possible effort will be put forth to make all present, especially strangers, feel thoroughly at home. We cordially invite all who love liberty and truth to meet with us.

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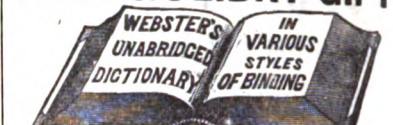
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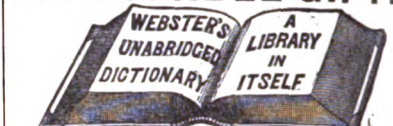
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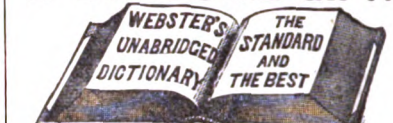
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

SINCE the University of London opened its doors to women, many have availed themselves of the privilege. Several hundred are already matriculated. Last year, one hundred and twenty women entered the examinations. Fifty were made "Bachelors of Art," eight "Bachelors of Science," and three "Bachelors of Medicine." Recently, a lady has received the title of Doctor and Master of Arts.

THE Ottawa (Ontario) *Free Press*, referring to the recent defeat in the Vermont legislature of the bill giving women who pay taxes the right to vote in municipal and town elections, says that "in Ontario the so-called 'unprogressive Canadians' are a little more progressive than the people of Vermont. The bill which their legislature rejected is already the law of Ontario. Score one for the premier province of the Dominion."

MR. GLADSTONE'S Franchise Bill, which gives suffrage to millions of men in Great Britain and Ireland, is now law. In obtaining the concession of a conference on redistribution, the Lords gained a parliamentary point which will not be without some advantage to them; but the victory of the ministry, whose programme, as originally announced, was the Franchise Bill now, the Redistributive Bill at a future session of Parliament, is beyond dispute.

At a recent convention of the English Positivists at Manchester, Frederic Harrison said that what was wanted was "a practical scheme of society and politics leading to a new future for the commonwealth of nations." "The Christian priest had nothing to do with the thoughts of ninety-nine out of every hundred of his congregation." The testing question for every system he declared to be, "What have you done and what do you expect to do with this burden of modern poverty, this suffering hopelessness, this degradation of the vast laboring masses?"

DESPATCHES from Rome say that "all Italy is alarmed by a carnival of clerical crime." The language of the announcement is somewhat sensational; but there is no doubt that the publication

of occurrences, in which priests figure prominently as offenders against chastity and the purity of the home, has become so frequent that the popular indignation is very pronounced. The papers contain shocking details, which we do not care to reprint. It is said that these scandals have been urged upon the attention of the Pope, who shows much concern, and has ordered a searching investigation, and demanded that "nothing be left undone that would tend to relieve the Church of the odium which had been cast upon her by her unworthy sons."

A CONVENTION of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association was held at Providence,—two or three of the sessions in the State House,—December 3 and 4. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase, the president, delivered an address of welcome. Among the other speakers were Mrs. Lucy Stone, Rev. C. W. Wendte, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Hon. Abraham Paine, William Lloyd Garrison, Miss Mary F. Eastman, Frederic Douglass, F. A. Hinckley, John C. Wyman, Dr. F. F. C. Garvin, and Henry B. Blackwell,—certainly a strong array of speakers. Letters of sympathy and encouragement were read from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Congressmen Hoar and Long of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, a sister of John, and Jacob Bright. The attendance was large, and the deep interest manifested was very gratifying to the friends of woman suffrage.

THE other day, a man was arrested in New York by a policeman for having caused a crowd to collect to hear the result of the Jerome Park races; and he was placed under bonds by the police court to keep the peace. The defendant appealed to Judge Barrett of the Supreme Court, who was unable to discover that the man had committed any offence. "There is one thing," he said, "that people should get out of their minds,—that it was a heinous offence for a citizen to refuse to obey the most extraordinary command of a policeman. It is proper that not only should citizens get that idea out of their heads, if it had been put there,—and it seemed that it had,—but the idea should also get out of the policemen and magistrates. It is not a crime to refuse to obey an order of an officer which is not a proper one." Indifference to personal liberty is as dangerous as disregard of the requirements of social order. It is a duty to insist upon our own rights as well as to observe the rights of others.

THE *Commonwealth* does not seem to comprehend fully the breadth and scope of *The Index* or of the Free Religious Association. In taking exception to a recent statement in this paper which appeared over the writer's initials, it remarks: "*The Index* is the organ of the Free Religionists. If the above represents all the religious consolation Free Religionists can give humanity, we think the sooner they retire from the religious business altogether, the better." When it is considered that the Free Religious Association does not require subscription to any creed as a condition of membership, and that its members individually represent a great variety of beliefs, from Judaism and Christianity

to agnosticism; and, furthermore, that *The Index* keeps standing in every number of the paper a notice that "no writers in *The Index*, editorial or otherwise, are to be regarded as speaking in behalf of the Free Religious Association as a whole; nor is any writer to be held responsible for any opinions expressed in its columns except his own,"—it will be seen that the remark of the *Commonwealth* is hardly just.

THE New York *Evangelist* says: "There can be no doubt, we think, that the notion that the body of man was first developed from some inferior form of organization, and that the creative act consisted in breathing a rational soul into this animal organization, is without a particle of support in the word of God. There is as little room for doubt that this notion is just as clearly unwarranted by the confession and the catechisms to which the Southern Church is so conspicuously loyal. . . . As for the special notion that man, as a physical organism, is an outgrowth of antecedent forms of life, we may, after the manner of Prof. [Henry Boynton] Smith, fitly characterize it as a hypothetical inference abstractly derived from an unproven metaphysical assumption: it is, in fact, nothing more." The theory of the derivation of the higher from the lower organisms is so well sustained by cumulative proof that the great majority of scientific men who have carefully investigated the subject regard it as next to a demonstration. The proof is of a character that any logical mind, with a general knowledge of science, must see its force. "The notion that the body of man was developed from some inferior form of organization, and that the creative act consisted in breathing a rational soul into this animal organization," is a notion in which is combined a scientific fact with a theological fiction, making the notion an absurdity. Such a notion, although frequently asserted by men who try to "pour the generous new wine of science into the old worn-out bottles of Judaism," is, from a scientific and philosophic point of view, ridiculous. If the human body is derived from lower forms, the human mind is derived from lower intelligences, which are correlated with these structures. Otherwise, the animal intelligence must have been expelled from some body to make room for a ready-made human soul, or the dead body of some animal, resembling man in structure, must have been resuscitated to become the tabernacle of a human intelligence. If the intelligence or mind of the supposed animal was evolved by modifications of pre-existing intelligence, why deny that a continuance of the process resulted in the intelligence which was correlated with the physical structure of earliest man, when it is admitted that the human body was developed from the body of an animal? The primary fact of evolution is continuity, which is conspicuous by its absence in the supposed method of creating the human mind and lodging it in the body of a brute. If a theory is presented, it should have, to command respect, at least a certain consistency and coherency of thought, even though it have no facts to sustain it.

DEFINITIONS OF RELIGION.

At the recent Convention of the Free Religious Association at Florence, one of the speakers, Mrs. Diaz, in her very bright and pungent address, raised the question of the meaning of the word "religion" as used in the constitution of the Association. It is not the first time that this question has been raised, nor will it probably be the last. It has been asked at previous meetings of the Association. It has been considered from time to time by writers in *The Index*. And because, when the question is thus raised, no one steps forward to speak for the Association or the answer is given that no individual, be he member or officer, has a right to speak for it in such a matter, an impression is apt to be left that either the Association has used the word without attaching any meaning to it or that its purpose in using the word cannot now be known with sufficient definiteness to admit of an intelligible statement of it. But neither of these inferences, in our opinion, is correct. If no one assumes to answer the question for the Association, it is because of the fact that the constitution of the Association by express clause stringently guards the individual responsibility of each member for his or her opinions. On account of this clause, no one has a right to speak for the Association in the domain of opinions and beliefs; and any member, especially one in official position, who may be asked what the Association means by its use of the word "religion," may well hesitate about answering, lest unguardedly and unconsciously he may impart a coloring and form from his own definition of religion to his interpretation of the Association's use of the word.

That individual members of the Association are at no loss how to define religion, is a proposition which probably no one who has any acquaintance with their writings and speeches will be inclined to dispute. We recall at once definitions which have been given by Abbot, Johnson, Wasson, Frothingham, Weiss, Savage, Lucretia Mott; and others might be found without much effort. Our own definition we have stated and restated in *The Index* and elsewhere. There is a traditional story, resting we believe on fact, that an Andover theological student, who attended one of the earlier conventions of the Free Religious Association, went away and reported that he had heard there as many different definitions of religion as he heard speakers,—some three or five of them. How is it possible, was his query, that an Association calling itself "Religious" should be able to accomplish anything, when its representative speakers and officers do not even agree among themselves as to what religion is? He did not see that a part of what the Association intended to accomplish consists in this very freedom and diversity of individual thought and expression; that one of its leading objects was to show that, under variety of opinion and belief, there might be essential unity of aim and spirit. Very likely, too, these different definitions of religion which have been given by prominent speakers on the Free Religious platform, if closely analyzed, would be found to differ more in form of statement than in substance. But, whatever the difference, it is a difference which is not shared by the Free Religious Association alone. Strict unity in defining religion is not to be found even among strict Orthodox theologians. The word has different meanings in popular usage. The dictionaries give these various meanings. Even the etymological derivation of the word from the Latin is in doubt.

Is it, then, impossible to say or to discover what the Free Religious Association meant by its use of the words "religious" and "religion" in its

name and constitution? We reply that it is by no means impossible. The constitution itself gives the answer, if it is given anywhere. That is the only official, corporate utterance which the Association has ever made concerning the matter; and that *must* be regarded as the corporate voice of the Association itself,—that is, of all its members. Let us go, then, to the constitution and see what it says, bringing to it not any of our individual commentaries upon its meaning, but applying to it those simple rules of grammatical and logical interpretation which have to be applied to any piece of composition to ascertain what it means.

First, as to the use of the adjective "religious" in the name of the Association and in the expression of the third of its three objects as stated in the constitution,—namely, "to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history,"—it might probably be safely assumed that only the common and primary meaning of an adjective so formed was intended to be signified; that is, that the Association was to concern itself with the subject of religion. But the adjective, of course, gives no clue to the meaning of the noun. It simply shows that the Association singles out one of the most prominent and powerful of the facts of human history, and, without assuming any explanation of it, proposes to concern itself with that fact, in all its length and breadth and meaning, whatever these may be. The main point of inquiry, therefore, pertains to the meaning of the substantive "religion" as used in the constitution, and not to the use of the adjective "religious," which merely signifies "relating to religion."

The word "religion" occurs but once in the constitution of the Association. This is in the statement of its first object, as follows: "To promote the practical interests of pure religion." The phraseology here would seem clearly to point to that broad distinction which is recognized in all the specific religions between theological creeds or beliefs and those virtues which concern character and conduct. Even the dictionaries recognize this distinction. In this clause, the Association says that it exists to emphasize the practical, ethical, or conduct side of religion, in distinction from its speculative or theological side. This, then, is the meaning, and the only meaning, in which the Association as a corporate body can be said to use the word "religion." It definitely applies it to matters of character and conduct.

This, as we said above, seems clear from the form of the statement itself. But it is put beyond all possible question by another important sentence in the second article of the constitution, which says: "Nothing in the name or constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief; or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief; or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being." This constitutional provision makes it impossible that the Association, as such, should adopt or indorse any of the definitions of religion which may be put forth on philosophical or theological grounds by any of its members or by other persons, however rational and logical any of these definitions may be, or however important it should seem to the individual holders of them that they should be uttered and urged, or however really beneficial it may be to the progress of thought that these individual views should be proclaimed. As contributions to the free discussion of a great subject, the Association legitimately welcomes such statements, and any well considered opinions concerning religion, on its

platform and in its publications. But, as a body, it distinctly declares that none of them shall be made a qualification for membership.

Not only, then, by the special phraseology of the clause in which the word "religion" occurs in the first article of its constitution, but still more by this sentence in the second article, does the Association clearly restrict and define its own use of the term "religion." It says in the second article that it does not use the term as denoting any kind of speculative opinions or beliefs or systems of theology; and, in the light of what is here excluded, the first article says, as plainly as words can say anything, that by "the practical interests of pure religion" is meant practical righteousness. It cannot be charged, therefore, that the Free Religious Association uses the word "religion," but cannot explain what it means by it. The constitution of the Association is its voice; and that says, without any equivocation, that the word "religion" as there used does not signify any special system of theological beliefs, but is restricted in its application to that more important and more practical part of life which is concerned with conduct. The question, indeed, might still be raised whether some better form of words might not be found to express this same idea; but it cannot be maintained that this amendment is required because the constitution, as it is, logically expresses any other idea.

WM. J. POTTER.

CREATION, EVOLUTION, AND MONAD-
OLOGY.

The so-called scientific world of our time has thrown aside the term "creation," whereby men in former times cloaked their ignorance respecting the origin of things, and has replaced it by the term "evolution." Creation, meaning the making of something out of nothing by Somebody that nobody knew anything about, became, as soon as men dared to trust their eyes, a very transparent cloak, and revealed in all its nakedness the ignorance and presumption which it was supposed to conceal. For this reason, it has given way to evolution. This is supposed to be a less transparent cloak, and for the present, indeed, it is so. But, after all, it is only a cloak which, in spite of its great fashionableness, covers up profound ignorance.

An explanation of any fact or series of facts means the expression of all that is contained in that fact or series of facts in terms already understood. An unknown is never explained by being expressed in terms whose meaning is not comprehended. If I say that the world exists because God created it, and understand neither of the terms "God" and "created," I am merely darkening words without understanding. But I am doing nothing better when I try to explain a fact by means of terms which imply essential conditions not existing in the fact under consideration. If, for example, I say with Schopenhauer that the apple falls to the ground because it wills to fall, I am giving an explanation which means nothing, because the term "will" has no meaning apart from conscious intelligence, which the apple certainly does not possess. *Voluntas non fertur in incognitum*,—that cannot be willed which is not known.

In the same way, if I say, with the so-called evolutionists of the present day, that the world, as it becomes and exists, is the result of the evolution of a single unknown principle, I am saying something which, if carefully examined, is found to have no meaning whatsoever, to correspond to nothing in our experience, and to be, therefore, a mere cloak for ignorance. The term "evolution"

means simply "unfolding," and in its scientific sense is applied to the development of organized beings (plants and animals) from their seed. Now, all such development implies, besides the seed, an environment, between which and the seed action and reaction can take place, and of which the seed, or the active principle in it, can appropriate a part, and thereof build up a material organism. Without an environment, no seed would ever germinate or unfold, no evolution would be possible. Appropriation of foreign material is an essential element in all physical development of which we know anything or can form any rational conception. And what is true of physical development is equally true of spiritual or mental development. We know of no mental evolution that is not dependent on an environment. All is conditioned by action and reaction. If we choose to assume that there is, or may be, an intelligence not so conditioned, we are making an assumption that is purely arbitrary and gratuitous, letting our imaginations run wild in the pathless regions that lie beyond our experience. The simple truth is that a single entity,—call it what you choose, idea, force, will,—evolving through itself, is as unthinkable as a God creating a world out of nothing. In fact, there is, at bottom, no difference between the two pseudo-concepts, creation and evolution: both imply action without reaction, action upon nothing, which, in the case of mind, no less than in the case of matter, is unthinkable.

I maintain, then, that the doctrine of evolution, as at present held, involves an impossible concept, just as the older doctrine of creation did. Not only are these concepts impossible, but the attempt to hold and apply them is fraught with very disastrous consequences to intelligence and to morals. Indeed, any attempt to make the intellect seem to say what it does not say, or to palter with its deliverances, is intellectual dishonesty and the first step toward moral obliquity. But the present view of the conditions of evolution tends toward the same result in other ways. The belief that the world is due to the evolution of a single principle leads to fatalism and to disbelief in the permanency of any individual, and this it does independently of whether we conceive the one principle to be psychical in its nature or not. Now, fatalism and disbelief in the permanency of individuality are both prejudicial to morality. The former makes morality impossible, the latter makes it aimless or unjust. No man can act morally or, for that matter, immorally, so long as his actions are controlled by fate or necessity; and no order of things is moral in which good actions do not produce good results, or in which he who performs them does not exist long enough to receive the reward thereof. That one being should labor and suffer want, while another reaps the fruit of this labor, is eternally unjust and the very essence of injustice, no matter whether this other be a capitalist of the present day or a member of that far-off "coming race," which, it is supposed, will be selfish enough to accept and enjoy all the rewards of the toil and martyrdom of previous races.

If such be the outcome of the current doctrine of evolution, we ought surely to hesitate before accepting it in its present form.

"But," it will be answered, "evolution is a fact; and you cannot do otherwise than accept it." This may be true, but it does not touch the question under consideration. That question is, not whether we shall accept evolution, which is a fact, but whether we shall accept the theoretical explanation of evolution at present current. I say we must not and cannot, (1) because it is not an intelligible theory, and (2) because it is a theory which stultifies the intellect and paralyzes moral

action. "But how can we obviate these objections?" will be the next question. I reply, By casting aside your baseless assumption that evolution is due to a single principle, a universal energy, and assuming the eternal existence of individualities,—in other words, of a multiplicity of principles. When you have done this, you will have given every one of such principles an environment, and made action and reaction and, consequently, evolution possible. But you will also have done more than this. By making your various principles eternal, you have, to a great extent, made them independent of each other, secured them a large sphere of freedom, consonant with their inner nature, and banished fatalism from the universe. At the same time, you have given morality a meaning, and made it possible for justice to be done under the sun. That which exists forever is certain, sooner or later, to receive the full reward of its deeds, be these good or evil; and it is this certainty alone that satisfies the demands of the intellect and the cravings of the heart, and gives life its full significance.

I have said that the notion of evolution's being all due to a single principle is a baseless assumption, and I say so for two reasons: (1) because I have never seen one fact that favored it; and (2) because the whole conception of evolution conflicts with it. In the words of an able writer quoted in *The Index* of November 13, "it seems to me there is not the least ground for assuming a universal, all-effective energy behind the definite complexes of power which actually compel our perceptions. And these compelling powers, when they are not other human beings, are inferior to our own nature." Indeed, I think the true doctrine of evolution may be stated in this way: Every individual of those composing the universe evolves exactly in proportion as it involves itself, through action and reaction, with other individuals different from itself. If this be true, the amount of evolution in the case of any individual will depend upon four things: (1) the number of other individuals with which it is involved; (2) the degree of development of these individuals; (3) their variety; and (4) the degree and kind of involution which is possible with them. A completely evolved being would be one that had involved itself, as far as its own nature would permit, with all the other individuals in the universe; and an absolutely perfect individual would be one that had involved itself with all the other individuals in the universe, down to the inmost depths of their being as fully developed. It is of course plain that, upon this principle, no one individual could be absolutely perfect until all had reached their highest possible development. And this result is in perfect conformity with facts.

The truth is, the doctrine of evolution, instead of seeking to find a basis in Spinozism, as it has hitherto done, must connect itself with a doctrine of monads, such as Leibniz set forth, if ever it is to become intelligible and satisfactory. About a primitive universal energy it is on all hands admitted that we can know nothing, though some have maintained that "the conditions of human thought are such that we must either refrain from thinking of the universal energy at all or think of it as in some inscrutable way psychical."* This would be to think a contradiction. On the other hand, of individual monadic energies we know a great deal, since every human soul is such an energy, and all

* John Fiske in *The Index* for September 4th, ult. It surprises me that a writer of Mr. Fiske's ability and clearness should have allowed himself to pen the last self-contradictory clause. When he uses the term *psychical*, he uses it to symbolize something that he understands, that is scrutable for him, or he does not. If he does not, he is using a word without meaning. Whatever else *inscrutable* may mean, it certainly means *unthinkable*; and to think of a thing as in some unthinkable way psychical is surely a remarkable feat, and one which, it is to be hoped, the conditions of human thought do not compel it to perform.

psychology is but the knowledge of such souls. Human souls, it is true, are monads in a high state of evolution, having risen above sensation to intelligence; but even they, in the first portion of their human career, are only sensitive, and their actions purely instinctive. There seems to exist no valid objection to the hypothesis that all the activities in the universe have their origin in monads, sensitive and intellectual, like the souls of men, or else merely sensitive, like souls in a lower stage of development. Such an hypothesis has found favor with some of the most profound and courageous thinkers that the world has ever seen, e.g., with Giordano Bruno and Leibniz.* Be the hypothesis correct or not, one thing is perfectly certain: that, unless the ultimate energies† of the universe are similar to our own spirits, they will forever remain inscrutable to us, for the simple reason that all knowledge, in order to be true knowledge, must be capable of analysis into psychological facts known directly and requiring no further reduction. For this reason, we may say with perfect certainty that, if ever the universe and its processes are to be comprehended, it will be on the basis of a doctrine of monads, or spiritual entelechies.

"Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst,
Nicht mir"

(Thou resemblest the spirit which thou comprehendest,
Not me),

says the earth-spirit in *Faust*, and vanishes, incomprehensible even to God's express image (*Ebenbild der Gottheit*). We must resemble that which we conceive, else we cannot conceive at all. This is why creation and evolution, as at present held in words, are, and must ever remain, incomprehensible to us. Being is not intelligence, as Parmenides thought; but being is feeling and instinct, or it is nothing—for us at least; τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι εἶναι τε καὶ εἶναι.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

SUFFRAGE: A PLEA FOR WOMAN.

I.

The present aspect of the Woman Suffrage question revives a recollection of the people of Prussia earnestly but peacefully struggling for constitutional representation. William III. was an unlimited monarch, who sincerely believed that he held his crown by a divine right, and that to give up a prerogative was to betray a trust confided in him by God; and yet the generations had not described a half-score since the people placed his ancestors in power.

There sat William of Prussia reflecting upon the ingratitude of his subjects for asking a constitutional representation! How could the impracticable people know anything about ruling? Was not he the anointed ruler of the land, accountable to God alone? All that he asked of his subjects was unquestioning obedience, and in return he would love them—as long as they loved and were subservient to him. But to ask for constitutional rights was too much: it was treason, and must be resisted. He tried resistance; and soon the question assumed the proportions of a constitutional king, or a king without a crown. And, with a reservation which the kings of "divine rights" always practised, he submitted; and the Germans will henceforth protect their own liberties.

* See an admirable statement of Leibniz's doctrine in Dr. Hedge's recent work, *Atheism in Philosophy and other Essays*, in the essays on "G. W. von Leibniz" and "The Lords of Life." Dr. Hedge himself, one of the most cultivated and fair-minded thinkers of our time, expresses his belief in the doctrine of monads, supplementing it with the Buddhist doctrine of *Karma*, which is but another name for the volitional results of evolution.

† I use the term *energy* (ἐνέργεια) here in the Aristotelian sense, as almost equivalent to *entelechy* (ἐντελέχεια) or monad. I must beg to express my utter dissent from Dr. Hedge's opinion that ἐντελέχεια ought to be rendered into English by *function*.

A few years ago, perhaps since William of Prussia granted constitutional rights to the Germans, a small band of women in this country became imbued with the idea that women who paid taxes on property have rights in that property, individual and inalienable, except so far as they in their own judgment see fit to release control. These women were called crazy adventurers, pestilent agitators desirous of subverting wholesome regulations of national polity. Woman's rights, indeed! What rights had a woman to ask for, except such as her noble protector, man, should choose to grant? It was folly, and every conservative power was invoked to frown down the unreasonable beldames. The pulpit opened its broadside assaults upon the movement as a sacrilegious innovation upon Bible teachings; society looked with scorn upon the devoted band; their gatherings were sometimes intruded upon by a jeering crowd of citizens, often overstepping the bounds of decency in their behavior, whose conduct was condoned by the plea that it was provoked by a lot of women gathered to talk nonsense. But, in some way, these women gained that which they demanded; and now a recorded deed makes a sound title for the sale and transfer of real estate, when signed only by a woman.

A predecessor of William of Prussia instructed his ministers to adopt a general system of education; "although," said Frederick the Great, "I am aware that they will learn their rights, but my contests will be with men, not brutes." These women entered into the contest from the stand-point of education and cultivated refinement: they had but one object, and thought that, if that should be gained, they would be satisfied. But a taste of the fruit from the tree of liberty produces an exhilaration which calls for more, until the partaker feels a sense of being in possession of a fair proportion of the supply. They now ask to be intrusted with the ballot and full citizen rights; for women are not citizens, they are persons amenable to the law, and make up the population which is the people. And if any portion of a community, under a system of freedom for all, be not citizens, they can by no logical conclusion be anything save one of two things: either they are alien residents or that which that word "thing" implies. They are living things, and nothing more. The convict who has served his penal servitude walks the earth a living thing: he is dead to rights as a citizen. There are men who, for an error,—a mistaken yielding to passion,—render themselves justly amenable to penalties of outraged law, but with sensibilities as keen as the judge who sentences or the jury who are compelled to convict, and with sense to know the right and to desire to avoid the wrong; and to such the consequences of their wrong-doing must be a living death.

These women to whom the right of suffrage appears a palladium of freedom, and a release from a position for which they have done nothing to justify a penalty, feel their situation as keenly as that unfortunate convict. But there is a difference which must be frankly admitted. The women never had citizen rights, wherefore they have lost nothing. But is not the craving, gnawing, hankering for a hope deferred as cruel to bear as a penalty deserved, however cruel that penalty may be?

But say some men and many women: "It was never intended that woman should go out from a certain sphere in which she is lovable and deserves to command respect. But give her the ballot, every beautiful characteristic will vanish: she will be unsexed, lost to womanly sensibilities, boisterous, polluted, and useless in the community, if she exercise citizen rights." This declaration is a libel upon the ballot, an accusation that its tendencies are polluting. Such an idea is a corruption

of the body politic, which should be extirpated as carefully and with as much determination as is resorted to for the purpose of destroying a cancer eating vitality from the body material. What is this sphere in which so many men and women think a woman must confine herself to be lovable and deserving respect? It is so conventional, so definite to the understanding and the mind of all, that it would be superfluous to describe, but for its bearing further on. This sphere, then, is to be a wife and mother, with children to wash, dress, and keep clothed with an assiduity which knows no cessation; to cook, wash, iron, scrub, and keep the house in perfect order in every appointment; to instruct the children, and prepare the daughters to fill a sphere,—and all the time appear cheerful, happy, and contented, without which loveliness will be destroyed and respect withheld. If I exaggerate the average sphere of a woman to whom these men and women refer, discount all assertions or applications in the precise proportion that I fail in this picture.

Perhaps unfortunately, perhaps unhappily, but undeniably there are young women who possess a firmness of principle which guides them to the determination that they will be the centre of no sphere until they meet the man who, in their judgment, has those characteristics which will justify the conviction that he is the one with whom they can form and create a sphere where they can be lovable and command respect. In the circle of their acquaintance, no such man presents himself; and, reliantly and fearlessly, they decide upon a career to gain a livelihood. And, when success crowns their efforts, they are precisely as lovable, precisely as worthy of esteem, as if they had followed out the line of the conventional sphere. And I deny that they lower the standard of womanly attributes, whether their capability and taste enable them to succeed at the anvil or plough, the literary chair, the hospital walk, in the farm or field, kitchen or parlor,—in any occupation which is reputable and proper for any man to enter into. If not, why not? Your only answer can be that it is contrary to custom, it is unconventional.

Not three centuries since, it was the custom that a daughter making a request for a new dress, or in regard to placing her affections, or any proposition of moment, should kneel to her father, with eyes lowered upon the ground, and in all humility of demeanor receive his decision as an oracle which would render her unworthy of her sex, if she questioned for an instant or refused to obey without hesitation. And, within this decade, I have seen the report of doings in conventions of various organizations, where the question of the judicious limits for female education was seriously discussed. In slavery times, the economic question of the minimum of food upon which a slave could exist was ever uppermost to the planter. And this was no more cruel a question than to ask at what point to place the maximum of intellectual food for man or woman. It should be all that can be properly digested in either case. A woman deserves to acquire all knowledge within the scope of her capacity.*

J. F. WETMORE.

*It is thought by many persons, particularly our New England friends, that the practice of Germans in the West permitting their wives and daughters to work in the field evinces a lower standard of civilization than that which prevails in New England. This is a prejudice, as I know by experience of many a night passed in German farm-houses, where the women returned from field labor to be the centre of refinement and even culture, as indicated by the completeness and thoroughness of every household duty, accompanied by a display of needle-work and that simple decoration which makes a plain home cheerful, often with efforts of native talent exercised to produce paintings or pictures, with flowers always present. My visits were of a character to cause me to be a welcome guest; and a dance was a usual incident, accompanied by music and singing, sometimes so exquisite as to be as fascinating as any formally arranged affair, and all combined leaving that impression of a "feast of reason and a flow of soul" possible only when the surroundings are those of refinement and culture.

THE MORAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

Many methods by which children in our schools may receive a moral education have been suggested, but I know of none of which such good results can be predicted as that of classes in ethical biography similar to those established by Felix Adler in his Society for Ethical Culture in New York.

All who have had experience of the love of children for what they call "truly stories" know with what interest they listen to such narrations, and how readily their sympathies are excited on the side of truth and justice. The first lessons in ethics are here imparted. The lines of our departed poet—

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time"—

have found an echo in the hearts of thousands, and influenced them to resist the temptation to float idly down the current of time, with no strivings for a higher, nobler life. That there is something in human nature which responds to the good in others, which recognizes the spiritual and moral elements in character, no student of history can doubt. This undeveloped moral germ in the child needs the warmth and stimulus which lives of men and women eminent for the possession and practice of the noblest virtues of humanity can impart. In the young minds wanting these indispensable conditions of moral development and growth, the poisonous seeds afforded by many of the sensational books and papers to which they can readily have access will take root, and bear the fruit of selfish indulgence and vicious practices.

There can be no greater incentives to lead lives consecrated to rectitude and usefulness than the biographies of men and women who have struggled with adverse circumstances and have conquered, whose worth and genius the world now acknowledges. What an influence these classes in ethical biography, under the guidance of a sympathetic teacher, who, like Mr. Adler, would take up the work with enthusiasm, would have on the young men and women going out from our schools to take their places in the great workshop of the world!

To aid in this work of training the children to love and practise usefulness, not only the moral and intellectual faculties must be developed, but the physical also must receive attention. For this purpose, industrial education should become a part of all systems of instruction. Our prisons are filled with those whom selfishness and idleness have induced to lead lives of infamy. They are not, as a class, ignorant men, but oftener those whose intellects have been cultivated, and not the moral or industrial elements of their complex natures. They are the demagogues, the defaulters, those in whom the greed for gold has silenced every good impulse, in whom the passions have been allowed full sway, and in consequence have demanded gratification, and obtained it through brutality and bloodshed. Many of these men would now perhaps be filling honorably their places in their families and society, if the moral impetus, the industrial stimulus, had been early given them by the right kind of examples set before them at home and in school.

The teacher of biography must be adapted to his work, or he cannot be successful. "Knowledge is much, but not all," said Prof. Tyndall. "He must have power as well, the ability to stimulate as well as to inform. The power of character must underlie and enforce the work of the intellect." The success which crowned the efforts of

Prof. Tyndall in the life of hard work and self-denial he led, while pursuing his scientific studies in the German universities, was owing to the spirit by which he was infected by reading the works of Fichte, Emerson, and Carlyle. "The Alpha and Omega of their teaching was loyalty to duty, and this it was which kept him at his work." Through the inspiration, the moral force of the characters and teachings of these men, of whom he says, "Let no one persuade you that they were not great men," we to-day are now blessed with the ripe and vast stores of knowledge of one of our most advanced thinkers and scientists,—one who says "he bears the scars of the battle in which many are now engaged." Shall not our schools have the benefit of his and of other noble lives, and our children be encouraged to emulate them, and these influences go on multiplying and increasing the power of good over evil?

R. F. BAXTER.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE University of Heidelberg has done itself no honor in declining 100,000 marks offered by an unknown benefactor, on condition that women should be allowed to study there.

SOME of the papers read before the Science Class, whose meetings are held at the Parker Memorial every Sunday at 12.15 P.M., are of great merit; and the discussions which follow are usually very interesting and instructive.

SAYS the *Christian Union*, "The sorrowful life of Carlyle is a providential answer to the modern philosophy, which asks the young to reject the historic Christ, and anchor their faith to their spiritual intuitions." To what are the lives of Darwin and Emerson, differing widely, but neither of them a "sorrowful life," "a providential answer"? So far as we are able to judge from years of observation, the lives of those who reject "the historic Christ" as a superhuman character are just as cheerful and happy as the lives of orthodox or even heterodox Christians.

THE *Boston Herald*, referring to polygamous marriages in Utah, remarks: "Having failed to interdict these marriages, the government is now embarrassed by the results of its negligence. The most that can be done, apparently, is to prevent, by sure penalties and punishments, the contraction of further polygamous unions; to require a license, publicity, and a record of all marriages; to confirm and extend the disqualifications of polygamists, as a deterrent force with the young men; and to prohibit the immigration of law-breakers recruited by the Mormon missionaries abroad. It is too late to cut up the upas tree by the roots, but it can be girdled and left to die."

THE following Thanksgiving proclamation, issued by Gov. Stoneman of California, is very much like that of Gov. Hoadly of Ohio:—

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, Executive Department.
In accordance with custom, and in conformity with the proclamation of the President of the United States, I hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of November, A.D. 1884, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer throughout the State. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed at the State Capitol, in the City of Sacramento, on this the seventeenth day of November, A.D. 1884.

GEORGE STONEMAN,
Governor of the State of California.

Gov. HOADLY, interviewed as to his reasons for the omission of the name of Deity in his Thanks-

giving proclamation, said last week to a reporter of a Columbus paper:—

If you desire to know my reasons for omitting to mention the deity, I will tell you. I was reading the New Testament recently, and was thinking if Blaine should be elected what sort of a Thanksgiving proclamation I could issue. I found in the twenty-first verse of the seventh chapter of Matthew that which seems to convey the two principal characteristics of my proclamation,—an intimation that it is not necessary to call upon the deity, and an exhortation to charity. The verse is as follows: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

MR. S. E. MOFFETT writes from Kingsbury, Cal.: "The articles of Mr. Curtis on the Mormon question suggest a reminiscence, which I give for what it is worth. Many years ago, an old friend of our family was telling my mother about some boyish jokes perpetrated by himself and a young companion. He said that during the progress of some excavations at Kinderhook, Ill., they prepared some ancient-looking plates, and buried them in the bottom of a hole. When the workmen returned, the plates were discovered and caused a sensation in the archaeological world. This may not be the explanation of the find that Mr. Curtis describes, but perhaps it is."

THE lectures on Emerson, read last summer at the Concord School of Philosophy, have been issued in a handsome volume, under the title of *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, by James R. Osgood & Co. The work is edited by F. B. Sanborn, and comprises lectures by Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Julian Hawthorne, M. Ren  de Poyen Belleisle, Dr. Bartol, Miss E. P. Peabody, F. B. Sanborn, E. D. Mead, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, G. W. Cooke, William T. Harris, and P. C. Mozoomdar. Also passages from Alcott's correspondence and diary, and poems in honor of Emerson by Miss Emma Lazarus, Ellery Channing, F. B. Sanborn, and Mrs. E. C. Kinney. The work is one which every admirer and student of the serene philosopher will wish to own. Price \$2.00.

SAYS John W. Chadwick, in a recent able and brilliant discourse:—

It is good, old-fashioned Unitarianism, the Unitarianism of William Ellery Channing, which declared that character, not creed, is the essential thing, and that it is our duty, not less than our right, to exercise the fullest liberty of thought concerning the most sacred things. Thousands of times these declarations have been made. Hundreds of times they have been clarified forth upon great public occasions, and have been received with thunders of applause. But it is one thing to say these things or to assent to them in a general way, and it is quite another thing to apply the principles which they involve to a particular case: such, for example, as the famous Year Book controversy, which lately came to such a comfortable, not to say comical, conclusion, spoiling a splendid opportunity for straightforward justice and fidelity to an ideal; such, still more notably, as the constitution of our National Conference, which, had we the courage of our principles, would long since have ceased from being the absurdly contradictory instrument it is to-day. But there are many hopeful signs.

MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE, in reply to a note of inquiry respecting her alleged allusion to *The Index*, mentioned in these columns last week, writes:—

You are correct in supposing I was "misunderstood." I know very well what is the position of *The Index*, as I take the paper, and read it regularly. Indeed, I was led to subscribe for it because of its noble attitude on what is called "the woman question." Woman suffrage is not so affluent in friends that it can afford to throw over any of its indorsers,—least of all, one that has stood so bravely in its defence these last three years as *The Index*. I could not have said what my Chicago critic affirms. He did

not hear correctly, or he misunderstood. . . . I had in mind two or three contributions to *The Index*, in which this objection was urged. Similar articles have appeared in the *Woman's Journal* and other papers, and have been combated as in *The Index*. But I referred to *The Index* as the exponent of that class of religionists who would be alarmed at the possibility of government being largely administered by clergymen. I was addressing that class at the request of two or three of their number, who asked to have their fears and hesitancy on this subject removed, if possible. I think they understood me, and did not leap to the conclusion that I classed *The Index* among the opponents of woman suffrage, because I referred to articles which had appeared in its columns expressing the reluctance to woman's enfranchisement which they cherished, begotten of the fear that woman's vote may bring back the old days of church interference in affairs of State, and priestly domination. Nothing was farther from my purpose than to misrepresent *The Index*. Nor do I believe that I did.

THE Unitarians do not seem to be disturbed by Rev. M. K. Schermerhorn's reconversion to Orthodoxy; but his attacks on their denomination they seem to regard, and evidently with good reason, as uncalled for and ungenerous. Since the publication of a letter by Rev. Charles W. Wendte, of Newport, from which the following is an extract, Mr. Schermerhorn seems to be more in need of defence than does the denomination which he has left:—

Mr. Schermerhorn informs us that he has "seriously contemplated this denominational change for nearly two years," and has devoted himself during this period largely to preparing himself for it; and yet it is a well known fact that, within the space of two years, Mr. Schermerhorn has still been zealously engaged in New York City in the work of building up a purely theistic society on a far more radical basis than Unitarianism afforded him. Within eighteen months, he has written to friends in this city declaring that he had discarded the Christian name altogether as too narrow for his enlarging faith. The utter collapse of his theistic movement is too recent and well known to require any comment. Unabashed by his failure, Mr. Schermerhorn, having recovered both his Christianity and his Unitarianism, reappeared at our denominational headquarters in Boston as a persistent seeker for ministerial occupation among us. Indeed, his missionary zeal in behalf of our views was so ardent as seriously to embarrass both our officers and parishes, who had become suspicious of the stability of his purposes and justly resentful of his ministerial eccentricities. And thus it happens that no satisfactory settlement and no missionary employment have been found for Mr. Schermerhorn. Until up to a very recent date, he has been in full relation with us, and was an attendant at the National Unitarian Conference only nine weeks ago. In all of this there is, of course, nothing to call into question the seriousness of his present attitude, especially for one who believes in instantaneous conversions. Yet if, as he informs us in his recent letter, Mr. Schermerhorn was induced to enter the Unitarian ministry by a loud call from "one of the largest Unitarian churches in the country," the Unity of Boston, we may be pardoned if, under the circumstances mentioned, we are led to speculate whether a similar call at this juncture might have retained him in our fellowship.

SOME of our liberal friends who supported Mr. George Chauncey when he was denouncing "the tyrant of the sky" and "sky pilots," and dilating on the moral advantages of belief in "one world" only, resent in vigorous language what they regard as the uncalled-for and unjust imputations which he has cast upon them since he became a Spiritualist. Mr. Chauncey is in the habit of talking wildly, drawing upon his imagination for his facts; and his former associates should not be greatly disturbed by what he says. In his transitions from Methodism to Unitarianism, from Unitarianism to Materialism, and from Materialism to Spiritualism, he has indulged so freely in severe and indiscriminating criticism of those with whom he has been successively identified that his recent

utterances reflecting upon the moral character of Liberals generally, and Materialists in particular, will have no weight with thoughtful and fair-minded people of any beliefs or disbeliefs. His recent vituperation is the same in spirit with his denunciation, a year or two ago in Paine Hall, of everything and everybody that seemed to be not in accord with his crude thought and childish impulses. Mr. Chainey expresses "discouragement with the great majority of professed Liberals." To our positive knowledge, they have the past year or two expressed "discouragement" with him. His more intelligent supporters in this city, as several of them distinctly informed us at the time, helped him, with the hope that he would gain knowledge by study and wisdom by experience; but they were disappointed, and withdrew their support. We certainly have no sympathy with those, if such there are, who censure Mr. Chainey because of his recent change of views, although his account of his conversion is as weak as a rope of sand, and the spirit of his recent lectures gives no support to his claim that he is guarded by an angel called "Lily-Dove." At the same time, they are marked by sincerity and by as much consistency and logic as we have been able to discover in anything we have seen from him. What Mr. Chainey needs most to cultivate is charity and liberality, the possession of which by one who is changing his creed and associations often is necessary, to avoid bitterness and strife.

ISOLATION.

For *The Index*.

A young soul sought to wander from the path
Where trod her mates. "Oh, come," she said to these,
"Into some new, broad way, where open out
More light and freedom, where the secrets strange
Of life and death, and mystery of birth,
May be revealed. The milestones worn and old
And time-stained, on the narrow, beaten road,
I read not." But they would not follow her.
"Stay with us," they said: "the path is narrow,
And no view on either side. The hedges
Dense shut off the vista wide; but many feet
Have trod the road, and found their peace at last,—
Thy fathers and our fathers and our friends,—
And at the end is certainty and rest."
She asked no more, but softly to herself
She said, "My love will seek those heights with me."
And, ere the honeymoon had waned, she led
His willing feet out to the open way
Where winds blew fresh and free, and sunny skies
Had charmed her sight. "I breathe, at length," she said,
As, hand in hand, they wandered on to seek
The upland path. And sense of freedom first
Exultant filled their hearts, and new-found joy
That larger prospect grand might be revealed.
But by and by, when they had wandered far
And sat upon the greenward side by side,
He said, "Here let us rest: nor farther seek,
Content with love and this fair scene below,
Nor follow out the dizzy path beyond:
Already thorns have pierced thy tender flesh."
"Tis beautiful," she said, "but fain would I
Go on with thee until my questionings
May find reward, more light, more certainty
Of all the bright beyond." "Tis far enough,"
He said: "the path grows rough and steep, and on
Forever may'st thou go, nor understand
More clear than now." So down the mountain slope
They took their way. The years sped swiftly on,
And children sweet made glad their hearthstone warm;
But oft she thought upon the mountain view,
And longed to see. Too thorny was the road
For little feet. She could not take them there.
But oft to friends she spoke of her desire.
And one would say, "I go part way with thee";
And one, "Thou goest far: it is not meet
For any"; and yet another, "Seek not
What lies beyond that dizzy height at all."
But most said, "Safer is the olden road:
Return, ere yet it is too late for thee."
But once her longing mastered all her fears,
And on she sped beyond the thorny steep,
And up the heights she pressed, with bleeding feet,
To see no limit to the vast beyond.
Life, death, and mystery of being yet
All unrevealed! Night cometh on apace.

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 11, 1884.

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

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

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For *The Index*.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VI.

MYTH AND MIRACLE IN THE GOSPEL STORIES.

The Alleged Buddhistic Origin of the Christian Tradition.

We have already demonstrated that the Man Jesus of the Triple Tradition of the synoptics was a Hebrew, and a Hebrew only; moving naturally in the Palestine of eighteen centuries ago, speaking the language and discussing the familiar topics of his time and people. His admitted pessimism was native to the soil and thought of Palestine, and neither in its expression nor in its vision of the future did it present any of the characteristic features of Buddhism. If the pessimism of Jesus differed from that of Job and the author of Ecclesiastes, it was rather in this: that it qualified its despair of the existing social order by the great hope and promise of a new and diviner order soon to be established on the earth, in the joys of which all the righteous would consciously participate. To this everywhere present and dominant doctrine of the Gospels, Buddhism presents no analogy.

In examining the ingenious argument of Dr. Felix Oswald in favor of the Buddhistic origin of the Christian tradition,* it is evident at a glance that his analogies, on their Christian side, are borrowed chiefly from the Fourth Gospel, and from the contradictory birth stories of the First and Third Gospels, which, as we have seen, are excluded from the material upon which we are permitted to draw for a rational outline of the life and thought of Jesus.† Other alleged analo-

* *The Secret of the East*. By Dr. Felix Oswald. Compare especially the "Concordance of Buddhism and Christianity," pp. 128-139 in Appendix.

† Cf. paragraphs 1-14, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, pp. 128-136, *Secret of the East*.

gies bearing upon the mythical or historical sides of the narrative of the Synoptical Gospels, like the stories of the temptation, the transfiguration, and the choosing of the disciples,* bear so little resemblance in detail and present such marked points of dissimilarity that the candid critic can discover therein no evidence of derivation the one from the other. Of the alleged "Dogmatical Analogies,"† some tested by a true critical analysis are found neither in the Synoptical Gospels nor in the authentic teachings of Buddhism; and others have been shown to grow so naturally out of the Judaism of Palestine that no hypothesis of foreign influence is required to account for their natural genesis and development.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that some notable analogies may be discovered between the Buddhist *mythos* and the birth stories of the First and Third Gospels, and the possibility that the mythical accretions which gathered about the historical personalities of Prince Siddhartha and Jesus had a common origin may also be admitted. That the origin of the Christian *mythos* can be traced directly to Buddhism, however, it would be difficult to prove. It bears the easily discernible impress of a solar mythology, the leading features of which were widely distributed throughout Asia and Europe.§ Upon this question, probably, there is no better authority than Prof. Max Müller, who acknowledges the startling coincidences between Buddhism and Christianity and the prior origin of the former faith. In reference to alleged historical channels through which Buddhism has influenced Christianity, however, he declares: "I have been looking for such channels all my life, but hitherto I have found none. What I have found is that for some of the most startling coincidences there are historical antecedents on both sides; and, if we know these antecedents, the coincidences become far less startling."||

The Growth of Miraculous Legends Illustrated in the Gospel Stories.

Investigating further the miraculous relations of the Gospels, we find that the Triple Tradition contains no record of the restoration of the dead to life by Jesus, the only occurrence popularly interpreted to be a miracle of this character being the cure of the daughter of Jairus,|| where Jesus explicitly declares "the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth." The rational explanation of this event may doubtless be found in the well-known phenomenon of trance. In Luke, we have the exaggerated account of the raising of the widow's son;** while the Fourth Gospel, with great detail, relates the still more marvellous story of the restoration of Lazarus to life after he had been dead four days.†† It is absolutely incredible that these occurrences, if having any foundation in fact, should be unknown to the writers of the earlier Gospels, or,

* *Secret of the East*, paragraphs 15, 17, 20, pp. 132, 133.

† *Secret of the East*, pp. 136, 137.

‡ Where, for instance, can we discover the "belief in the necessity of redemption by a supernatural mediator," or in the efficacy of vicarious atonement, in the authentic teachings of Buddhism, in anything like the Christian sense?

§ This is likewise true of the mythical elements in the Apollonian tradition, the ultimate origin of which, like those in the gospel stories, may be traceable, perhaps, to India, but not directly to Buddhism.

|| From a letter addressed to a conference on Buddhism held at Zion College, in June, 1882, to discuss the real or apparent coincidences between Buddha and Christ. Prof. Müller also declared such a discussion, in general terms, almost an impossibility, saying that "the name of Buddhism is applied to religious opinions, not only of the most varying, but of a decidedly opposite character, held by people in the highest and lowest stages of civilization, divided into endless sects, nay, founded on two distinct codes of canonical writings." See Max Müller's most recent work, *India: What it can teach us*, pp. 108, 109, note by Dr. Alexander Wilder (Funk & Wagnalls edition, "Standard Library"). The early date of the *Latita Vistara*, defended by Dr. Oswald, is not accepted by such recent writers on Buddhism as Rhys-Davids and Oldenberg, than whom, I suppose, there are no more reliable authorities.

** Mark v., 37-42; Matt. ix., 23-26; Luke viii., 51-55.

†† Luke vii., 11-17.

†† John xi., 1-46.

if known, that they should not be reported.* By the investigation of these similar legends, we are led to the consideration of the principle underlying the growth of marvellous relations.

It appears to be a universal rule, in the Bible as elsewhere, that miraculous legends are subject to a regular law of growth,—a rule which, if recognized and admitted, at once and completely destroys their alleged character as actual occurrences except as they are susceptible of an entirely natural explanation, and consequently their historical value as evidences of supernatural power. Such stories become uniformly more numerous and more marvellous as time separates the historical events about which they cluster farther and farther from the period of their relation. This is true, even of eras when a belief in the possibility of miraculous occurrences is common. In the writings of the eighth century prophets,† who spoke of their own personal times and experiences, there is hardly a trace of the miraculous; while the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, written long after the events which they describe, contain many marvellous relations. The first of the apocryphal books of the Maccabees is a plain historical narrative almost entirely free from miracle; while the later books, five in all,‡ exhibit a steady and constant development of the miraculous as the time of their composition recedes from the period described.

The Epistles of Paul, the earliest writings of the New Testament, report none of the miracles of Jesus, though Paul himself was a believer in "signs and wonders."§ Mark, the oldest gospel, contains fewer miracles than either of the other synoptics; Luke contains more marvellous relations than Matthew; while the Fourth Gospel, though its miracles are less numerous and more obviously selected to serve the special purpose of its writer, exhibits a vast exaggeration in the direction of thaumaturgical effect. The birth stories of the synoptics, absent wholly from Mark, the earliest gospel, found in their simplest form in Matthew, amplified in Luke by the account of the annunciation to the mother of John the Baptist and the story of his birth and relationship to Jesus, are still more exaggerated in the later apocryphal Gospels, where we find not only the basis of the Catholic dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, but also many marvellous stories of the childhood of Jesus, illustrated by miracles introduced for a purely thaumaturgical effect, such as making mud birds and causing them to fly, and changing a child into a kid. The story of the calling of the earlier disciples in the synoptical Gospels, related simply and naturally in Mark and Matthew, is expanded and embellished in Luke by the wonderful narrative of the miraculous draft of fishes.

Miraculous Legends of a Mythological or Allegorical Character.

The gospel stories of walking on the water and stilling the tempest, if not legends of a purely mythological character, may have grown out of certain parables or allegorical sayings of Jesus, intended to illustrate the truth that man can overcome the extremest obstacles and difficulties as long as he is sustained by the courage which constant faith bestows, but, with the commencement of fear or distrust, his failure becomes cer-

tain. Goethe assigns to these stories a place of high honor among legends which excel in beauty and depth of meaning.* The story of the miraculous feeding of the multitude may also be of a parabolic or allegorical character, growing out of such sayings as the beatitude, "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." If so, these legends are to be interpreted, not as the relation of actual and material occurrences, but as parables, illustrating an obvious interior and spiritual truth. These stories, however, bear some of the characteristic signs of the solar mythus,—signs which become still more evident in the reported miracles of the Fourth Gospel.

Remarkable Character of the Fourth Gospel Miracles.

A further investigation of this remarkable Christian epic in this connection cannot fail to confirm our previous conclusion in regard to its artificial and unhistorical character. In the mythologies connected with other religions, careful students have recognized a notable recurrence of similar circumstances or events in the stories of the various incarnations of the solar deity. Thus, in the Greek and Roman systems, we have reported the twelve labors of Herakles. In the great Babylonian epic, we have related on twelve distinct tablets as many wonderful adventures of the hero Izdubar, whose father was Shamash, the sun.† Among the early Hebrew legends, we have similarly reported the twelve mighty deeds of Samson, whose name also signifies the sun, or one born of the sun.‡ These stories were all originally intended to symbolize the passage of the sun through the twelve astronomical signs of the zodiac; though in after times, and to the popular apprehension, their natural origin was forgotten, and they came to be regarded as narrations of historical facts.

It is a striking fact, and one which has apparently escaped the observation of scholars, that we have certain similar features presented to us in the great Christian epic of the Incarnate Logos,—the Fourth Gospel. The number of the miracles in the Fourth Gospel is commonly stated to be only seven; but, if we bear in mind that we have here not merely the biography of the man Jesus during the short period of his life and labors in Palestine, but the story of the eternally existing Logos, the number of his wonderful works, as herein related, becomes precisely twelve, no more and no less. These are: 1. The creation of the world. "The world was made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made."§ 2. The Incarnation. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."|| 3. The turning of water into wine.¶ 4. The manifestation of clairvoyance, or "second sight," in his interview with the woman of Samaria.** 5. The cure of the nobleman's son, who was sick of a fever.†† 6. The cure of the impotent man.‡‡ 7. The miracle of the loaves and fishes.§§ 8. Jesus walks upon the water at the Sea of Galilee.|||| 9. He cures a blind man at the pool of Siloam.¶¶ 10. He raises Lazarus from the dead.*** 11. Jesus himself rises from the tomb after the crucifixion.††† 12. He appears to the disciples after the resurrection.‡‡‡

* See *Bible for Learners*, Vol. III. By Dr. I. Hookyaas.
† *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. By George Smith, A.M.

‡ See *Hebrew Poetry*. By Michael Heilprin.

§ John i., 3. || John i., 14. ¶ John ii., 3-11.

** John iv., 7-19. †† John iv., 46-54. ‡‡ John v., 2-9.

§§ John vi., 5-14. |||| John vi., 16-21. ¶¶ John ix., 1-7.

*** John xi., 1-46. ††† John xx., 11-18.

‡‡‡ John xx., 14-xxi., 25.

The Fourth Gospel Miracles interpreted on the Solar Hypothesis.

It is likewise evident that all of these alleged miracles—no two of which are precisely similar in character—have an obvious meaning as interpreted by the solar theory. The creation legend of the Old Testament has long been recognized by scholars as a myth of the dawn, when the rising sun, moving on the face of the waters, reveals first the earth, then the planets, then the various animals, and, last of all, man, as he comes forth to pursue his daily labors.* So, too, in the Logos epic, the creation of the world may obviously be regarded as the work of the solar deity, not yet incarnate. The incarnation itself is a miracle so universally attributed to the sun-god that it is necessary only to recall the fact to establish the *a priori* probability of its solar character. The transformation of water into wine is but a poetical figure for the ever-recurring wonder which the sun is working in nature. The phenomenon of clairvoyance, of a vision penetrating into all secrets and to the uttermost parts of the earth, is attributed by the mythologies of many nations to the "all-seeing eye" of the sun.†

The miracles of cure are simply poetical statements of the universally recognized fact of the healthful and life-giving energies of the solar rays. Especially is this interpretation significant in the alleged restoration of sight to the blind. It is a beautiful symbol of the sun's beneficent influence accompanying the dawn of every day and the dissipation of the darkness of night. The sun also gives power to the impotent; and, as he marks the passing of the years, he allays the hot fever of youth. So, too, the sun brings food to all the children of man. He multiplies abundantly the "loaves and fishes" for the multitudes of to-day as well as eighteen hundred years ago, by his wonderful fertilizing power.

At the dawn of every new day, the sun-god comes to his wondering worshippers, walking over the sea,—his touch so miraculously light that no tiniest wavelet bows its crest beneath his tread. The resurrection myth, too, was a characteristic feature of the solar cultus in Babylonia, in Egypt, in the sacred mysteries of Mithras and Eleusis as well as in the Christian gospel. And, last of all, on every morning appears to his disciples, after the resurrection,

"The dead earth's divine Redeemer,
Giver of the Light and Law."

When we further recall such expressions as, "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not"; "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world"; "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved"; "For I am come down from heaven . . . to do the will of him that sent me"; "I am the light of the world"; "Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you"; "While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light,"—our conviction of the origin of these figures and illustrative miracles in the solar mythology is strongly confirmed.

We would greatly err, however, if we should therefore relegate the entire gospel to this physical and mythological region for its explanation, as certain riders of the solar hobby have attempted

* See *Bible for Learners*, Vol. I.

† Like phenomena, as we have seen, are attributed to Apollonius of Tyana.

* These miracles were not done in secret, according to the record, but were generally known. Of the raising of the widow's son, Luke declares, "This rumor of him went forth throughout all Judea and throughout all the region round about" (Luke vii., 17); while, according to the author of the Fourth Gospel, "many of the Jews" were aware of the raising of Lazarus (John xi., 19, 45, 47-54.)

† Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I., Zechariah II., Micah.

‡ Only two are included in the Old Testament Apocrypha ordinarily published.

§ I. Cor. xii., 9-10; xiv.; xv.

to do.* This was but the body, the garment for an inner soul of philosophical and dogmatic instruction, drawn mainly from the Neo-Platonism of Philo and the Alexandrian schools. About the person and the vague traditional history of the man Jesus, the author drew this garment, woven of the solar rays; and in place of the simple doctrine of love to God and love to man, which the Prophet of Nazareth taught as a preparation for the heavenly kingdom, he substituted his own mystical and dogmatic theology, which for ages has weighed like an incubus upon the life and thought of Christendom.

Spiritual Symbolism: "The Oriental Christ."

Though it is thus evident that many of the miraculous events in the gospel narratives have their parallel in similar relations concerning the religious teachers or alleged incarnate deities of other faiths, though we find such notions as the miraculous conception, the virgin mother, the birth in a cave connected with the stories of many other alleged incarnations of God beside Jesus of Nazareth, and discover also that these and other similar ideas have their origin and explanation in a primitive solar mythology, it should likewise be remembered that in Christianity, as well as in the older religions which drew their symbols from the phenomena of nature, an inner spiritual interpretation pervaded the material symbolism; and the physical origin of the figures was doubtless often forgotten or regarded as relatively unimportant.

We have already noted the fact that a large proportion of the comparisons that have been drawn between the Buddhist and the Christian traditions appears on their Christian side in the extraneous mythological elements of the synoptical Gospels, of non-Jewish origin, and in the unhistorical narrative of the Fourth Gospel. It is noticeably, also, this ideal Christ of the Christian mythology and the Fourth Gospel—the incarnate Logos—rather than the historical Jesus of the Triple Tradition which constitutes the "Oriental Christ" of Protap Chunder Mozoomdar and the Brahmo Somaj of India. The natural genius of the Jew differs as widely from that of the Hindu as does the genius of the Orient from that of the Occident. The one is distinctively and characteristically Semitic; the other is distinctively and characteristically Aryan. The religion of Jesus was simple, practical, free from mysticism. That of India, whether illustrated in the ancient Brahmanical literature or in the theistic rhapsodies of the followers of Chunder Sen, is quite the opposite. The "Oriental Christ" of the eloquent Hindu is an Aryan and not a Semite. He possesses few of the recognizable traits of the historical Jesus.†

The confusion of these two entirely distinct ideals of character,—of the Jesus of history with the legendary Christ,—in the popular and uncriti-

cal perception, is unfortunate and misleading. By no arbitrary process, but by following the guidance of the Triple Tradition of the synoptical Gospels, we have succeeded in eliminating the extraneous accretions from the essential teaching and personal characteristics of the Man of Nazareth, thus discovering him as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and as a man of men. While it is quite possible that some of the mythical elements which enter into the Christian tradition in its second period of development, and perhaps also some of the doctrinal and dogmatic teachings of the Fourth Gospel, may have been derived from the mythologies and philosophies of India, we may safely conclude that no such connection can be established with the life or doctrine of the historical Jesus. The confusion of these two distinct ideals—the one historical and real, the other mythical and unreal—in the popular conception of the founder of Christianity is seen to have resulted naturally from the contact of the new religion with its local and temporal environment. The circumstance is by no means exceptional or remarkable. Similar accretions of the marvellous have gathered around the persons of the leaders and demi-gods of all the ancient religions. To have discovered a religion without these legendary accompaniments, that, indeed, would have been a notable exception; but no such exception can be urged in support of the exclusive claims of Christianity. In our subsequent discussion, it will appear still more clearly, I think, that, judged in the court of reason and according to the accessible evidence of history, regarded in the light of the new science of comparative religion, Christianity is no exceptional faith. Its claims of supernatural origin and attestation by miracle are unfounded and irrational. Like all the other religions of the world, it is a human institution, a natural growth out of pre-existing conditions, the product of our Father, MAN.

For The Index.

CARLYLE IN LONDON.

BY W. S. KENNEDY.

Mr. Froude's long task is done. The most remarkable, if the most melancholy, biography of the century is completed. The life of its noblest thinker is at length fully unveiled. It is said of Ruskin that in art matters and interpretations of natural beauty he is a teacher among teachers. And what an illustrious roster of soldier-teachers is that which holds the names of the disciples of Thomas Carlyle,—Emerson, Kingsley, Froude, Tyndall, Sterling, Whitman,—the list has no end! A man, Carlyle, like Wolfdietrich, whose angry breath grew flame-hot and took the temper out of swords, and still tender-hearted above all men,—never could resist the appeal of distress; gave and gave to street-beggars, to his mother, brothers, sisters. "We should give for our own sakes," he said. "It is very low water with the wretched beings: one can easily see that." His heart was filled with horror at a story told him of some brutal fox-hunters, who, finding no fox, caught a poor sheep-dog, rubbed its feet with anise-seed, and let the hounds loose upon it to tear it in pieces. "I found," says Froude, "that personal sympathy with suffering lay at the root of all his thoughts." Yet withal there was in him a peasant's obtuseness. He was a peasant and a gentleman in one. It is a surprise to learn in these volumes that there is reason to believe that Carlyle had noble blood in his veins, his father being, apparently, the actual representative of the Lords Carlyle of Torthorwald. Let the dapper critics, who have been calling Carlyle a boor, remember this matter of descent. I saw Carlyle in London in 1871, walking in the neighborhood of Regent Park, with his huge soft hat defiantly pulled over the side of his face to keep out the setting sun; his immaculate, stout Scotch-made suit of gray and brown (he had all his clothes made in his native shire); the fierce glare

of his eyes* turned upon the passers-by (they all seemed dandies when you contrasted them with him), and thumping his stick with angry energy against the ground at every step. Yet one would never dream that he was anything else but a gentleman, and he was not. "He had a knightly chivalrous temperament," says Mr. Froude. "Another sure sign of good breeding was his hand, which was small, perfectly shaped, with long fine fingers and aristocratic finger-nails."

The never-sleeping geyser of Carlyle's heart had its far fount in religious faith. When the shell of his early creed was broken, its core remained. His God was Jehovah still, only engrandized. To obey the moral law as the will of the unseen God, that is the chief concern. Beware how you blur the lines separating the good and the bad. Verily, with your *laissez faire*, your dismal science, your all-dominating greed, your pity for supreme scoundrels, your mistaken philanthropies, your nigger emancipations, and your ballot-boxing of fools, you are on the high road to Tophet. Let the eternal law of retribution have full scope, my friends, or you will rue it sore. The right only is strong; the wrong is weak, and must be allowed to go to the wall. (Carlyle told Lecky that there never was a son of Adam more contemptuous than he of might when it rested not on right.—Vol. II., chapter xxiii.) There are more points of contact than one between the evolution philosophy and that of Carlyle. "The right only is strong,"—do you know any other anchor than this for the religious heart?

Mr. Froude sets Carlyle's religion in new lights for us in these final volumes. It was a grand pantheistic theism. He could not bring himself to believe in the evolution of planets and men, yet felt anxious about it, lest it might turn out to be true. While he detested the cant of priestdom, he hated yet more the doctrines of liberty and atheism. He would not tear down the old roof as long as it sheltered sincere believers, yet often reproached himself for not speaking more plainly upon religion. He thought it not necessary to wound the hearts of such as his poor old mother, yet saw distinctly that the old creeds were doomed. The supernatural in Christ's story was to him only mythology, yet he felt scorn for mockers of that story. He loved the Sabbath, but chiefly because of the cessation of barrel-organs and pianos on that day. ("I easily do a better day's work than on any other day of the seven.")—Vol. II., chapter xxvi.) He could not give up the wistful belief in personal immortality, yet said "it would be as God willed. 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' 'Yes,' he said, 'if you are God, you may have a right to say so; if you are a man, what do you know more than I or any of us?'"

His dislike of priests was instinctive and insurmountable. At Bruges, the shovel-hatted, fat priests, with their tonsures, petticoats, and "sasheries about their nasty thick waists," disgusted him. He "had a kind of hatred of them, a desire to kick them into the canals, unless they ceased their fooling. . . . Yet at bottom one cannot wish these men kicked into the canals," for then would follow atheistic Benthamism and French editorial "rights of man," which would be far worse. Therefore, go thy ways, weeping and alone, till the hour be come.

Carlyle said of Cardinal Newman that "he had not the intellect of a moderately sized rabbit." Nor had he much more, if any more, respect for English Churchmen. He had, however, a strong regard for Dean Stanley; and Froude one day thought he would try the doubtful experiment of taking him to hear the Dean preach in Westminster Abbey. Carlyle was then eighty-three years old. Through some mistake, Stanley did not preach, but a popular orator gave them three-quarters of an hour of sugary eloquence. Carlyle bore it like a hero at first; "but by and by," says Mr. Froude, "I heard the point of his stick rattle audibly on the floor. He crushed his hat angrily at each specially emphatic period, and groans followed so loud that some of the congregation sitting near, who appeared to know him, began to look round. Mrs. D—, the Dean's cousin, who was in the seat with us, exchanged frightened glances with me. I was the most uneasy of all, for I could see into his mind; and, at the too florid peroration, I feared that he would rise and insist on going out, or even, like Oliver [Cromwell], exclaim, 'Leave your

*The author has no sympathy with that extreme view which would reduce nearly all of the Old and New Testaments to a series of mythological relations. The historical character and general accuracy of these narratives have been abundantly proven. There is no doubt, however, a strong intermingling of mythological elements in the history of the pre-Mosaic period, much of it of Babylonian or Chaldean origin. The truth evidently lies between the two extremes, and a nice discrimination is often required to distinguish myth from history.

†At the very time when these lectures were in process of composition and delivery, the history of the Brahmo Somaj in India was presenting a most striking and significant illustration of the rapidity with which assumptions of a superhuman or divine character grow up about a noble human personality. Hardly has Keshub Chunder Sen been placed upon his funeral pyre, when his disciples commence to speak of him almost in the precise terms in which the Fourth Gospel refers to Jesus. In a resolution lately passed by the Apostolic Council of the "New Dispensation" occurs the following: "We believe our minister was living in the bosom of God as the minister of the New Dispensation before the beginning of creation. And our relationship with him is not for time, but for eternity. None can accept this dispensation except through him. . . . Hence, when preaching the New Dispensation, it is needful to proclaim his eternal relationship with the same." No better illustration could possibly be afforded of the manner in which the Man Jesus became the ideal Christ, or of the marvellously short time required, in the right intellectual soil, for this remarkable transformation.

*Bloodshot on that day; "of a deep violet in 1849," says Froude, "with fire burning at the bottom of them, which flashed out at the least excitement."

fooling, sir, and come down!" Happily, the end arrived before a crisis; and we escaped a catastrophe which would have set London ringing."

Carlyle's first work in London was the *French Revolution*,—pictures "splashed down in large masses of color, like a smoke and flame conflagration,"—a book that "came flamingly from the heart of a living man," "born out of his soul in blackness, whirlwind, and sorrow." When the manuscript of the first volume was burned, he heroically said, "It is as if my invisible schoolmaster had torn my copy book when I showed it, and said: 'No, boy! Thou must write it better.'" Mill pressed him to accept \$1,000: he would take only \$500,—wages for five months' lost toil. The book, when done, made him famous at once. Dickens carried a copy in his pocket wherever he went; Southey read it six times; Thackeray reviewed it,—"Thackeray, a half-monstrous Cornish giant, kind of painter, Cambridge man, and Paris newspaper correspondent, who is now writing for his life in London," so said Carlyle of his enthusiastic reviewer.

At the back of the Carlyle house in Chelsea was a bit of garden and grass where were some jasmine and some gooseberry bushes transplanted from Hadlington and Craigenputtock to London fog. Here, when spring came, Carlyle used to dig and plant and cut the grass along the walks. The everlasting pianos and dogs and cocks appear again in the narrative of Mr. Froude. Carlyle wished that the cocks and cockerels at least might be boiled into soup and everlasting silence, and that the devil would be pleased to smite with his hammer the pianos all and several of the world, reducing them to mere smithereens. Jane was ordered to borrow Mazzini's gun to shoot the cocks, but she preferred a bribe of £5. Yet, after all, a sound-proof room had to be built at the top of the house above the highest story. There were two walls, with space between to deaden noise. The inner wall had doors and the outer one windows for ventilation only, for the room itself was lighted solely from above. Here at last was peace; and here *Fredrick* was written.

In 1839, Carlyle was persuaded to lecture. He "vomited forth on them like wild Annandale grape-shot." They cried, "Splendid! Devilish fine! Most true!" but the lecturer felt as if he had "been robbing hen-roosts." He would have made a fine orator, thought Emerson; but it was better for him that he was not drawn that way: it would have made him trim his words.

About the same time was begun *Cromwell*, which Mr. Froude thinks to be the most important contribution to English history which has been made in the present century.

As for the style of the author of *Sartor*, it originated in the old farm-house at Annandale. The humorous element in it came from his mother, the form was his father's common mode of speech, and was adopted by Carlyle for its brevity and emphasis. Froude thinks it the clearest of styles! I have never heard of anybody else of that opinion. Carlyle was made anxious by the universal objection to it, but thought a man's style, like his skin, impossible to change.

Blessed were the days of rest at Scotsbrig: "The trees wave peaceful music in front of my window, which is shoved up to the very top [in June]. Mother is washing in the kitchen to my left. The sound of Jamie building his peat-stack is audible, and they are storing potatoes down below. . . . My soul's one wish is to be left alone." In Templand, he walks along in the beautiful opening of the year: Death seems to him "a huge demon-falcon, rising miraculously, we know not whence, to snatch us away from one another's sight, we know not whither."

The old earth, with her star firmaments and burial vaults, carries on a mysterious dialogue with her solitary lover. The spring is beautiful, almost solemn: "Whose great laboratory is that? The hills stand snow-powdered, pale, bright. The black hail-storm awakens in them, rushes down like a black, swift ocean tide, valley answering valley; and again the sun blinks out, and the poor sower is casting his grain into the furrow, hopeful he that the zodiacs and far heavenly horologes have not faltered, that there will be yet another summer added for us and another harvest."

On the moor of the Dairland Hills, he paints another of his wonderful pictures: "The bare expanse of silent green upland is round me, far off the world of mountains, and the sea all changed to silver. Out

of the dusky sunset,—for vapors had fallen,—the windows of Carlisle city glanced visibly upon me; twenty thousand human bipeds whom I could cover with my hat."

Quotations from Carlyle's letters, as given by Mr. Froude, show, naturally, a cooler estimate of Emerson than is afforded in the Carlyle-Emerson Correspondence. At the close of a lecture of Emerson's in London, Carlyle was heard to laugh loud and kindly-contemptuously over what he styled his friend's moonshine. In 1848, he writes: "Gave Emerson a Wood's *Athenæ*; parted with him in peace. A spiritual son of mine? Yes, in a good degree, but gone into philanthropy and other moonshine; for the rest, a dignified, serene, and amiable man of a certain indisputable natural faculty, whose friendliness to me in this world has been great." Elsewhere this: "We had immense talking with Emerson here [1848], but found he did not give us much to chew the cud upon,—found, in fact, that he came with the rake rather than the shovel. [Italics mine. How admirably the words call up the intent, forward lean of the head and the receptive, kindly mood of Emerson, seeking, with shrewd thrift and Yankee acquisitiveness and curiosity, some new thing from his visitor rather than imparting much himself!] He is a pure, high-minded man, but I think his talent is not quite so high as I had anticipated." Subjoined is another quotation from Carlyle's journal:—

"Emerson came here and stayed with us some days on his first arrival. Very *exotic*; of smaller dimensions too, and differed much from me, as a gymnosophist sitting idle on a flowery bank may do from a wearied worker and wrestler passing that way with many of his bones broken. Good of him I could get none, except from his friendly looks and elevated, exotic, polite ways." How that word *exotic* hits the nail in the centre, the more you think of it!

CORRESPONDENCE.

M. D. CONWAY'S REPLY TO MR. FRETWELL.

Editors of The Index:—

The Index of October 23 has only just reached me. The "reply" of Mr. John Fretwell to some statements of mine contained in it might well be left unanswered, so far as I am concerned, since the animus it reveals toward one with whom he is unacquainted sufficiently confirms all I have said about Association Unitarianism in London. Mr. Fretwell's letter shows me, however, the importance of noting every exception to Unitarian illiberality which I have experienced in England, and reminds me that "Manchester" was accidentally omitted from the list of places in my "Apologia" where I have been hospitably received. There, not only the liberal American, Mr. Farrington, but the Rev. Brooke Herford invited the freest expression of South Place heresies in their pulpits. But, as I have said, had I alone been concerned, no notice of Mr. Fretwell's reply were necessary. It is important, however, that his misleading statements concerning others should be remarked. He says that Mrs. Besant's case—deprivation of her child—was "so complicated by non-theological issues that it is not a fair instance." I was in court and heard Sir George Jessel's decision; and he was careful to say that, solely on the ground that she (Mrs. Besant) was engaged in an atheistical propaganda, he had no hesitation in taking the child from her. Mr. Fretwell, in describing the incriminated Christmas number of the *Freethinker*, puts between quotation-marks words not in it; and, though the sense is not greatly altered, it is an instance of the general slovenliness of his letter concerning these important matters. A worse instance is that of his describing the writings and pictures for which Foote and Ramsay were imprisoned as "disgusting indecency,"—a phrase suggestive of some obscenity. I have preserved a copy of the paper; and there is nothing in it which would be regarded as indecent, had it been directed against Jupiter and Jason instead of Jehovah and Jesus. The "indecency" is not in what is written or portrayed, but in its happening to be Mr. Fretwell's idols instead of other people's which are caricatured. Mr. Foote has as much right to ridicule the Semitic Jupiter as his gaoler, Mr. Gladstone, has to deny the deity of the Mahdi. Mr. Fretwell says that Mr. Gladstone "has done all that lay in his power to secure Bradlaugh's admission to

Parliament." On the contrary, Mr. Bradlaugh's exclusion is due to Gladstone, who, as in the case of Foote and Ramsay, had only to speak a word to have secured justice. When female enfranchisement was concerned, and a majority of the Commons was known to be in favor of including it in the Franchise Bill, "William the Woman-hater" commanded his followers to vote against it under an extreme penalty; and they obeyed him, even many old friends of female suffrage abandoning the cause. When the Affirmation Bill was before the House, Gladstone declined to influence his party at all. He declared the Bill innocent, and gave it up to be freely crucified.

These examples are enough to show how untrustworthy Mr. John Fretwell is. No doubt he means to be truthful. His letter represents such pin-hole view of contemporary events and characters as is vouchsafed average defenders of denominations in decadence; but it is important that Americans shall read recent English history, as it affects religious liberty, without sectarian spectacles or casuistry.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

SECULARISM AND STATE SECULARIZATION.

Editors of The Index:—

State secularization means truth, justice, freedom between citizens. Secularism means earthliness, a limitation of thought, purpose, and aspiration to the pursuits and conditions of our mortal life. One says, "Let no citizen be taxed to support moral and religious theories in which he has no faith and no interest or which he deems erroneous, but let each be free to propagate and support his own theories at his own expense." The other says: "All moral and religious theories which are affected by any considerations drawn from a supposed future life should be dropped; and our present life be ordered and shaped wholly from the existing and known course of nature, just as if we had never had a thought of an existence after death. If there is such a life, we know nothing of it, and should leave it out of consideration in all our plans and action now. Take no thought for to-morrow. One world at once. This theory of secularism is only for individual action. On the other hand, State secularization is only for State action. The two notions differ from each other both as to their subjects or agents and their significance."

It would seem very obvious that things so different would never be confounded by a mind qualified to discuss in public religious and philosophical questions. Yet some men who have made themselves conspicuous in a certain noisy coterie have emphasized and detailed this blunder in print, and even the so-called Liberal League in its organic action has rendered itself obnoxious to this charge. It was started as an organized opponent of all sectarianism in civil action, and this it has proclaimed as its great object all along its questionable and stormy career. Yet its secretary, in the name of the League, has issued an appeal to its members to be more active and liberal (*sic*!) in order to advance the cause of secularism. This appeal is one of the most dishonest and malapert and thoroughly cross-eyed documents ever issued from the press.

On the first page, it contains the famous "Nine Demands of Liberalism," all of which are confined to State secularization, as everybody knows. This is implicitly confessed on the second page in a bombastic exhortation (the secretary was once a preacher) to "all who are in favor of a total separation of Church and State" to labor in connection with the League as "the fountain of joy and the star of hope." Then, on the last page, we are treated to a resolution of the League adopted at its last session,—"that all who favor the secularization of our government be earnestly and cordially invited to unite and become active members of the National Liberal League"; and said session of said League reaffirmed the "nine demands" "as the basis of union henceforth and as defining our mission." Yet, in the same sentence, it recommends the adoption of the name "American Secular (Secularistic?) Union"; and the main body of the paper consists of a high-flown declaration that the League has commenced a systematic course of labor, not for the attainment of the "nine demands," but for the one demand of a few fire-eaters, the promotion of secularism distinctively; and that the first vice-president and the secretary are ordained as the chiefest apostles of this great propagandist mission. On this, the secretary-apostle begins to prophesy that,

if they can get hold of only so small a sum as five thousand dollars, they will speedily make "the cross vanish in the laboratory of science." Think of "all who favor State secularization" contributing for the attainment of such a result as this, and that through the secretary of the Liberal League!

Millions who consider Secularism a noxious weed, soon to be extirpated, are prepared to labor for State secularization on the score of freedom and common justice; and, in this spirit, some of them have joined, or favored for a while, the Liberal League. They would not have secularists deprived of any of their just rights, nor would they tax them for the support of a religious theory they dislike. But, for the same reason, they must protest against being enjoined and even taxed as members of the League or friends of State secularization to support secularism.

The millions who are in favor of State secularization comprise all varieties of theories and opinions, ranging all the way from the most indefinable and tenuous Liberalism down to Popery and Mormonism. Thousands of them are Methodists. Ardent and zealous as they are for certain theological notions and modes of religious life, they want no forced help from those who have no sympathy with their views and experiences, believing that all specialties of opinion should be voluntarily supported by their advocates and friends. To tax others for their support is unjust, and the very essence of the persecuting spirit of the priest-ruling ages. But the freedom which we advocate for all we claim for ourselves, and the crude verbal jugglery we are considering can never draw a dollar from the most generous simplicity for the purpose of aiding the cremation of one's own house. WM. I. GILL.

LAWRENCE, MASS., Dec. 4, 1884.

P.S.—I wish here to make emphatic exception to a fundamental position of Mr. Charles Froebel in his last week's article on "Liberal Organization." He says, and repeats, that "a belief in a God identical with, and therefore within the universe, is the tap-root of Ultra-Liberalism," and that Ultra-Catholicism is the antipodes of this,—the belief of an extra-mundane Deity. If this were a true and adequate statement of the difference of the two, Liberalism is a false name for dogmatism; and it will enforce its dogma by all the means and power it can wield, just as Popery has always done in support of its dogma. According to this, the only difference between the two is in their respective dogmas. In this division of mankind, I shall side with Popery, though I had supposed I was far removed from it and were entitled to consideration as a true and thorough Liberal. I have always claimed that Liberalism is not characterized by any supreme dogma, but by the spirit and method of supreme liberality, in respecting the intellectual and moral rights of all men, and that its supreme dogma is that these rights are of such or such a nature, and should be maintained at all hazards. This general principle it seeks to carry out concretely relative to all the mutual relations of men. On this conception, I proclaim myself a Liberal. This, I conceive, is the substance of the platform of the Free Religious Association, and to that I subscribe, but not to the theological dogma of Mr. Froebel; and an organization built on that were not "liberal," but "Old Priest writ large." W. I. G.

BOOK NOTICES.

BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS. By F. Max Müller, K.M., Foreign Member of the French Institute. Rām-mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Bunyū Nanjio, and Kenjiū Kasawara, Colebrooke, Mohl, Bunsen, Kingsley. Crown 8vo. pp. 390. Price 7s. 6d. cloth.

In this volume, we have a number of essays, but few of which have been before published. The first opens with an address on Rājāh Rām-mohun Roy, the Rājāh's death, Sept. 27, 1883. The next essay which was delivered on the fiftieth anniversary of treats very fully of Keshub Chunder Sen, the real successor of Rām-mohun Roy, who carried on the work of religious reform in India initiated by the Rājāh, and in the end became an apostle of Christianity in all but its name. Extracts are given from the correspondence between Keshub Chunder Sen and Prof. Max Müller, with a full account of Dean Stanley's opinions on miracles and other theological topics. The third essay describes the career of Dayānanda Sarasvatī, who united a desire for social improvement with a very strong conservatism in relig-

ious matters, and is represented by the author as a kind of Dr. Pusey in India. Next follow two articles on two Buddhist priests, who came from Japan to Oxford to study Sanskrit, in order to be able to read the sacred books of their own religion in the original language. One of them died soon after his return to Japan: the other is now established in his monastery at Kioto, lecturing on Sanskrit, and helping the Buddhist priests in Japan to study their religion for the first time in its original documents, instead of trusting to the more or less accurate Chinese translations on which they had hitherto depended. An autobiographical sketch of one of these priests, who received an honorary degree from the University of Oxford, allows us a curious insight into the mind of a man who may have a very important part to act in the religious reforms of his country. The articles on Colebrooke and Bunsen had been published before in the *Chips from a German Workshop*. The article on Mohl, the great Persian scholar and indefatigable secretary of the Société Asiatique, contains, besides an account of Mohl's own labors, a short history of the discovery and the gradual decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, in which Mohl took an indirect but most important part. The last essay on Kingsley, a translation of a paper contributed by the author to the *Deutsche Rundschau*, soon after Kingsley's death, contains some characteristic letters of Kingsley's on the rights and wrongs of the Franco-German War in 1870-71. B. F. U.

MEXICAN RESOURCES AND GUIDE TO MEXICO. A supplemental volume to *Travels in Mexico*. Frederick A. Ober. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1884. pp. 35.

We have in this volume a statement of the mineral and agricultural resources of Mexico and a guide to that city over all the great lines leading thence,—the first "Guide to Mexico," we believe, issued at a small price. It is written in a popular style, and treats of the agriculture, tropical fruits, cabinet and dye woods, tropical plants and fruits, sheep and cattle raising, and Mexican farming operations in general; also of mines and mining, detailing all the rich mines famous in history and the romantic stories of their discovery; the location of the gold, silver, and copper mines of the republic, and the various processes by which the precious metals are extracted from the earth and converted into ore fit for the mints. The table of statistics shows the agricultural productions, the products of the mines, and the coinage of the mints from remote times to the present. It is fully illustrated and has a large folded map of Mexico.

FERISHTAH'S FANCIES. By Robert Browning. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.00.

This new poem by Browning is somewhat less involved in meaning and purpose, and will be found better adapted in language for the majority of readers, than most of his writings. Ferishtah is a thoughtful man, who, seeking to learn true wisdom, turns dervish; and his "fancies" are the lessons of truth which he is taught by experience, and which he endeavors to teach to other inquirers. Interspersed between these poetical "fancies" are shorter poems, with no apparent relevance to the longer poem preceding. The reason for this is explained in the prologue, however.

THE December Century opens with a paper entitled "Dublin City," by Prof. Edward Dowden, the Shakespeare commentator, which is accompanied by illustrative sketches. There is a narrative of personal experience, "Hunting the Rocky Mountain Goat," by W. A. Baillie-Grohman, with illustrations; a third paper in the "New Astronomy Series," by Prof. Langley; a critical paper on "American Painters in Pastel," by Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer; an article on "The Principles and Practice of House-drainage," by George E. Waring, Jr.; and one on "The Poet Heine," by Miss Emma Lazarus. The fiction consists of "An Adventure of Huckleberry Finn, with an account of the famous Grangerford-Shepherdson Feud," by Mark Twain, being a tale of life along the Mississippi River, some of the types being represented in the sketches of D. W. Kemble; the first part of a novelette in three parts, "The Knight of the Black Forest," by Miss Grace Denio Litchfield, a story of American girls in Europe, which is illustrated by Mrs. Mary Hallock Foote; and the second part of Mr. Howells' new novel, "The Rise of Silas Lapham." "Topics of the Times" contain interesting editorials: "One Way to prevent Divorce," "Was the Chinese Traveller

Right?" "Economic Mistakes of the Poor," and "A Ready-made Foreign Market for American Goods,"—the last referring to the need of an international copyright, and apropos of a comprehensive account of "The Present State of the Copyright Movement," which is contributed to the "Open Letter" department by Mr. Lathrop, the Secretary of the American Copyright League. Here also appear, in response to the request of the editor, letters from Gens. James B. Fry and Thomas Jordan, chief-of-staff at Bull Run, concerning the mooted question of the number of men engaged in that battle.

THE *Revue de Belgique* opens with an article on military education. Then follows an argument showing that our age is better than any previous one, especially in being less prone to gossip and slander. The attack on the recent Belgian law in favor of church schools is forcibly written, but with a zeal which seems inclined to interfere too much with the rights of parents to choose who shall teach their children. Our experience in America has proved that all the State has to do is to offer an ample supply of thorough and unsectarian instruction, and insist that all the children shall be educated somewhere. Private schools need no watching, except to see that those carried on in sectarian interests get no aid from the State. A recent French novel is severely criticised, and there is an argument against cremation as too likely to destroy evidence of crime.

THE *Modern Review* for August, September, and October contains the following articles: "Ezekiel," by Prof. Kuenen; "The Argument from Design in the Organic World," by Dr. W. B. Carpenter; "Modern Quakerism," by Alexander Gordon; "Converts to Rome," by R. Rodolph Suffield; "Liberal or Socialist," by Richard A. Armstrong; "Prof. Newman's Christianity in its Cradle," by Francis H. Jones; "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles, Postscript," by Alexander Gordon. London: James Clarke & Co., Fleet Street. Agent for the United States, G. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston. Price half crown.

ALL students of their fellow-men will be glad to know that one of the most elaborate investigations ever made into the antecedents of American paupers and criminals, *Dugdale's Jukes*, has just been reprinted by G. P. Putnam's Sons, with a preface giving some interesting particulars about the philanthropic author.

AN exhaustive article on the "Labor Organizations of the United States," by Col. Hinton, giving full statistics and many important facts, is to appear in the January number of the *North American Review*.

AMONG the literary calendars which have of late become fashionable for holiday gifts, none exceed in carefulness of selection or beauty of design those issued by the firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The two which have reached this office, the Emerson and Holmes Calendars, are very attractive in appearance; and the selections, at present hid from view, are, doubtless, of the choicest of these favorite poets' words. Each has a picture of the poet whose writings are made the subject of the year's lessons. Emerson's benign face looks out from beneath the shadow of the symbolic pine-tree, and the portrait of Holmes is represented as being decorated with rose garlands by a group of lovely girls. Price \$1.00 each.

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PETER ANNET, of England, who lectured very acceptably before the Parker Memorial Science Class on two Sundays recently, will lecture for societies on Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, and philosophical subjects, within an easy radius of Boston, upon application. For terms, etc., address PETER ANNET, P.O. Box 2468, Boston, Mass.

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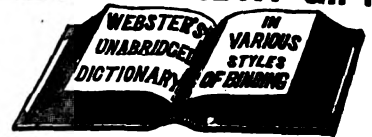
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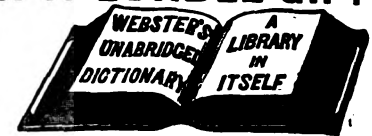
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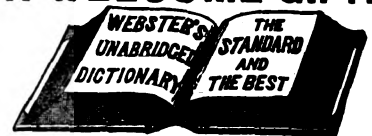
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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

BISMARCK's attempt to revive animosities of 1872 shows how keenly he feels the defeat of his policy by the recent adverse vote in the Reichstag. His organ, the *North German Gazette*, says, "The federal government will never tolerate any one who from the tribune of the Reichstag defends rebellion against the emperor and the empire."

LAST week, the Board of Trustees of the Columbia (S.C.) Theological Seminary asked Rev. Dr. Woodrow of that institution to resign, in consequence of his views on evolution. This he declined to do, and requested a trial, whereupon his seat was declared vacant by a vote of 8 to 4. Upon the action of the board, two of Dr. Woodrow's most able associates, Prof. Hemphill and Dr. Boggs, tendered their resignation. "Thus," as an exchange remarks, "does the doctrine get an unexpected lift from the narrow-minded and ill-considered action of a board of trustees."

CATHOLIC journals in Europe and in this country have, the past few years, denounced in severe language the statesmen of Italy, and predicted many things of the present government not likely to be realized. The government has reduced the taxes on the necessities of life, suppressed brigandage in the wilder portions of Naples and Sicily, organized an army and put it on a good footing; and yet, according to the announcement of the Italian minister of finance, in spite of the extraordinary expenditure and losses occasioned by the cholera,—which raged with such mortality in that country,—there will be no deficit in the budget. "Our traditional opinion of Italian statesmanship, and the low estimate that many have formed of Italian character," says a leading journal, "are such that it is difficult for Americans to realize that the political leaders of Italy have shown a grasp upon great theories of government, and a knowledge of how practically to apply these, that have not been surpassed by the statesmen of any

other European country. It is satisfactory to learn, as we do by a variety of sources, that the industrial development of Italy is going on at the same rate of speed as her political advancement."

MR. GEORGE KEMPTON, an earnest and active worker in the cause of temperance, is sending out for the signature of business firms a form of agreement declaring that, "after the close of the present year, they will not employ persons in any capacity who drink liquors, including ale and beer." It is more than doubtful whether this scheme to boycott all employes who do not wholly abstain from the use of alcoholic drinks will lead to any good results. The evils of drunkenness—which can hardly be overstated—are not likely to be lessened by business firms denying employment to men, regardless of their general character and their skill as workmen, who indulge, however moderately, in drinking habits, when these habits are not contrary to law and are common among all classes of society: This would subject employes, in their personal habits, to rules and regulations which they would have no voice in making, and against the injustice of which even those in favor of a State prohibitory law might fairly protest. The scheme would involve wrong, not only to many worthy men, but to wives and children dependent upon them. It would impair the independence and self-respect of employes to be made thus subjects of arbitrary authority. Temperance cannot be enforced by a threat, such as is implied in the scheme proposed by Mr. Kempton, which is not founded upon principle, and will not therefore succeed. There are better methods, which do not discriminate between employers and employes, and which appeal directly to the self-respect and the humanity as well as to the interests of all classes, without threats of enforced idleness as a penalty for not complying with the demands and submitting to the surveillance of an authority founded upon the relation which capital sustains to labor. We sympathize with Mr. Kempton in his purpose of promoting temperance: his proposed method we regard with distrust.

THE social supper of the Free Religious Association at the Parker Fraternity Rooms, Wednesday evening, last week, was, like the previous one in October, a decided success. Early in the evening, a meeting of the executive committee was held, at which it was decided to continue, with renewed vigor, the work determined upon at the last meeting in favor of taxing church property, and the repeal of the law in this State by which the testimony of atheists may be discredited. After the supper, to which about one hundred and fifty people sat down, Col. T. W. Higginson, who presided in his usual graceful and happy manner, introduced Mr. F. M. Holland, who read a paper entitled "How the Rights of the People of Massachusetts are invaded by Religious Restrictions,"—a paper which was full of facts, and replete with arguments in favor of complete State secularization. Col. Higginson followed in an address, in which he spoke of the good work done by the Association, which he did not think was likely to

be swallowed up or superseded by any other organization. There was a distinct work for it to do, and it would do it. He presented the difficulties that would have to be overcome before the desired legislation necessary to put the State on an entirely secular basis would be secured, and thought it would be well at present to direct the attention of the society especially to the petition for the repeal of the law which allows an atheist's opinions to affect the credibility of his testimony. Brief speeches were made by Mr. F. A. Hinckley, Mr. W. G. Babcock, Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, and Mr. John S. Cobb. Music was furnished by the Parker Fraternity choir, and hymns sung which had been prepared for the occasion. The gathering was made up of persons of a great variety of religious views; but they were evidently one in spirit, and everybody present seemed to enjoy the supper, the speaking, the music, and conversation with friends and new acquaintances.

LAST week, the captain and mate of the yacht "Mignonette," who killed the boy Parker for the purpose of sustaining life upon his body, were tried in London, found guilty of murder, and sentenced to death by Chief Justice Coleridge, who, in pronouncing the sentence, declared that the law did not recognize the right of killing another to save one's own life except in self-defence; that, while it was a duty to preserve one's own life, it was sometimes a higher duty to sacrifice it. It was therefore, he said, his duty to pronounce the full sentence of the law; and, if too severe, relief must be had in the clemency of the crown. The prisoners appealed for mercy in view of their terrible situation when the deed was done. Home Secretary Harcourt, without recommending a pardon or commutation of sentence, advised the queen to respite the men. Some interesting and important questions are suggested by this case: How far are men, in the situation and in the physical and moral condition to which Capt. Dudley and Mate Stephens were reduced, morally responsible for their acts? Would men in that situation be deterred from prolonging their own lives by such means, if they were certain that, in case they should survive and their act should become known, they would be dealt with as common murderers? Would the enforcement of the death penalty against acts of cannibalism committed under such dreadful circumstances serve in any way to keep men out of situations in which death or killing a fellow being is the only alternative? Does a knowledge of such cases, with all their horrible details, make the thought of killing a human being for food less odious to civilized man, or lower men's estimate of the value and sacredness of human life? Punishment is justifiable only as a means of preventing offences or reforming offenders. Judge Coleridge, no doubt, correctly defined the position of the law in the case of Dudley and Stephens; but probably nobody believes the sentence will or should be carried out.—Since the foregoing was written, the sentence has been commuted to six months' imprisonment without labor.

CHRISTIAN BIGOTRY.

For old-fashioned theological narrowness and bigotry, the *Christian Statesman*, among all our exchanges, carries off the palm. There is a certain logical rigidity in its methods, a stolid adherence to the principles it has laid down in its premises, no matter to what startling and unpopular conclusions they may lead, which can but win respect. The sincerity, at least, of the *Statesman* is not to be questioned. Indeed, if the ordinary assumption of the Christian Church, that Christ is the legitimate head and ruler of humanity for all time, be true, then the *Statesman* perhaps is the most logical representative of Christianity to be found in America. It has the courage to say what other and more popular organs of the Christian system of faith only silently imply. Or it may be that the latter even openly deny in their practical conclusions what they affirm in their premises. Yet, while according this much to the consistency and sincerity of that branch of the Christian Church which the *Statesman* represents, Liberals may be thankful that not all Christendom is so rigidly logical. What would happen in this country, if the party of the *Christian Statesman* should get the majority, we can but dimly conjecture. If they should still be true to the objects they now openly profess, we do not see but that the minority would have to fight, to regain not only the rights of religious liberty, but the right to any representation in the government.

We have been led to these remarks more particularly by an article in the *Statesman* on the recent Thanksgiving Proclamations of the President and of the State Governors; though, whatever topics it treats, the same narrowness of view appears, and the same purpose to engraft upon civil government the evangelical Christian creed. The *Statesman* finds as yet no Thanksgiving Proclamation among those issued this year which wholly satisfies it. President Arthur's was "cold and formal." Governor Hoadly's was, of course, very defective, since it did not contain even the word "God." "The most fervent and Scriptural," it says, was that of Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania. But, after printing the proclamation with praise for its religious and Old Testament tone, it adds: "In this, however, as in all others which have come under our notice, there is one painful omission. No allusion is made to the Lord Jesus Christ, through whom alone any acceptable worship can be rendered to God, or forgiveness and favor for nations or individuals can be obtained. This persistent and uniform omission of the name of Christ from such State papers indicates a studied avoidance of that name. It is not a casual and inadvertent, but a designed and purposeful, withholding of any recognition of Him through whom alone we have the knowledge of God, and whose mediation secures for us, as men and as nations, all our mercies. We do not say that Christian churches ought to disregard these proclamations, but we do say that they ought not to observe them without an emphatic protest against the dishonor thus habitually done to their Lord and Saviour."

We presume that Governor Pattison remembered, as George Washington did, that there are Jewish citizens in this country who have just as much interest in its government and just as much right to representation in it as have Christians, and that a State paper addressed to all citizens should not be written with sectarian ink, as if the people were all orthodox Christians. But it is evident that the *Statesman* is of the opinion that not only Jews, but agnostics, free thinkers, and even liberal Christians have no rights of equal

citizenship in this country which orthodox Christians are bound to respect. The very sense of justice appears to be obliterated in minds otherwise conscientious, which are dominated by this type of theology. Those who believe that there can be no "acceptable worship" except through the "Lord Jesus Christ," and that "the knowledge of God" and "forgiveness and favor for nations and individuals" and "all our mercies" are to be obtained only through the same mediation, have a perfect right to urge these beliefs, arrogant as they are, upon the free reason of other citizens through the platform, the pulpit, or the press; but, when it comes to asking that these beliefs shall be incorporated in State documents, and shall dictate the laws of the statute-books, and be inserted even in the text of the national and State constitutions, then there are other classes of citizens who have something to say in the matter,—citizens whose equally conscientious beliefs would be offended and shocked by this theology.

But the party of which the *Statesman* is the organ, and which is making this demand, does not appear to have the slightest conception of the doctrine of equality of civil rights in respect to religious beliefs. Its bigotry has made it morally obtuse. The kind of government it is advocating is not that which has been constitutionally established in the United States: it is not democracy nor republicanism, but theocracy. And the people of this country are not likely soon to be converted by the *Christian Statesman's* narrow logic and misapplied zeal. It is only waging a lost battle,—the battle of religious bigotry, surviving from a past age,—against the enlightenment of human reason and the doctrine of equal rights.

WM. J. POTTER.

HUNGER.

I.

"Do we live to eat, or eat to live?"

To some, this familiar query may seem little more than a fanciful play of words. Yet, of all questions that can be propounded, this one is ethically the most momentous to us. Our moral behavior, from first to last, has to receive its word of command from the decision. According to the answer given, we ought either to strive for complete deliverance from bodily associations; or, on the contrary, we ought to aspire to ever higher bodily perfection. Life negation on the one side, life affirmation on the other.

This alternative can in no way be evaded. Its dictum is the very core of morality. If our body is naturally so fashioned that feeding is really the one great vital function aimed at, then no amount of sophistry will ever make life appear morally desirable. Be the means to such an end ever so ingenious and circuitous, the process of securing prey ever so elaborate and skilful, the manner in which it is executed ever so graceful and fascinating,—if sensual self-gratification is the final purport of all this vital exertion, then life is fundamentally bad, and has in consequence to be abhorred.

Is it true, then, that the main bent of vitality is naturally, through bodily constitution, sensual and self-seeking? This is, first and foremost, the vital instruction we wish to receive with irrefragable certainty. These thousands of years, for want of true guidance, we have been keeping up an unprofitable strife with phantasmal ills,—yea, with benignant powers. What prophetic word or oracular enunciation has ever illumined with steady light this dark enigma of life worthiness, confronting us so uncompromisingly at the very threshold of our moral career? But, however obscure to

thought, we may rest assured that its secret lies clearly incarnate in the intricacies of our all-containing organization, to be disclosed by sound biology only, not by any feat of clairvoyance or any ever so dexterous *a priori* handling.

Our natural being consists of an entodermic and an ectodermic economy, of a self-satisfying and of a relational life. Bichat, one of the most illustrious biological thinkers, was the first positively to discern these two distinct lives of ours. And, soon afterward, Von Baer demonstrated their structural origin in two separate embryonic textures, which he respectively called the vegetal and the animal layer. From the latter arise in the course of reproductive development our sensory surface, our voluntary muscles, and the nervous system connecting and centralizing the same. All this together forms our life of outside relations,—a bilateral life, with duplex organs symmetrically disposed. From the vegetal layer is evolved the rest of the organs, generally single and unsymmetrical, and mostly enclosed in the large cavities of the body. The peculiar set of vital activities connected with this seeming kernel of our bodily existence was named by Bichat the organic life, a sphere of self-affecting desires and gratifications.

Now, it is ethically undeniable that, if the entoderm is really the paramount constituent of our natural being, life has to be considered fundamentally immoral; and suppression of natural tendencies—indeed, complete immolation of vitality—must be the aim of our moral striving. If, however, the ectoderm governs, then the innate drift of vitality is essentially moral or altruistic, and the debasement of relational life the veritable gist of immorality.

If hunger and lust are supreme in our world, and the whole body, with all its cunning array of trapping contrivances, a mere engine for the glutting of appetites, then, with innermost disgust, let us turn away from the hideous plot, and resolutely abnegate life for ever and ever. If, on the contrary, the main current of our being presses toward universal influences, toward a wider, intenser relational life, then, with boundless faith in natural progress, let us reverently and joyfully receive and convey the sacred trust.

Emphatically be it repeated that correctly to understand the true relation to each other of these two lives of ours, a relation organically inwrought in our mystic frame far beyond the depth of self-consciousness, is to impart to our moral conduct its rightful direction.

How it comes that in our bodily existence the lead of the entoderm can possibly render life immoral is a further fundamental problem of ethics, connected with the hyper-individual nature of our personality, as briefly explained in a former article (*Index*, October 9).

Our principal religions have all unconsciously been reared on the conception of the ascendancy of the entoderm. Their morality is antagonistic to our bodily existence, because it is a morality based on entodermic life. They assume, to begin with, that our natural being is mainly framed for the gratification of sensual and selfish desires. For this reason, asceticism has always been their guiding principle in the conduct of life, deviation from ascetic rules a mere compromise with temporality.

It is easy enough to argue, in a general way, against the ascetic or pessimistic position; but what if science itself, and even the evolution science of our day, is positively and invasively tending to confirm the intuitive teachings of religion in this particular respect? Since Bichat, biology has in fact never ceased to enunciate the subserviency of the performances of our life of relation to the natural appetites of our organic life.

Bichat himself, who was quite free from any Orthodox proclivities, declared the organic life, or entoderm, to be the seat of the passions, to be that special part of our bodily organization whence emanate all appetitive desires and emotional impulses. It is—so he thought he had discovered—the first to live, the last to die, sleepless and unchangeable; while the life of outside relations, purveyor to all its cravings, is subject to fatigue and disuse, can be trained and modified, prone in every way to accommodate itself to external circumstances. Our moral character—which, in truth, is the expression of our emotional temperament, the physiognomy, as it were, of the genuine bent of our individual impulses—proves thus to be organically and unalterably predetermined in the structures of the entoderm; an ever-greedy core of unconvertible appetite, to be appeased in variable ways by the help of the astonishingly appropriate mechanism which brings it into direct connection with its manifold objects of desire.

Yonder cat, so nimble and spry,—what is she after? Look how adroitly and stealthily she is approaching some object on which her gaze is intently fixed. Now, one unerring bound, and she has seized her prey. Her life of relation has served its purpose. She devours the morsel and rests satisfied.

Is it to be wondered that, under an unsophisticated observation of nature's open doings, this view of the subserviency of the life of relations to the wants of the entoderm has also found expression as a deeply considered philosophical system? It forms, indeed, the burden of the celebrated pessimistic works of Schopenhauer, the misanthropic anchorite, who has become one of the most influential of modern thinkers. And quite consistently, as a moral outcome of it all, he likewise preaches asceticism, deliverance from the cruel bonds of vitality.

To him also, the ever-wakeful will with its appetites and self-affecting desires forms the true kernel of our natural existence, pressing with blind and eager zeal into this phantasmal world of illusory gratification; shaping as its tools the cunning mind to plan, the far-piercing senses to espy, the agile limbs to seize, and then, as genuine symbols of its fierceness, tooth and claw, rigid and sharp-whetted,—frantically, voluptuously to kill, to tear, to cloy. The rest of life, the impulse to procreation, misnamed the tender passion, does it not emanate from the same source of ruthless, self-seeking appetite? And does it not result in the perpetuation of the self-same cravings of life-invested will? Only as a rare exception in human beings, in fact as the strange abnormality known as genius, the intellect liberates itself from its entodermic bondage, creates in its first innocent awakening art and science. Then, puzzled at so much irrationality and disaster in nature, it strives to frame in explanation of it a consistent philosophy. At last, horrified at the dire spectacle of cupidity and carnage filling brimful this sad life everywhere surrounding us, it sickens at it all, and renounces for good the alluring fruits of vitality. This philosophy of Schopenhauer may be regarded as the climax of the entodermic interpretation of nature.

What have scientific evolutionists to say against it? With surpassing discernment and overwhelming proof, we have lately been taught that the struggle for existence, though "red with tooth and claw," leads to progressive development through survival of the fittest. The fittest indeed, but the fittest for what? For attaining the very objects of this struggle for existence, for satisfying the very impulses that bring it about? Does it, frankly expressed, turn on the entodermic issue:

who is to eat and who is to be eaten; who is in consequence to propagate, and who is to be extinguished? In truth, what else can be the purport of faculties entirely evolved in the very realization of those elemental propensities which they are framed to subserve? What can it progressively or ethically amount to,—all this passionate attacking and defending, this sly seeking and hiding, this seemingly tender sexual communion and parental care, if it ultimately achieves nothing but a prolonged and renewed embodiment of the eternal Hunger?

Indeed, only our ideal aspirations coming to us from afar, across the empyrean vast, have invested with a nimbus of altruistic expansion this grim notion of an ever-widening grasp of victorious self-gratification. Quite recently, Georg Heinrich Schneider has formulated an interpretation of vital activities in true conformity with the Darwinian theory.

He classifies all fundamental propensities as nutritive, protective, procreative, and parental. The gratification of these impelling desires by seizure or evasion of external objects is vitally accomplished on the least elevated plane of relational life through mere sensation, involving direct contact; then, higher in the scale, through perception, reaching to a distance; then, still higher up, through mental representation, which figures the objects of its desire or aversion, even in their absence, and leads to their search or avoidance; and, lastly, also through thought, associating several mental representations with each other, whose corresponding perceptions in the world of actual realization are causally linked together, rendering thus possible still more circuitous and far-reaching modes of gratification.

It is clear that, in this very plausible evolutionary system, the impulses of nutrition and propagation furnish the exclusive incentives to all kinds of ectodermic activity. It must in consequence be held that suitable subservience to entodermic cravings constitutes the sole object, the only *raison d'être*, of the entire life of outside relations.

Thus strikingly does modern science, in spite of its ostensible contention, corroborate the intuitive grounds of the ascetic morality, taught as the final aim of religious life in Occidental and in Oriental temples.

This being so, will perchance one or the other reader realize of what import it would be to our ethical bearing toward life, if it could be positively proved that, from the very rise of vital activity, nutrition together with all other functions of life are essentially subservient to the formative play of interaction occurring between the relational life of an organism and the outside influences to which it is related? That this is the veritable aim and course of vitality and organization shall now be demonstrated.

EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

FROUDE'S CARLYLE.

The chief displeasure which one feels in the perusal of this already famous and variously criticized biography is at the perpetual monotone of valetudinarian and dyspeptic complaint which runs through it from beginning to end, so far as the journal and epistles of Carlyle himself are concerned. One is astonished at this, when he remembers who Carlyle was,—namely, the son of sturdy Scotch peasants, brought up with a Spartan simplicity of diet, and himself of a decidedly Spartan and ascetic disposition. But Carlyle was a Sybarite in his hatred of noises of all sorts, but in no other respect. It is recorded in some old Greek book that roosters with their broods of

"tame villatic fowls" were banished from Sybaris by legislative decree, because the shrill clarion of chattering broke the continuity of the sleep of its citizens at an unseasonable hour. Hogarth's "Enraged Magician" had ample reason for his fury, but Carlyle's diseased sensitiveness to the merely ordinary sounds of daily life was ludicrous. After roosters, "vile, yellow Italian organ-grinders" were the special objects of his objurgations. On this side of him, Carlyle was almost as absurd a creature as the famous John Dennis of Pope's *Dunciad*. In reading Froude's biography, one is reminded of the proverbial distich:—

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide."

But much is to be forgiven to Carlyle on the score of his peculiar organization. He was the life-long victim of insomnia, dyspepsia, and hypochondria, and morbidly sensitive nerves. Like all born students, thinkers, and poets, when not in his happier, inspired moods, he was constantly devouring his own heart. His restless spirit was continually fretting his body into bad health. His craving and insatiate ideal nature kept him in a perpetual state of discontent and mental and moral fever. In spite of his diseased nerves, Carlyle proved to be of tough physical fibre, and lived to a long age. But, without his constant morbidness, he would not have been Teufelsdröckh, he would not have been the Diogenes of modern thought and literature. When his *daimon* or better genius did prevail over his ailments, discontents, chagrins, and exasperations, then he mounted aloft, and from his inspired pen flowed such wit, wisdom, eloquence, poetry, and diaphragm-shaking humor as no contemporary genius could produce. Like Byron, he wrote in a frenzy and fury of inspiration,—in his heart's blood, as we are told. After Byron, he was the greatest revolutionary spirit of nineteenth century literature. At heart, he was a great admirer of Byron, though he occasionally attempts to sneer at him in his essays. The English lord had the same detestation of shams and cant and tradition and conventionalism which the Scotch peasant had. Pascal, Rousseau, Shelley, Coleridge, Byron, Leopardi, Schopenhauer, Carlyle,—the above men of genius were all infected with a morbid taint, which made them of one family, so to speak. Their biographies are painful but fascinating reading. They were unworldly, reclusive, peculiar, self-devourers, brooders upon their own hearts, "birds of paradise formed of far too penetrable stuff" for the wear and tear of daily life. So much by way of preliminary remarks. On the whole, Froude's Thomas Carlyle, or Carlylean Epos, takes its place with the greatest of English literary biographies,—with Boswell's *Johnson*, Moore's *Byron*, and Lockhart's *Walter Scott*. After the appearance of his *French Revolution*, Carlyle was recognized and acknowledged as the great author *par excellence* of the English-speaking world, and all did homage to him as such. Cheyne Row, in the London suburb of Chelsea, became a sort of literary Mecca, whither pilgrims of all nations and tongues, and with all sorts of aims and objects, went as to a shrine of wit and wisdom, and finally of charity and beneficence. Indeed, visitors from this side of the Atlantic, where Carlyle was first truly appreciated, became so incessant as to lead him to the conclusion that we were a nation mostly of bores. But among these bores were such personalities as Emerson, James, Ripley, and Margaret Fuller. Carlyle also saw, not as visitors to his own residence, but at the houses of the aristocracy and of great officials, where he was a welcome guest, other distinguished Americans, such as Abbott Lawrence, Edward Everett, and Prescott, the historian, none

of whom interested him much. But Webster, whom he met at breakfast one morning in 1839, did interest him greatly. "I will warrant him," says Carlyle, "one of the stiffest logic-buffers and parliamentary athletes anywhere to be met with in our world at present,—a grim, tall, broad-bottomed, yellow-skinned man, with brows like precipitous cliffs, and huge, black, dull, wearied, and unwearable-looking eyes under them." Carlyle knew a man when he saw one, and he could have had no doubt but that he saw one in Daniel Webster. In dainty literary quarters, Froude's *Life of Carlyle*, with its full portraiture and unreserved exposition of its hero with all his faults and foibles, has caused said hero to be denounced as "an old curmudgeon" and by other harsh epithets. But you cannot have a lion's strength without having occasionally the exhibition of a lion's fierceness.

It is true that Carlyle, like his old literary hero and to some extent prototype, Sam Johnson, was fiercely sarcastic, and at times absolutely brutal and wrong-headed in his talk, in his fits of dyspepsia and exasperation; but all the while there was at the heart of him a fountain of tears, of softest, kindest love, sympathy, and pity, as there was in Johnson. In extenuation and explanation of his acrid and ungracious remarks about distinguished contemporaries and even personal friends, it should be remembered that for long years he was condemned, with all this intellectual power, to poverty, obscurity, and neglect, as Johnson had been before him, and, still further back, as the Roman poet Horace had been. Meanwhile, he saw others of far lesser calibre surfeited with easily won honors and fame. Naturally enough, when such fortunate contemporaries crossed his path, he spoke of them, if he was "in his moods," in terms of that fierce indignation of which Swift, a kindred spirit, speaks as lacerating the heart of neglected and unrecognized genius. Thus it was that he so frequently expressed his feelings in contemptuous sallies of wit and sarcastic characterizations. He was also by nature sarcastic and censorious. Sarcasm and censoriousness are national traits of the keen-brained Scotch; and Carlyle was *Scotus Scotorum*,—a Scotchman among Scotchmen. His intellect was almost fiercely apprehensive, and went over a subject as with tiger-leaps. Hence, he was impatient of all dulness and stupidity. A youth who, unaided, went through Newton's *Principia*, mastering it in all its details, was not likely to find any subject or study or mental achievement beyond his capacity, or too tough for him. Meantime, after saying thus much in extenuation of Carlyle's habit of slurring and slashing his distinguished contemporaries,—for the disposition finally became a habit,—let us confess that it was a most unamiable trait, and betrayed more or less of jealousy and of the gnawing of the tooth of envy.

Carlyle was undoubtedly jealous of successful statesmen and men of action. For, like Byron, at heart he despised the life of a mere writer and literary fellow; and such a life is more or less despicable. In particular, Carlyle was jealous of Gladstone and Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield. Both were successful *littérateurs* like himself; yet, unlike himself, both had succeeded in climbing to the heights of political power and shaping the whispers of a throne,—of the throne of an empire on which the sun never sets. Carlyle habitually spoke of these two great writers and statesmen in the most contemptuous, slurring terms. But, finally, he owned that Disraeli, who was at the time British premier, poured coals of fire on his head when, in 1874, he sent him a letter couched in most flattering and magnanimous and noble terms, offering to him, as the greatest

of living English authors, a pension and a patten of nobility. He declined both, but expressed his gratitude in fitting terms. Carlyle's humor was *sui generis*, grotesque, gigantesque, and unequalled in its way, surpassing that of Rabelais even. Men and things etched themselves on his mind as in images of fire, and mostly in a grotesque, ludicrous light. Thus he could not help representing many of his friends in ludicrous terms. Then he had in his nature an inherited Calvinistic Presbyterian taint, which made him intolerant of all mental and moral weakness, and all foibles, and even venial vices. Thus it was that such unfortunate sons of genius as Charles Lamb, Hazlitt, and De Quincey fared hardly at his hands, although he would have shared the contents of his purse with either of them. Such a sensuous, hyper-sensuous, sugar-fancied poet as Keats naturally excited his contempt. Macaulay he spoke of as commonplace, and all gone to tongue. Coleridge he characterized as "a weak, diffusive, weltering, ineffectual man"; and with all his unquestionable genius he was that, and his friend and eulogist, De Quincey, admits as much by implication. He described the British House of Commons to sundry members of it, who had called at Cheyne Row, as "six hundred talking asses, set to make the laws and administer the concerns of the greatest empire the world had ever seen." He doubtless suffered himself to write of Mill as he did, on hearing of his death, because he was annoyed by hearing that writer styled "the great thinker of his age," which he undoubtedly was, Carlyle to the contrary, notwithstanding. I have classified Froude's *Carlyle* with Boswell's *Johnson*. As in the latter you see all the famous Englishmen of the eighteenth century gathered about Boswell's "philosopher, guide, and friend" at one time or another, so in Froude's *Carlyle* all the most famous men of the nineteenth century in both hemispheres file past the reader, so to speak. Thus, it is a work which will be *klēma es aei*, or a possession forever; a book which will make this century luminous, as it were, to all after times.

But Carlyle was by no means all gall and vitriol and sarcasm. He sincerely loved and admired many a mortal among his contemporaries,—such as Tennyson, Peel, Chalmers, John Sterling, and Lady Harriet Baring, his Gloriana, who shone on him like the morning star from the serene altitude of British aristocratic life. He loved his wife, his Jane, too, idolatrously; and his affection for his kindred was exemplary and unsurpassed. In his latter days of comparative affluence, his kindness to the poor and unfortunate was without stint or limit. He himself was constitutionally frugal and inexpensive. His chief delight in the possession of money was that it enabled him to help his unfortunate fellow-mortals. Such being the fact, who dares to question the essential nobleness and unselfishness of his heart? In fact, it was a heart worthy of his genius and brains. In his old age and weakness, he saw that the world could spare him, and that it would move on as usual, irrespective of himself, in its own way. Like most old men, he thought that the younger generations were going to the bow-wow; that Mammonism and hedonism and mechanicalism, and atheism and a gospel of dirt, and stump oratory and democracy would ere long be the ruin of the world, and bring in an era of chaos and anarchy, and subject mankind to a signal visitation of divine wrath and displeasure, such as the old Hebrew prophets speak of. Meantime, he might have consoled himself with the fact that he himself, in his day and generation, had given a shove to the world, and dropped seeds in the shape of ideas into the general mind, which would not fail to fructify in the most marked man-

ner sooner or later, as they are even now doing. Mr. Froude, in closing his biography, truly says that "in future years, in future centuries, strangers will come from distant lands—from America, from Australia, from New Zealand, from every isle or continent where the English language is spoken—to see the house where Carlyle was born, to see the green turf under which his dust is lying. Scotland will have raised a monument over his grave; but no monument is needed for one who has made an eternal memorial for himself in the hearts of all to whom *truth* is the dearest of possessions."

B. W. BALL.

SUFFRAGE: A PLEA FOR WOMAN.

II.

Some may admit that woman is sufficiently intellectual and gifted with a sense of individuality to entitle her to citizenship, but maintain that patriotism and loyalty are characteristics of which she must necessarily be devoid, because she has had no country nor cause to put these attributes to the test.

During a ride of eleven miles through a dairy district in a Western State in the autumn of 1873, with a brother, he told me the experience of each family, house by house, resulting from the war which had ended about eight years before. Husbands, fathers, and grown-up sons had so universally gone to the war that none but women, small children, and old men remained; "and yet," said my brother, "industries did not cease, and the men returned in some instances to find their property in better condition than when they left. The women rose to the emergency. They milked the cows, and delivered the milk punctually at the cheese factories; the girls and boys abridged their school hours and helped their mothers, who did not hesitate to follow the plough, plant and cultivate the crops, and gather the harvest; and, after each day's severe labor, they did what man cannot do. After tying up and feeding the last horse on the place, they locked the barn, and, in individual homes, neighborhood gatherings, and in the village lyceum or in the school-houses, worked upon every conceivable apparel which their dear ones in the field could require; and these went forward in one continuous supply. If a heart-sick sister, unable to support her grief, gave up to despair when hearing of the death of husband, sons, and brothers, her neighbors for miles around gathered at her farm, brought up the work, established committees to see that her interests did not suffer, and soon she threw off her lethargy, and bustled around with the rest. Do you think," said he, "that men with such a patriotic support from the women could be otherwise than invincible? In fact, the glorious termination of the war was almost as largely due to the women of the land as to the men; and, though the numbers of the enemy should be as the locusts now devastating Nebraska, the final result would have been the same while the women of the Western States continue to exist. Women!" he exclaimed. "It is impossible to know the limit of their powers of endurance; and, when you consider that this eleven miles is but one instance of thousands of similar localities, you can judge that the influence of woman was a powerful factor in bringing around a final adjustment."

At the "Corners" was a mansion overlooking a stretch of rich meadow-land, upon which herds of cows were grazing. Under the hill, a large cheese factory, saw-mill, and grist-mill, evidently the same property, indicated large wealth and abundant thrift. "This," said my brother, "was the accu-

mulation of an enterprising man, foremost in every undertaking for the good of the county; and he left it all to an only child, a son, who had no bad habits, but he was a 'no account,' nobody: driving into town every morning, and loitering around the village in an aimless manner until nightfall; leaving his industries in charge of hired people, who, one after another, acquired enough to go on their own account, until the property gave evidence of the want of proper management.

"The village postmaster had a daughter, who kept the books of the store and conducted the post-office and took care of her motherless brothers and sisters, and she and the young man were engaged to be married. Their love was of that Platonic sort which results with villagers growing up together from the cradle, almost precluding sentiment.

"It caused her much sadness and sorrow to perceive that he was such a listless and inefficient man, and her refusal to name a date for the marriage was probably as largely influenced by this as the claim of duty to her family, which she made the ostensible reason.

"One day, in response to his importunities, she said to him: 'Happiness in a married state cannot be possible in the absence of respect and esteem. I neither esteem nor respect a man who can stay idle when his country calls for all her sons. Bring me your enlistment papers and a marriage license, I will not delay the ceremony one hour. Return with an honorable discharge, I will be proud of you as long as I live.' Two hours afterward, they were man and wife. Two weeks following, he marched as a private in a battery corps raised in that district, which reached Mill Creek, Tenn., just in time to enable the commanding general to report that the battle of Mill Creek was saved by an Iowa and an Ohio battery; and no braver soldier marched from Atlanta to the sea than that young man, who emphasized his discharge papers by presenting them in the form of a colonel's commission, two years after his departure. And he found that, under the discreet management of his wife, the property was brought up to its old-time standard; and, in energy, enterprise, and reputation, he worthily represents his father." Woman! Patriotism! Loyalty! If the women of America had hesitated in their devotion, they would have dishonored their maternal ancestry; for historians delight to record that the women of the Revolutionary times were heroic in the cause of liberty. And the women of New England are accredited with having been instrumental in developing that self-reliant and noble race which now peoples the North-west; while the mothers of Virginia are venerated for influencing by their fortitude, endurance, and patience the destiny of the South-west, reclaimed from a trackless forest, filled with wild beasts, wilder men, and cruel pestilence, to be an empire of wealth and beauty; each section differing only in that New England carried its Puritan and Virginia its Cavalier characteristics, now rapidly blending by means of peace and unfettered freedom of commerce, so that the distinctive features will soon wear out and be forgotten. But, while in active existence, each was a giant force, clashing in a terrific conflict with a power which convulsed the world; and these men had mothers worthy of such sons.

Woman suffrage may assert claims deserving the largest sympathy and unbounded respect; but, after all, it will be acknowledged only upon its merits, as a right which may not be safely withheld in consistency with national polity. Right, though encased in the golden folds of living truth, has to endure a fearful struggle before it attains full recognition and continued existence, if opposed

by power; for power has a charm so infatuating that its possessor will look upon the wrack of ruin, bearing all to a common destruction sooner than relax its grasp, even though that doom be the soul's perdition. Right succeeds only when strong enough to strangle opposing power. In numerical strength, the advocates of woman suffrage avowedly working in the cause are only as the power of the linnet to the eagle or the hare to the lion; but, by an influence granted to truth, justice, and right, it is no longer a power to be set aside to a more convenient season, or waved aside with supercilious contempt, nor paralyzed by listless indifference. It is a living question which legislators are forced to treat with dignified consideration, and will not down until successful or crushed by its own inherent defects.

Many of us will not live to see it fully realized; but I am convinced that many now living will see the day that youths, now infant boys and girls, will assert equal citizen rights at their majority, and exercise those rights, almost unconscious and incredulous that their mothers were not citizens, but merely resident aliens, respected so long as lovable in the sphere definitely marked out for them, but to step beyond which bounds was social ostracism and withering contempt. Freedom is at once the fruit and the food of Liberty. Nourish freedom, that Liberty may live.

Men of America, your mothers, wives, and sisters are not free. Women aided in the struggle to assert Liberty, and again to retain it. They were welcome toilers in erecting the temple, but are refused the protection of its roof. Beware, lest ingratitude for a devotion as patriotic as your own bravery tarnish your hard earned and dearly cherished liberty, and injustice so obscure its lustre that Liberty will become a by-word to the nations and to yourselves a shame by means of a selfish grasping of power, not all of your own procuring. Be not like the king of the beasts of the forest, who willingly follows the guidance of the jackal to the prey, but drives him from the quarry, leaving nothing but bones and scraps of the feast to afford an unsatisfying repast, and a sense of the remorseless ingratitude of domineering power. Extend the area of freedom by enfranchising woman, and Liberty will rejoice that justice and right have been done in her name; and she will march on with a banner truthfully inscribed, Liberty for All! worthily dedicated to American freedom.

J. F. WETMORE.

REFLECTIONS ON A DECISION REGARDING WIFE-FLOGGING.

In an English divorce suit, reported in English papers, which resulted in a disagreement of the jury last week, the judge decided that the flogging of a wife in the presence of her son does not constitute cruelty! If this is English law, English law is in one respect at least on the side of falsehood and brutality, and should be speedily repealed or radically modified so as to conform to decency and common sense as to the treatment of wives. Supposing a wife, possessing the necessary strength and courage, should flog her husband in the presence of his daughter: would *that* be cruelty?

Not a few English Christian writers have written in regard to the arbitrary authority legally exercised by husbands over wives in certain periods of Roman history, to show how little Paganism, in comparison with Christianity which superseded it, did for woman. If writers, two thousand years hence, when Christianity shall have taken its place among the worn-out and obsolete systems of the past,—all the good remaining, of course, as is now true of Paganism,—shall come across the decision above mentioned, and other similar decisions in

Christian England in this nineteenth century, sustained by appeals to learned Christian jurists like Blackstone, what language will they be warranted in using in regard to the Christianity of England, which permits without protest, and even sustains, such injustice?

If some ingenious casuist shall wish to prove the superiority of Paganism over the faith which superseded it, he may quote the remark of Cato the Censor, who lived in the third century before the Christian era, that "They who beat wives or children lay sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world. For myself, I prefer the character of a good husband to that of a great senator." To this, he may add, to show how the equality of the obligation of chastity was asserted in Pagan Rome, the words of Antoninus, who, in issuing a condemnation for adultery against a guilty wife by request of the husband, added, "Provided, always, it is established by your life that you gave her an example of fidelity. It would be unjust that a husband should exact a fidelity he does not himself keep."

He might cite authorities of the highest character to show that woman's position in the Pagan Empire was one of great social dignity: that a large class enjoyed great legal independence; that woman could hold property in her own right; that she inherited a portion of her father's property, and retained it independently of her husband; that no inconsiderable portion of the wealth of Rome at one time was under the control of women, who often loaned money to their husbands. He might quote whole pages from Tacitus, to show in what high consideration women were held, and with what respect they were treated among the unchristianized Germans, who acknowledged the equality of men and women in political and religious matters. From F. W. Newman, he might take passages like the following: "Only in countries where Germanic sentiment has taken root do we see marks of any elevation of the female sex superior to that of Pagan antiquity; and, as the elevation of the German woman in her deepest Paganism was already striking to Tacitus and his contemporaries, it is highly unreasonable to claim it as an achievement of Christianity."

In contrast to whatever is noble in the Pagan ideals of womanhood, and just in the Pagan laws and treatment of women, might be adduced a multitude of testimonies showing an inferior estimate of woman by eminent representatives of Christianity, and most unjust laws and decisions in regard to woman's status in Christian nations. From Lecky might be quoted: "But, in the whole feudal legislation, women were placed in a much lower legal position than in the Pagan Empire. In addition to the personal restrictions, which grew necessarily out of the Catholic Christian doctrines concerning divorce and the subordination of the weaker sex, we find numerous and stringent enactments, which rendered it impossible for women to succeed to any considerable amount of property, and which almost reduced them to the alternative of marriage or a nunnery. The complete inferiority of the sex was continually maintained by law; and that generous public opinion which in Rome had frequently revolted against the injustice done to girls, in depriving them of the greater part of the inheritance of their fathers, totally disappeared. Wherever the canon law has been the basis of legislation, we find laws of succession sacrificing the interests of daughters and of wives, and a state of public opinion which has been formed and regulated by these laws; nor was any serious attempt made to abolish them till the close of the last century. The French Revolutionists ["infidels"], though rejecting the proposal of Sieyès

and Condorcet to accord political emancipation to women, established at least an equal succession of sons and daughters, and thus initiated a great reformation of both law and opinion, which sooner or later must traverse the world." To this might be added a sentence from Maine's *Ancient Law*: "No society which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the middle Roman law." Then all the disabilities under which women are kept in Christian nations might be collected into a chapter, and another could be devoted to showing that both the Old Testament and the New teach the natural inequality and inferiority of women. If our future historian should follow the example of those theological writers who have brought together all the crimes and vices of Pagan nations, and contrasted them with the virtues of Christian lands,—not content to compare the ancient and modern civilizations as wholes, the good with the good, the evil with the evil,—he would draw dark pictures only of Christendom, and dwell in contrast on the noble lives, the sublime ideals, and splendid achievements that shed undying lustre on Pagan antiquity, to which the genius, fidelity, and loveliness of woman largely contributed.

Let us hope that, twenty centuries hence, wife-flogging will be unknown, and that decisions like that referred to in the beginning of this article will be, as they should be, regarded as anomalies in nineteenth century civilization.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THERE will be a Christmas festival at the Church of the Unity, four P.M., December 25, by the Young People's Ethical Class, under the direction of Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee. There will be speaking, Christmas carols, tree and Santa Claus. Admission, 25 cents. Tickets have been left for sale at *The Index* office.

SAYS an exchange:—

At a "holiness" meeting in Connecticut the other day, one of the speakers, a business man, who avowed that he was wholly freed from the power of sin, spoke on missionary work as a remedy for business depression. He said, on either side of the equator there is a belt of five hundred million people living almost naked. "Christianize them, and their demand for goods would be so great that all the mills now in existence would not supply them, running day and night." He must think less of the fact that, according to his theology, those people all go now where clothes won't stand the heat than of the possible market for our surplus products.

MAX MUELLER wrote to Chunder Sen in 1881 as follows: "Stanley certainly did not approve of the Thirty-nine Articles; but he signed them as an historical document, knowing their origin and their historical purpose, and accepting them as a compromise between the different parties that have formed the Church of England." Müller adds, "How could we have any religion, how could we have any Church, without a compromise?" The *London Inquirer* quotes the above, and adds: "According to this, we might subscribe to anything, if we had sufficiently 'robust consciences.' We do not for a moment reproach those of our Broad-Church friends who, being born and bred in the Established Church, think it their duty to remain in it and make the best of it; but we do vehemently reproach those who enter it without professing any real change of conviction, from worldly or other motives or from sheer indifference."

R. C. SPENCER, of Milwaukee, in a letter printed in the *Religion-Philosophical Journal*, thus refers to

the National Liberal League, of which he was once an active member: "I am in receipt of the remarkable circular of the Secretary of the League, appealing for the sinews of war and promising therewith to move instantaneously upon the Christian Church and wipe it out of existence without ceremony. Having never considered this any part or parcel of the design or purpose of the real League, I could not consistently encourage such an undertaking under that name. Besides, I am not anxious to see such a thing done, certainly not on such short notice. . . . I am a Liberal, or have so considered myself, and once had hope of the usefulness and honor of the League; but the thing takes such strange and ridiculous freaks that there seems to be no sort of safety in coming anywhere within reach of it. It strikes wildly, lunges, kicks and flounders so amazingly that it is pretty certain to be the death of itself. Its antics would be amusing, were they not so much in blind earnest."

SAYS the *Christian Register*: "We are glad to see a movement among the Spiritualists of this country for the formation of a society for psychical investigation. It cannot be denied that there is a vast range of phenomena, the causes of which are hidden in mystery. When a table without contact may be made to walk around the room, music may be evoked from a locked piano, and writing obtained from a slate by invisible agencies, there are facts here that require investigation. This whole realm of facts has too long been committed to a class of people incompetent for scientific investigation. It has even been surrendered to gross impostors. After all the trickery and humbug is removed, there is still a sufficient and astonishing basis of the marvellous to call for profound study. To our Spiritualist friends, the only satisfactory solution is that they are evidences of the power of disembodied spirits. There are many who accept the facts as well attested without being able to accept this philosophy. Our Spiritualist friends can command wealth enough to establish such an institution for psychical study, and they ought to lead in such an enterprise. But it ought to be so managed that the investigation shall proceed on strictly scientific principles."

ACCORDING to *Our Herald*, a journal published at Lafayette, Ind., and devoted to woman suffrage, "certain church boards and clergy," after the results of the Presidential election were known, asked the Women's Christian Temperance Union, "which had its own political belief," to pass a resolution promising that in its prayer-meetings politics should not be mentioned, and stating that, if this request was not acceded to, notices of the Union would not be read from the pulpits. One woman said, when the communication was read: "Sisters, the power attained by the Women's Christian Temperance Union of this county has not been by the hand of the clergy; and, as we are in a position to dictate to them, instead of them to us, let us resolve to support ourselves instead of them, and treat this demand with silent contempt, as it deserves." *Our Herald*, which is edited by a woman, adds: "Be it said, to the honor of this band of women, that they acted upon the well-timed advice. This request appears the more arrogant, when we remember that all these pulpits have resounded with political sermons for several weeks, from the mouths of these would-be dictators. When women are wise enough to snub such priestly interference by allowing these men to look elsewhere for their support than from 'teas,' 'socials,' and other womanly ways, they will learn that a white necktie has no more divinity hedging it about than a white ribbon."

The *London Secular Review* quotes from our neighbor, the *Investigator*, that Mr. George Chainey

"stated that he had been told repeatedly by Col. Ingersoll that he [the Colonel] was sick of lecturing on Liberalism, and that he would not give another lecture if it were not that he wanted money." The *Review* thinks "American incentive against the Almighty is too evidently the Almighty Dollar. The gallant Colonel, we gather, shares our opinion in regard to orations framed to wake the vulgar echoes of the Cat and Ladle. . . . When we hear of the laches of the mighty ones, we grope about to find where God is, that we may thank him that, although we are far from rich and have not a penny save what we earn, we are yet rich enough to be no free-thought hireling and missionary." At the same time, the *Review* thinks "it was more than indiscreet to tell a public meeting what his unsuspecting friend Ingersoll had told him in confidence." Criticism of Col. Ingersoll, based upon the remark imputed to him, we are inclined to think is premature. We must, with the *Investigator*, strongly doubt whether he made the remark. Mr. Chainey's statement is more likely to be the result of a misunderstanding on his part. We have never seen anything in Col. Ingersoll to indicate lack of earnestness in his opposition to theology. His ability as an orator would draw large audiences, and enable him to make money by lecturing on whatever subject he might speak.

The *Catholic Examiner* quotes the following from Bishop Spalding's article, "The True Basis of Government," which appeared in a recent number of the *North American Review*: "Women are the most religious, the most moral, and the most sober portion of the American people; and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded. They are the natural educators of the race, and they and their children are the chief victims of drunken men. And, since men have been unable or unwilling to form a right system of education or to find a preventive of intemperance, there can be no great harm in giving on these matters at least an experimental vote to women." The comment of the *Examiner*, considering that it is a Catholic journal, is remarkable: "Who shall say after this that there is not a sentiment in favor of extending the suffrage to women? And suppose it was done? We do not believe they would abuse it in the manner in which a very large proportion of our men do. Bishop Spalding points out that for reasons that are obvious they would stand for and advocate morality in public life; that their votes would unquestionably be cast to promote it, and, if they did this, none but good results would follow. The smart men of the press may laugh at the idea of woman suffrage, but we are not sure that it is a thing to be laughed at. One thing is plain; and that is, that there are at present a great many more people willing to allow women to vote than there were a few years ago. The world moves. The end is not yet; and he is a rash prophet who would say that women will not some time have a voice in the government of the land for which they bear and educate rulers."

For *The Index*.

TO MOTHER NATURE.

"Oh, pray to Him!" they say to me:
"Prayer is for all that live!"
Alas! I know not what to ask:
Thou knowest what to give.
The leaves bestrew my lonely path,
I wot not where I go;
But in yon dimly twinkling stars,
And in this drifting snow,
Is somewhat yet that speaks to me.
And Mother Nature's call
Is aye the voice I love to hear,
For she is all in all.

GOWAN LEA.

MONTREAL, November, 1884.

The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 18, 1884.

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

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For The Index.

NINETEENTH CENTURY RELIGION.

An Address given at the Convention of the Free Religious Association at Florence, Mass., Nov. 19, 1884.

BY WM. J. POTTER.

It is popularly taught that the value of a religion depends upon its age. If a religion can be shown to have originated a good many centuries ago, this serves among its adherents as *prima facie* evidence of its truth to-day. If it is believed that we have the authentic reports of witnesses vouching that they were present at the birth of a religion some nineteen hundred or three thousand years in the past, and that there were strange wonders accompanying its birth, this is commonly alleged to settle the validity of the religion for the modern world, no matter whether it be adapted to the intelligence and practical conditions of the modern world or not, and even though the same kind of evidence would not be accepted for authenticating the origin of a religion in the present age. The religion thus claimed to be true may seem to be entirely at variance with the real needs of men and women now living, it may not anywhere touch the changed social and personal conditions of the communities to whom it is commended, and yet it is none the less declared to be the true religion for them; and, if the modern world does not readily accept it, it is pronounced to be the world's fault and not the religion's. The religion remains true as in its origin, and mankind must be pined and fitted to it.

In contrast to this ordinary theological habit of dwelling upon the antiquity of a religion, it was refreshing to hear a speaker in a parlor conversation assert that he was "more concerned to know what is to be our religion to-morrow than what it was so many centuries ago." "Nay," said another, "to know rather what our religion will be the day

after to-morrow." It occurred, however, to my more prosaic and practical mind that there was a question of nearer concern still, though perhaps not capable of so witty rhetorical statement; and that is, to know what is the religion for to-day. This, certainly, is the question that most closely concerns us who are living to-day. The old sentence still has its force, and may have a very radical meaning: "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." And this is the question which I propose here to consider. We want a religion that will meet the actual needs of human society to-day; that will inquire into and adapt itself to the conditions, mental, moral, social, of men and women as they exist this moment; that will meet them squarely, without equivocation or evasion, as they stand or grope with all their questionings, doubts, sorrows, temptations, darkness, sins, and wretchedness; and that will recognize also all their light and culture and gladness, and all that abounding enterprise, ambition, power, and restless aspiration which mark this latter half of the nineteenth century. In a word, we want to-day's religion more than yesterday's or to-morrow's; this century's religion more than that of four or eighteen centuries ago or of a century hence. To study the religion of a past era has its interest and value; to conjecture what religion may become in some remote future era may be a pleasant dream; but that which is of most vital import to us is to find a religion—or philosophy of life, if that phrase be more liked—which will help us to do our own work better, solve to-day's pressing problems, deliver us and human society from to-day's evils, and bless humanity with all of to-day's possible good and gladness.

What, then, is the kind of religion that is called or in these last decades of the nineteenth century? Not all the religion that exists at any time is of that time or for that time. Religion, more than anything else perhaps, persists in retaining certain modes of thought and belief and certain customs and ceremonies after the natural demand for them is past. This comes from the fact that religion, with its beliefs and institutions, has been commonly conceived to have been sent to man from an omniscient source, through supernatural agency, instead of being a natural outgrowth from human thought and feeling. If religious creeds and ceremonies have been revealed to man by Omniscient Wisdom, of course they are infallible and cannot be changed. What was good and demanded for nineteen hundred or five thousand years ago is just as good and necessary for mankind to-day. Or, if a change come, it can only be made on the theory that Omniscient Wisdom adapts its revelations to the ignorance and weakness of human nature, only revealing that which human intelligence is able to comprehend and use. But this theory, though it implies a sensible mode of procedure, yet has so few advantages over the theory of a natural revelation of religious truth, and so strongly resembles it, that the strictest adherents to the old standards of theology have looked upon it as heretical and dangerous. It is, they say, only an easy sliding down from the high platform of an infallible standard of truth to the inadequate and unsafe ground of natural religion. And pertinently do they ask, What is the occasion for a supernatural revelation, if it simply conforms to the ignorance and weakness of human nature, and does not supplement these natural infirmities of mankind with a knowledge of truth not obtainable by men in their natural capacity? And so it is that, under the old theory of an infallible revelation for all time, many religious doctrines and usages continue to be taught and observed long after they have ceased to have any elements of truth, unless

it be by the most far-fetched and fanciful interpretations, or to yield any practical benefit.

Look, for illustration, at the training which is given to the preparation of ministers in most of the theological seminaries of Christendom. The whole system of instruction centres in two books, which are written in languages that are nowhere spoken by any existing people, and which concern the history and interests of a race which long ago ceased to have a distinctive national existence. Two books, in two dead languages, which record the political and religious fortunes of a dead people,—these make the basis on which preachers are educated to teach the living people of Europe and America in this nineteenth century! Religious doctrines, ethical precepts, approved examples of character, to be found in these books,—these are to be taken for truth to-day; while what is not to be found in these books or does not accord with what is found there is pronounced false or unessential. Now, I would not depreciate the value of the Old Testament and New Testament of the Hebrew and Christian churches as books of religious instruction. The Hebrews as a race had a special religious temperament and a noteworthy religious history. A small nation, they have yet been a powerful factor in history. They were a central nation in the midst of mighty movements that shaped history for centuries. Their books are freighted with valuable moral and spiritual lessons. Nor would I depreciate the value of still studying languages that are dead, and of making researches into the life of nations that have passed away. The literature of even dead nations may still be vital with the living power of great truths. And nothing takes us so near to the mental and moral life of a people as to read their own literature.

But it is not on the ground of the special religious temperament and history of the Hebrew people, nor on the ground of the naturally stimulating mental and moral effect of getting near to the literature of a people who had a peculiar intellectual and moral robustness in their religious history, that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are made the basis and centre of the entire scheme of instruction in most of the theological seminaries of Christendom. Were these the grounds, then the literature and history of other peoples would also justly claim a share in shaping instruction, even though a less share: whereas, they are entirely ignored, or have been until very recently. But the Hebrew and Christian Bible is made the basis and centre of theological instruction, its languages, though dead, must be learned, its chronicles studied in the minutest details, its doctrines investigated and absorbed as those of no other book, because of the theory that these are not men's words, but God's words, and that the people whose acts are here recorded were specially God's people, as were not the Greeks or Hindus or Chinese. It is because of this theory of a local revelation and a partial Providence that learned and able scholars have spent their talents and lives in the study of these books and in settling the exact way in which the ancient text should read and be interpreted; it is because of this theory that they have devoted immense research and energy and money to such questions as whether this word or that or even this letter of the alphabet or that letter were the one actually used by Paul or Jesus or Isaiah; whether the style of this Epistle corresponds with that Epistle or that Gospel; how the prophecies of Daniel and the visions of the Book of Revelation are to be understood; how the various discrepancies in the different parts of the books are to be explained away; was this passage something said by Jesus, or an inter-

polation by his biographer? when Jesus said "everlasting," did he mean everlasting?

See some of the results of this theory in other directions. I look into the Sunday-school lesson printed in one of the most widely circulated evangelical papers for use in evangelical Sunday-schools on the Sunday of the week when this essay was written. The lesson is concerned with all the details of the succession of King Solomon to King David, the movement of Adonijah to seize the crown, the aid given to his conspiracy by Joab, the able and wily soldier, the counter-movements to foil the plot, etc. But what has all this to do with religious instruction in a Sunday-school in America in this nineteenth century? Has it any more relevancy than the story of the succession of Charles I. or of Henry VIII. to the throne of England? Has it a hundredth part of the relevancy which the story of Abraham Lincoln's succession to the Presidency of the United States in 1861 would have? Why should we say that the Almighty lived among the Jews more than he lives among the American people? Why is there any more religion in studying the military movements of General Joab among the wild tribes of Palestine than in studying those of General Sheridan among the North American Indians?

Look at another illustration of this theory of religion. The Southern Presbyterian Church has recently been thrown into great consternation because of the discovery that a professor in its theological seminary at Columbia, S.C., has been teaching the scientific doctrine of evolution to his classes there. The professor has explained frankly just what he teaches, and it proves to be a very mild form of the doctrine. It is simply that the Bible does not profess to teach scientific theories, and that it does not contradict the theory of evolution as to the creation of plants and animals and the physical part of man. But this is regarded as the beginning of a very dangerous heresy,—as perhaps it is,—the thin edge of the wedge behind which all Darwinism may follow; and Southern Presbyterianism was not satisfied with the compromise resolution which the majority of the seminary directors passed after a two days' session, permitting the professor to continue his office, though reminding him that such instruction had better be sparingly given. A minority of the directors entered a protest, solemnly affirming that to teach that Adam's body was formed by causes of natural evolution, while Eve's body is distinctly declared to have been created by a supernatural act of God, is directly contrary to the creed of the Presbyterian Church, subversive of all sound doctrine of Scriptural inspiration, and most perilous to the whole system of Christian theology and to the very existence of Christianity. The synod of South Carolina has considered the matter, and voted that the heresy ought to be suppressed. And now the momentous question is likely to go for decision to the general Presbyterian Assembly. Just think of it! Men being educated for religious instructors of the people in this nineteenth century on a theological basis that stands or falls with the old mythological fable of Eve having been created from a rib of Adam! Men being educated to speak every Sunday to people who read and who may think, and yet a forbidden heresy to let these coming preachers know what the scientific world is saying on the doctrine of evolution.

Now, religion on this old theological basis of an infallible Biblical revelation has got such a deep hold of Christendom that it is going to last a good while yet. And, so long as it lasts and wherever it is taught, it will be responsible for many superstitions and many irrational doctrines that are proclaimed in the name of truth. But there is

something in the mental atmosphere of the nineteenth century that is not congenial to these old theories of religion. Though taught, they are felt to be out of place. They are an importation of mediæval beliefs into the modern mind. Even in the South Carolina Presbyterian Synod, forty-five out of ninety-five delegates voted for the Columbia professor. This is not an age of blind faith, but of vigorous inquiry. Belief must wait upon evidence. Modern creeds must conform to reason. An old creed may be revered for its antiquity, sacred associations may cluster around it as it is liturgically repeated in the Church; but it is sentiment, and not truth, that sustains it, unless to-day's thought can indorse it. And whatever the thought of the day cannot indorse, what enlightened reason opposes, is out of place in the modern world. Though it may linger for years, its doom is sealed. Whatever else the nineteenth century may demand, it demands of institutions or customs or creeds, however venerable, the reason why. It is a century that calls for robust thinking. If the churches are losing their hold on the mass of thinking and cultivated people, it is largely because they do not feed the mind as once they did, because they have in some way lost their harmony with rational thought.

The first characteristic, therefore, of nineteenth century religion is that it must satisfy Reason. It must answer to-day's questions, and not merely those of four hundred or four thousand years ago. It must be in respect to beliefs *en rapport* with the modern mind. It must keep pace with the progress of thought; be afraid of no discovery of science; face the intellect of the future, and not that of the past. It must allay superstitions, not foster them. It must venerate truth rather than tradition. It must accept truth as its proper food. The love of truth must be its impelling enthusiasm, the pursuit of truth its engrossing object, the living of truth its supreme pleasure. On no other terms can religion meet the conditions of existence in this modern era: it must, first of all, respect the liberty of the human mind; it must be free.

And, again, nineteenth century religion must be moral. It may be more than morality, but it must at least have morality. Without this, it is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. And morality must be not simply an attachment to it removable at pleasure, or one of its indirect consequences only: religion must be itself moral through and through. Its beliefs must be moral, its objects of worship must be moral, its usages must be moral. And it cannot be said that either religious usages or objects of worship or creeds have always been moral. The day is past when religion can safely speak of morality as "filthy rags"; or when any theological scheme of atonement can atone for a defect in personal integrity; or when soundness of creeds or any amount of pious observances can take the place of righteous conduct; or when the suffering of another soul can take away from a guilty soul the proper retribution of its guilt. It is no longer religion and morality: it is religion *in* and *through* morality. There never was, indeed, a genuine religion *without* morality, though much that has passed for religion has lacked that supreme qualification. But now more than ever is morality to be made the test and proof of religion. Now more than ever is it recognized that they who would see the Most High must be pure in heart; that they who would abide in holy tabernacles and dwell in holy mountains must have clean hands and a pure heart, walk uprightly and work righteousness, eschew vanity and deceit, and speak truth from their hearts. Now more than ever does the spirit of the age cry to the devotees of religion, "Not your

many prayers, your solemn meetings, your Sabbaths and fasts, shall be sufficient to procure you acceptance; but wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings, cease to do evil, learn to do well."

And so, again, nineteenth century religion is a humanitarian religion. It is not only morality, but philanthropy; not only integrity, but beneficence; not only love of and fidelity to truth, but it is loving kindness and charity. It not only does justice, but it loves mercy. It not only abstains from doing ill to the neighbor, but it seeks to do him good. Ecclesiastical religion has been too apt to play the part of the priest and the Levite in the presence of human distress, and pass by on the other side. But religion to-day must prove its title by performing the office of the good Samaritan. Its institutions, its sabbaths, its churches, its services, are made for man, not man for them. They must bend to his needs, not his needs be sacrificed to their fancied sacredness. The manifold social problems of our time, the degradations and slaveries of body and mind, the intemperance, the pauperism, the vices, the crimes, the crying miseries that spring from ignorance and wickedness,—all these point to the appropriate field of religion's work. Religion is no longer to be nursed as a private luxury for the solace and refuge of one's own soul, but is to be sent out into the world as a stalwart worker for social amelioration. In the past, its primary office has been to solve problems of speculative theology for the intellect, and to save the individual soul for bliss hereafter: now, it must try its hand at solving practical problems of sociology for human benefit on earth, and possess the spirit of the Buddhist vow, wherein the worshipper declares that he will never accept individual salvation for himself alone, but remain in the world of struggle, sorrow, and sin till all souls are redeemed. Mr. Moody shows many theological fossils embedded in the primitive kind of beliefs he preaches; but, when he tells the story of the young nobleman, who built a house for his own residence in one of the poorest and most vicious districts of London, and set himself to work there personally to better the condition of his chosen neighbors, he touched one of the secrets of the religion that is demanded to-day. And, to a considerable extent, he himself works upon this plan; and to that extent, in spite of his crude and in many respects abhorrent beliefs, he does a good work,—a kind of work that in some form must test the value of all religion.

Free Reason, Morality, Humanity,—these, then, are the three great characteristics of nineteenth century religion. These make the trinity of the new religious beliefs that are taking shape in men's thoughts to-day, and modelling the Church of the future. Let these be organized together in character, and religion rounds to symmetrical fullness. Let either of these be wanting, and religion is maimed in a vital part.

Yet the mere combination of these three qualities would not necessarily make religion. They must be *organized* together in character, under the vitalizing principle or impulse of what, for the want of a better term, I call the religious sentiment,—by which I mean the thought *and* feeling, or thought surcharged with feeling, that man does not exist for the sake of his own pleasure or profit or individual culture alone, nor even for humanity alone, but that he lives in vital relation to the whole world and all world-forces, and has a part to perform in carrying out the purpose of the great Power that is working in and through all things. And this idea leads us to take another step, and an important one, in the development of our theme. And this step I ask you now to take with me, with

thoughtful considerateness, still keeping carefully to the basis of recognized facts and their logical implications.

This idea of man's vital relation to the eternal energy of the universe is essentially a nineteenth century idea. It is a product of the doctrine of evolution; though something in crude shape corresponding to it has always been, in my opinion, the central fact of religion. That is, man has always, at least from the time when he began to leave traces of his consciousness for the after historian to retrace, had some conception, however dim and inadequate it may have been, of his connection with the living or moving powers of the universe around him. The difference is that, in former times, man's connection with the universal energy was conceived as supernatural, miraculous, extra-organic: now, under the teaching of science, it is conceived as natural, organic, vital. But from the actual fact of such connection, however it may be regarded or explained, there is no escape, since without it man himself could not be. And, in the perception of this fact and the natural feeling attending the perception, I find the rational basis of religion to-day,—a basis that is not disturbed, but only confirmed by the investigations and discoveries of science. Let us look at this point a little more closely for a moment.

Man is thus directly connected with the ultimate causal Power of the universe. In whatever way that causal Power is to be conceived, whether in some sense as intelligent and personal Being, or as vitalizing Force, or as eternal Energy, man is a product of it. He is, according to science, one of the organisms which it not only has made, but still pervades. He is a part of this great fructifying and ever-flowing stream of life. Not more truly is any single one of the many channels through which the Nile enters the sea directly connected back through the main stream of that mighty and life-giving river to its far-off sources in the hidden interior of the African continent than is man vitally connected with the causal Power of the universe, however hidden in the far-off, mysterious genesis of things that Power may be. And by this question concerning his own origin there has always been kept an open door from man's intellect into the infinitudes of power and life. Childish *theologies* may have once represented that door as opening upon an historical roadway only extending some six thousand years back, and then coming upon an absolute beginning. But *Science* to-day holds that door ajar, and bids us look back through receding vistas of time extending into æons which are measureless, and through them all bids us behold already working at its measureless tasks the same productive Power which is at work behind all phenomena and speaks in our consciousness to-day. Human life thus has its infinite relations. And, even though it be claimed that man cannot exist apart from some kind of material organism, that his life and his very power of thought and feeling depend upon some function of matter, still man is not then shut up to the finite; for matter has its infinite side. Science deals with the material world. All its investigations begin with some phase of that. For a while, it proceeds briskly, as it traces the transformations of forms and forces, and keeps the pathway of well-known laws, and passes through the physical and chemical attractions, and gets down at last to the elemental atoms and forces and protoplasmic cells. But what then? There stands an impenetrable barrier. Science cannot get behind it nor see through it. Yet it knows well that the same vital forces and atoms which it has tracked up to that wall must be, in some way and shape, as busy and potent the other side of it as they are this side.

It were the most arrant unreason to suppose that the great world-life stops at that line with the range of our vision or the goal of our knowledge. The forces and forms all hint at—nay, necessitate—a mystery of being and power behind them which they do not reveal. Thus, matter itself, in the very book of science, has its infinite relations.

Though, then, man cannot comprehend this eternal Energy of the universe in its entirety, though in its essence it be even unknowable by him, yet he knows that it exists and must exist, and that he himself is dependent upon it and receives his life from it; and, further, that it is an organizing power, ever bringing forth higher and richer forms of life; and, still further, that he himself, through his faculty of reason, through his sense of right, through his finer sympathies and affections, may enter as a creative factor into this organizing work, and help forward its grand achievements. And here comes in the practical ground and motive of what I have called nineteenth century religion,—something to take the place of the motive which systems of theology have offered in their summons to obey the revealed will of God rather than selfish aims. Human reason, human morality, human beneficence, which are to be cultivated to the highest degree possible, have not merely for their goal to glorify man, but to glorify the life of the universe of which man is a part. The service is not merely for self, it is for something infinitely greater than self. The standard of human conduct is not measured on the arc of one's own life, it is not determined by individual well-being alone, but it concerns a righteousness that is good for all worlds and is true for all time. And, among the feelings that cluster around this consciousness of relation between the finite soul and the mysterious mighty Life of the universe in which it is embosomed, are those of joy, aspiration, wonder, reverence, grateful loyalty, and self-surrender. Here is room, therefore, for expression of worship rationally understood; room for lofty ideals of character and life, and for the spirit of consecration; room for the finite soul to utter its longings for a larger participation in the order, beauty, and righteous activity of the infinite Life; room, finally, for the trustful feeling of dependence on a Power that is higher than we, and at the same time for those brave acts of self-assertion as well as of self-denial and self-sacrifice which have always been a vital part of genuine religion. Self, living from and for a Higher than self, surrendering itself to the demands of a higher law and purpose than its own pleasures, ready, if need be, to perish, so that the Higher Life may survive,—this has always been the essence of all real religious life under all forms of belief; and this must remain, so long as human nature keeps its identity, the seed-corn of religious life for this and coming centuries.

I have dwelt upon this point because, as it seems to me, Liberalism specially needs some such motive power as I have here indicated, in order that it may become a specific organizing force in society. And I can but think that this scientific idea of man's relation to the eternal Universal Energy is by and by to shape a pretty distinct religious philosophy, and secure also practical expression of itself.

Our thought, then, comes to this conclusion: Look into our complex human life where we may, it has an infinite side. In our most familiar daily actions and habits of thinking, there is unconscious reference to a power that is unseen and uncomprehended. We are accustomed to say that death is mysterious. But life has more of mystery than death,—more of the unexplained, more connection with forces and laws that reach beyond

earth and beyond all human computations of time and human analysis of causes. Modern science tells us this. And it is the distinguishing feature and function of religion—beyond its philanthropy, beyond the emphasis which it must needs ever give to morality and to the rights of reason—that it represents this open and upper side of human life, this relation of man to the infinite, the unbounded. Our lives, at their ordinary level, are tethered fast enough to material limits and objects. In the narrow range of work and duty, with its often very prosaic, drudging service, to which our lot may compel us, it is good to have this larger outlook, this consciousness of connection with a grander purpose. Nineteenth century religion must indeed work with all zeal—with a zeal even greater than now anywhere manifested—for human welfare on earth. Let it make this world a veritable Paradise, and redeem man into a being worthy to inhabit and keep it. Let it prize morality as the apple of its eye, the jewel of its heart, never to be put off nor veiled behind any disguise of creeds. Let it bring forth all needed philanthropies and charities to assuage earthly suffering and sorrow, and to eradicate the very conditions of evil; and, in all this labor for human amelioration and education, let it take constant counsel of free reason and of the wisdom and knowledge which science is gathering. But none the less let religion also be prized for this special and crowning function, that it represents to man his vital connection with the sources and forces of a Life that is infinite in its sweep and its aim. While he works and struggles upon this little earth, religion opens a window in his mind toward boundless skies. And he can work the more zealously, with a consecration that is both more devout and more hopeful, because his thought is lifted to a Power eternal, immortal, invisible, omnipresent, one only and true, that is working in and with and through him, and through all things now and forever.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LIBERAL ORGANIZATION.

Editors of The Index:—

That a necessity exists for a "liberal organization" few will deny, and that Boston is a fitting centre for such an organization will also be readily conceded. But the reading of Mr. Froebel's letter to Mr. Underwood, in *The Index* of December 4, is not encouraging to me, at least, for it seems as though it was a labored and scholarly attempt to "create" an organization; and, so far as I know, the only organisms that endure are the ones that grow.

If we are to have any union of liberal forces, it must be one that is the outcome of the needs of the hour; and the formulation of such far-reaching "demands" as Mr. Froebel makes does not seem to be the way to meet such a need.

I have spent the last four years in England, and have seen the method of organization there and felt its benefits; and it would be well, perhaps, just to point out how it succeeds. And I do that, not as one who was within the circle of workers, but as one who was without; who simply took a living, active interest in liberal movements, but sat in no council, held no office, nor interfered in any way.

Going into a strange city in England, I had only to consult my paper, the *National Reformer* or the *Secular Review*, to find out where liberal meetings were held and what were the subjects for discussion, and I could soon find friends and pass a few pleasant hours with people of like mind as myself. The subjects were of all possible kinds, from abuse of the Church to an exposition of Darwinism, from the crudest rant to the most scholarly expression of the last and best thought of the day; and so complete is the organization—imperfect and all as it still is—that a good lecturer passes from end to end of the country, always finding an audience and always earning his bread, even though he may not always earn his butter. But

real good, scholarly lecturers are sure of more than dry crusts. Yet, even if it were not so, Liberalism could find men who would bear the "fiery cross" far and near for love of truth. And, perchance, it would be best for Liberalism in the end that there should be few loaves and fishes for its teachers at the present time; for wealth soon breeds rottenness, as we have seen in many organizations.

From my experience of Boston, it seems that what is needed to-day is not the formulation of any "demands" that aim at a complete revolution of existing things, but a sound system of secular education by means of popular lectures, and such other means as kindly liberal thought can devise; for surely there are men fitted for such teaching in this city of culture, this "Hub of the Universe."

But a few evenings ago, I was invited to a "private circle" to hear a wise man lecture on the planets Venus and Mars. This man sat in a room that had been "de-gas-o-lized," to use his own elegant phrase, to a becoming obscurity. And then he talked the most arrant nonsense that ever I heard for nearly an hour and a half, till nearly all his hearers were suffering from lack of oxygen and dozing off, which he kindly excused by saying it was "spiritual influence." He told of spirits travelling from earth to Mars, from Mars to Jupiter, etc., setting aside with one fell swoop every law of matter, motion, time, and space.

He told us that Tom Carlyle and Garibaldi came from Mars to help the suffering world, while in Venus, when a man was elected to office, it was because he was sweet and lovable, not because he was wise or scientific; and many more such things did he tell us that would make a student's flesh creep. And all this time he was talking to people who were well-dressed and intelligent-looking; to people who took part in the battle of life in this great city, who rub shoulders with us every day and pass for good citizens, and are good citizens in the ordinary sense, but who are yet so ignorant of the first, simplest, grandest laws of the world they live in that a charlatan of this description can make money out of their ignorance. And this, too, not in a solitary case, but in countless ones all around. And yet unorganized, intelligent Liberalism sits with folded hands, and has no remedy save in the formulation of high sounding "demands," and the organization of another society to add to the already countless societies of this much society-ed Boston!

Yours truly,
PETER ANNET.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

Editors of The Index:—

The very excellent article by Mr. Potter in *The Index* of December 14, entitled "Catholic Parochial Schools," is not entirely satisfactory, because it does not seem to touch a vital principle which is at the bottom of the question; namely, the principle of religious liberty as it concerns the religious rights of children.

Religious liberty is the right freely to form and exercise such religious opinions as suit the individual. In the enjoyment of this natural right, the individual should be protected by law against undue interference. The federal Constitution provides that the State "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This is a prohibition which is disregarded when the State commands religious observances and support, as it does when church property is exempt from taxation, religious days and times are to be kept, religious oaths and disqualifications are imposed, and religious exercises are introduced into public schools and other State institutions. Since the law does not protect children against the infringement of their religious rights by parents, churches, and individuals, and they are not able to protect themselves, the religious liberties of children are constantly and systematically trampled upon without legal remedy. The parent, as the natural guardian of the child, it is presumed, will exercise judgment and care in his treatment, and do nothing to the child's injury. In general, the motive of the parent in the religious training of the child will be good. From the most excellent motives, he may, however, violate the rights of the child. The goodness of the motive will not prevent the injury. Morally speaking, the same religious liberties and rights which belong to adults belong also to children, the chief of

which is unrestricted inquiry and voluntary choice. These rights the religious world does not fully understand and recognize, and children are the principal sufferers. Especially is this true in the Catholic and other more orthodox churches.

The assumption upon which parochial schools are partly founded is that morality depends primarily upon religious training in childhood and youth. On this assumption is based opposition to purely secular schools. That this is a mistaken assumption is, we think, being shown by the superior moral sense and character of children educated in secular public and private schools. Indeed, the exclusion of special religious instruction and training from the schools is giving more abundant opportunity for the introduction of such moral teaching as will make the young the most intelligently conscientious in their regard for others, and the most firm and resolute in maintaining those human rights upon which the perpetuity of free institutions depends.

The efforts of the Catholic Church and other denominations to build up and permanently sustain parochial schools will fail, as they should, opposed as they are to the rights of children and to the principle of religious liberty fundamental to our institutions and civilization. The disappearance of parochial schools will not only remove a fruitful cause of sectarian jealousy, but with them will pass away an impediment to sound learning, higher morality, and religious progress.

R. C. SPENCER.

LEGISLATIVE PRAYERS.

Editors of The Index:—

If a Harvard student can say that students regard morning prayers as "an exercise to be got rid of, if possible," so, I think, do legislatures where custom (not law) decrees, as it does here in Vermont, that the two Houses shall each have a chaplain, and that he shall go through the same ceremonious routine—often illiterate and lacking in taste and sense—at the opening of each day's business.

It is a fact that, during the late session of the Vermont Legislature, the attendance upon the morning service of Scripture reading and prayer, from being full at the outset, gradually decreased until, during the latter part of the session, not one-half of the whole number—two hundred and forty—were in their seats at the hour of prayer; and it was but too apparent that many not only regarded the service with silent indifference, but intentionally avoided getting in at the appointed hour.

I am more than ever convinced that it is the part of honest men, looking one another fairly in the face, to abolish a custom which has become so hollow and wanting in respect, which has no possible use, and to address themselves directly to the business of the hour and the State, in a manner and spirit becoming to an age of light and law.

A. N. ADAMS.

FAIR HAVEN, VT., Dec. 4, 1884.

A YANKEE BURIAL GROUND.

Editors of The Index:—

Nothing but the death of a neighbor or friend will bring out in fullest force the characteristics of the "real Yankee"; for, when discussing death, and at no other time, is he at once curious, reminiscent, and garrulous.

Just outside of Portland, the other day, I stopped to rest for a moment against the fence that fronted a little burying-ground; and, while I rested, I made a remark and gained an acquaintance. He to whom I spoke was a red-haired, freckled, loosely jointed man of fifty, who also leaned against the fence, and who whittled a stick with much deliberation. Alluding to the farming country, I said that the soil appeared sandy and barren. Applying my observation to the cemetery, he headed a train of recollections with the reply:—

"Yes, it's a sandy sile an' a loose bottom; but I've noticed that people most giner'ly stays when they git here.

"It was curi's, too, how this place come to be picked out. Ye see, the Widder Harris (she that was 'Mandy Jones) owned this hull piece o' ground, an' her sister-'n-law, Mis' Wells, owned the lot acrost the road where the school-house sets. When we voted, in taown-meetin', to lay out a graveyard, the' was a good deal of argyfyin' which land we should take.

Mis' Harris an' Mis' Wells hated each other wuss'n p'ison, an' I cal'late either one or 'em would a-gi'n her land, if she'd been asked, to spite t'other. But nobody asked 'em. Finally, we app'inted 'Squire Pettie, who favored the widder, an' Jake Hamlin (he'd been shinin' 'round Mis' Wells), an' Ben Gavitt—an' he despised both women—a committee to decide which land the taown should take. The committee hed prayers by the minister, an' then they sot to wranglin'; an', when he see it couldn't be settled no other way, Ben Gavitt pupposed to draw straws to see whose land should make the graveyard, an' Widder Harris's was took. When it come out, though, how 't had been fixed, the' was so much talk that the taown took Mis' Wells's land for a school-house, an' then both the old women felt kinder more comf'table.

"We've hed some curi's funerals here, too. After the land was took, we started out to fix it up. Wal, Hen Phillips was a-goin' to do the heft o' the work on it; but, 'fore he'd been at it a week, he fell into a post hole, an' broke his back, an' we hed ter bury him here when things was re'lly in a scand'lous state. (That's his monimunt; the one with the baby on the top.) I don't b'lieve nobody but me ever knowed how Mis' Phillips felt about it. I was fust Selec'man, ye see, an' she come to me, bein' 's I was in authority, an' sez she, 'Henry was a good pervider, deacon, an' I want him to hev a corner-lot'; an' I told her he should. Seems, though, the sexton forgot about it, an' I went away that week, so they dug the grave under that air big ellum tree. But when the percession got here, Mis' Phillips wouldn't have it; an' they h'isted the corpse back to the house, an' kep' Hen on ice for two days, till they'd fixed the right hole. She was putty sot in her ways, Mis' Phillips was.

"You said this was a sandy sile. Wal, so 'tis; but I guess, after all, it's a good thing that nobody but Gabr'el could raise anythin' here. There's al'ays liable to be fusses an' hitches over a graveyard, an' I cal'late it's safest to pick out a piece o' ground that ain't wuth shoe-strings for anythin' but buryin'. Up in Vermont, I heard, t'other day, the' was a sort of a private ground fell inter the hands of a kinder reckless chap, an' he turned it into a potetter patch. I don't want no sech thing to happen here. I set store by this yard, I tell ye! I think more on it than Bill Dennison did, I guess. You didn't know Bill? Wal, that's curi's! He hed three bunions on one foot, an' I s'posed everybody knowed Bill. 'S I was sayin', he hed a row with his sister, Philury, 'bout a lot in here, when old Father Dennison's 'state was 'ministered on. ('Fore that, Bill an' Philury 'd kep' the old man above ground more'n a week, discussin' whether the body sh'd head west or north. Wal, they settled it on the basis o' south, an' p'inted the old man that way.) Then the lot was vallyed at \$45, an' Philury offered Bill a fair half, or \$20 in cash; but Bill wouldn't take nuther. He give her a deed of it for a dollar; said he couldn't feel right in his mind, if he took any more. Natchully, Philury was wrahty to hev it thought they hedn't give their father as good a buryin' as anybody could want; an' she threatened ter sue Bill for slander. He said, daown 't the store, that he didn't know whether a wuthless grave or a wuthless woman was the most wuthless, an' he wa'n't goin' ter stay ter find out; an' then, 'fore she could git at him for deformation o' character, he moved away.

"It's a sightly place, too, ain't it? Them ellums make it look kinder putty, an' that school-house over acrost sets off the hull. (Improv'in' to the younguns to be reminded o' their latter eend, I cal'late.) I useter think, years ago, it was a pleasant walk 'round here of an evenin'. Maria an' me did the heft of our summer courtin', settin' on that flat stone, yonder. 'Afraid,' was we? No, sir! I ain't scairt o' bones; an' I al'ays thought that, if I wus kinder 'quainted with the place, it'd seem more like home to me when I come here to stay."

WALTER L. SAWYER.

"No vice, then, is more foul . . . than avarice, especially in great men and such as administer the republic. For to make a gain of the republic is not only base, but wicked also and abominable. Therefore, that which the Pythian Apollo delivered by his oracle, 'that Sparta would perish by nothing but its avarice,' he seems to have predicted not about the Lacedæmonians alone, but about all opulent nations."

—Cicero.

BOOK NOTICES.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON. "American Men of Letters" Series. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.25.

We confess that we approached this book somewhat unwillingly. Emerson we knew, and Holmes we knew. Ever since Emerson's death, nearly three years ago, there has poured from the press a constant stream of reminiscent Emersonian literature,—essays, poems, biography, and lectures innumerable. It seemed as though all had been said. What need was there, then, for Holmes giving us still another volume? We had given him credit for better sense. This was our mood on opening these pages, but we have closed them filled with a sense of gratitude that the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" has lived long enough to add this crowning treasure to his works. From the first pages to the last, we read on with ever-increasing delight. There is no evidence of this being the work of a septuagenarian. The inimitable humor, the felicitous wording, and the clear, keen, critical insight, characteristic of Holmes, seems unimpaired by age or consequent weariness of writing. The only sense of dissatisfaction comes from the almost total absence of personal reminiscence which we had rather confidently looked forward to as one of the reasons for the existence of the book and one of the incitements to becoming interested in it, since it is the record of one great writer's life by a contemporary and neighboring author. Whether the omission is due to lack of personal acquaintance or to the modesty of Dr. Holmes, we are not informed. Dr. Holmes has not been a partial critic. He has clearly shown what he considers defects as well as excellences in Emerson; yet, in referring to his intellectual shortcomings, he not infrequently quotes, in support of his position, Emerson's opinion of his own work.

The living writer has greatly enhanced the value of this biography by quoting or calling attention to many of the more exquisite thought gems found crystallized in every differing emanation of the genius of the dead seer, in doing which he has often given original gems nearly, if not quite, as exquisite as those to which he draws attention. He is himself an illustration of the truth of some of his own remarks regarding Emerson; as, for instance, these: "Consciously or unconsciously, men describe themselves in the characters they draw. One must have the mordant in his own personality, or he will not take the color of his subject. He may force himself to picture that which he dislikes or even detests; but, when he loves the character he delineates, it is his own in some measure at least, or one of which he feels that its possibilities and tendencies belong to himself." "All his great men interest us for their own sake; but we know a good deal about most of them, and Emerson holds the mirror up to them at just such an angle that we see his own face as well as that of his hero,—unintentionally, unconsciously, no doubt, but by a necessity which he would be the first to recognize."

The comparison he draws between Emerson and Carlyle will just now interest most readers. "The two writers reveal themselves as being in strong sympathy with each other, in spite of a radical difference of temperament and entirely opposite views of life. The hatred of unreality was uppermost with Carlyle, the love of what was real and genuine with Emerson. Those old moralists, the weeping and the laughing philosophers, find their counterparts in every thinking community. Carlyle did not weep, but he scolded. Emerson did not laugh, but in his gravest moments there was a smile waiting for the cloud to pass from his forehead. The duet they chanted was a *Miserere* with a *Te Deum* for its antiphon; a *De Profundis* answered by a *Sursum Corda*." Of Carlyle, he further says, referring to Emerson's invitation to him to become the editor of the *Dial*, in case he came to America: "The idea of the grim Scotchman as editor of what we came in due time to know as the *Dial*! A concert of singing mice with a savage and hungry old grimalkin as leader of the orchestra!" Of the fate of the *Dial*, he remarks: "It was conceived and carried on in a spirit of boundless hope and enthusiasm. Time and a narrowing subscription list proved too hard a trial, and its four volumes remain stranded like some rare and curiously patterned shell, which a storm of yesterday has left beyond the reach of the receding waves."

Holmes' complimentary allusions to his compeer are frequent, and strong as well as choice in their wording. On page 298, he calls him "this sweet-souled dealer in spiritual dynamite." Elsewhere, "Emerson is so essentially a poet that whole pages of his are like so many litanies of alternating chants and recitations. His thoughts slip on and off their light rhythmic robes, just as the mood takes him." "Emerson was not only a poet, but a very remarkable one" (page 315). "It is to be remembered that Emerson is one of those authors whose popularity must diffuse itself from above downwards." "This little planet could not provincialize such a man." "This is the fascination of Emerson's poetry. It moves in a world of universal symbolism. The sense of the Infinite fills it with its majestic presence. . . . His poetry is elemental: it has the rock beneath it in the eternal laws on which it rests; the roll of deep waters in its grander harmonies; its air is full of Æolian strains that waken and die away as the breezes wander over them; and through it shines the white star-light, and from time to time flashes a meteor that startles us with its sudden brilliancy." "Too much has been made of Emerson's mysticism. He was an intellectual rather than an emotional mystic, and withal a cautious one. He never let go the string of his balloon. He never threw over all his ballast of common sense, so as to rise above an atmosphere in which a rational being could breathe." "Emerson hates the superlative, but he does unquestionably love the tingling effect of a witty over-statement." Holmes himself is not averse to this same "over-statement,"—*anglice* exaggeration,—as is shown when, in speaking of Emerson's English tour, he says: "Emerson saw the country on its best side. Each traveler makes his own England. A Quaker sees chiefly broad brims, and the island looks to him like a field of mushroomrooms." He says of Emerson's proneness to this habit: "The habitual readers of Emerson do not mind an occasional over-statement, extravagance, paradox, eccentricity: they find them amusing, and not misleading. But the accountants, for whom two and two always make four, come upon one of these passages, and shut the book up as wanting in sanity. Without a certain sensibility to the humorous, no one should venture upon Emerson. If he had seen the lecturer's smile as he delivered one of his playful statements of a runaway truth, fact unhorsed by imagination, sometimes by wit or humor, he would have found a meaning in his words which the featureless printed page could never show him."

Of Emerson's religion, Holmes says: "The name most frequently applied to Emerson's form of belief is pantheism. How many persons who shudder at the sound of this word can tell the difference between that doctrine and their own professed belief in the omnipresence of the Deity?" Holmes refers frequently to Emerson's chivalric respect for woman, and loyal demand that her rights of all kinds should not be denied her; and says he speaks "of woman in language which seems almost to pant for rhythm and rhyme," and that Emerson's account of Margaret Fuller, with his "extracts from her letters and diaries, with his running commentaries and his interpretation of her mind and character, are a most faithful and vivid portraiture of a woman who is likely to live longer by what is written of her than by anything she ever wrote herself." Our quotations from this delightful biography must here cease,—cease from want of space, not from any lack of material to draw from. We can only hope that the taste we have offered our readers from this fountain may induce them to purchase and read the book for themselves.

S. A. U.

EVERY DAY LIFE AND EVERY DAY MORALS. By George Leonard Chaney. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price \$1.00.

These lectures, the author explains in his preface, "had their origin in a local agitation [in Atlanta, Ga.] about some publicly exposed pictures which were considered by some excellent people to be more injurious to the people's morals than helpful to the people's taste." Other aspects of the same subject grew out of the consideration of this phase of it; and the result is embodied in the eight lectures here given on "Art and Morals," "Juvenile Literature and Juvenile Morals," "Literature and Morals," "Business and Morals," "The Stage and Morals," "The Press and Morals," and "The Pulpit and Morals." These lectures are liberal in sentiment, sensible in treatment, and interesting in style.

EZRA ABBOT. Published for the Alumni of the Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge. 1884.

This thin volume of seventy-five pages appears from the press of George H. Ellis. It will receive most grateful welcome from the friends of Dr. Abbot, and be prized by the friends of high scholarship generally. It consists of the addresses at Dr. Abbot's funeral and at the meeting of the Harvard Divinity School Alumni, a few weeks later, by Rev. Messrs. C. C. Everett, A. Woodbury, A. P. Peabody, and J. H. Thayer. All of them are excellent, that of Dr. Thayer being the most elaborate; and together they give a very full view of Dr. Abbot's simple life, rare scholarly attainments, and exceptionally fine character. An appendix contains a large number of minor tributes from the pens of distinguished scholars and the resolutions passed by scholastic societies; and a life-like portrait of Dr. Abbot is given as the frontispiece.

TOMPKINS, AND OTHER FOLKS. Stories of the Hudson and the Adirondacks. By P. Deming. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.00.

This collection of short stories, which were originally contributed by the author to various magazines, will be welcomed for their rather unique treatment and the unexpected *dénouement* characteristic of this writer. The titles are "Tompkins," "Rube Jones," "Jacob's Insurance," "Mr. Tobey's Wedding Journey," "Hattie's Romance," "The Court in Schoharie," and "An Adirondack Home." The moral tone of these stories is clean and pure, and the style quietly humorous.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE. 1884. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Harper's Young People is not a very impressive publication as it appears from week to week. A careless eye might give it little heed. The more careful would find the reading excellent for the boys and girls for whom it is intended, the pictures educative of their artistic sense, and the variety of matter suited to various tastes. But it is when the fifty-two weekly numbers come to us bound together in one handsome volume of eight hundred and thirty-two pages that the aggregate beauty and pleasantness are something marvellous. Harper & Brothers have done what they agreed to do: they have made a periodical that is more interesting as well as more decent and instructive than the dime novel and the trashy papers of the same intellectual and moral standing. The volume for 1884 certainly holds its own as compared with those of previous years. It has a fair proportion of continued stories and shorter, with puzzles and facetiae in great abundance. The frontispiece, by J. G. Brown, is better for not having the color of his paintings. Such pictures as those on pages 1 and 217 will make the elders linger, and the whole will be apt to evoke from many a sigh for their lost youth.

The Atlantic Monthly for December opens with "In War Time," Dr. S. Weir Mitchell's serial, which is finished in this number. Stuart Chisholm, in "Over the Andes," gives an account of experiences in South America. A nicely discriminative sketch of "François Coppée" by Frank Marzials, and a clever article by George Parsons Lathrop on "Combination Novels," form the more distinctly literary features of this number. "Poe's Legendary Years" gives, for the first time, a satisfactory account of the more obscure passages in Poe's life. It is written by George E. Woodberry. Other articles and stories are "Penelope's Suitors," by Edwin Lassetter Bynner; "These are your Brothers," by Olive Thorne Miller; "Among the Redwoods," by E. R. Sill; "An American Flirtation," by Grace Denio Litchfield; "Canada and the British Connection," by Edward Stanwood.

The Catholic World for December presents the following table of contents: "The Present and the Future of the Negro in the United States," by Rev. J. R. Slattery; "An Italian Pessimist," A. J. Faust; "Scriptural Questions, No. II," Rev. A. F. Hewitt; "The Quartier Latin since the War," William O'Donovan; "Saint Mona's Lambs," A. R.; "An Apostle of Doubt," Agnes Repplier; "Leaves from English History,—A.D. 1570-76," S. H. Burke; "Solitary Island," Chapters IV., V., Rev. John Talbot Smith; "Shakespeare and his Æsthetic Critics," Appleton Morgan; "Home Life in Colorado," Brendon McCarthy; "Katharine," E. G. Martin; and "The Glenribbon Baby," by Julia M. Crottle.

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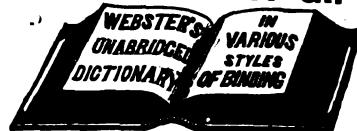
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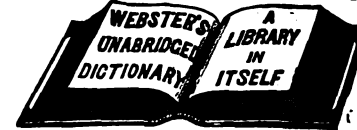
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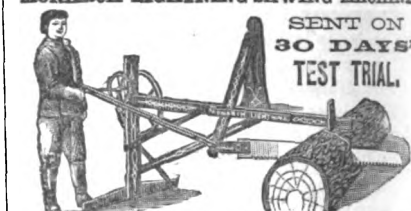
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THE INDEX

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VOL. XVI., OLD SERIES.—No. 783.
VOL. V., NEW SERIES.—No. 26.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1884.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Montreal Free Thought Club has re-elected officers for the ensuing year, as follows: Capt. Robert C. Adams, president; J. H. R. Molson, P. Lyall, and Dr. O. B. Ward, vice-presidents; C. Stevens, secretary; A. A. Murphy, vice-secretary; M. Boas, treasurer.

At the Freethinkers' Convention, held recently at Salamauca, N.Y., the subject of establishing a non-sectarian school in that city was discussed; and Mr. H. L. Green has since issued a circular asking for pledges to the amount of \$25,000 for the erection of a school building, "with the positive understanding that not one cent shall be called for until the whole sum is raised, and not then until the proper organization is perfected and chartered by the New York State Legislature."

SAYS the Ottawa Free Press: "The election of a Jew as mayor of Leicester, despite Simon de Montford's declaration that no Jew should dwell within the borough till the end of the world, teaches again the lesson that the past cannot arbitrarily bind the present, and that the present cannot arbitrarily legislate for posterity. Day by day, the heavy hand of the dead past, which by this institution or that has fettered the living present, is being lightened; and humanity, breathing in the freedom of a new life, is capable of greater advancement than ever."

THE following passage is taken from a letter in the Boston Herald, written by a correspondent in Mexico: "The Church still exercises a powerful influence among the common people,—peons as they are called; but, in political affairs, the priests are powerless. The old Inquisition building, which has sheltered more horrors than any other structure on this continent, is now a medical college, where bones are sawn asunder in the name of science instead of religion. The cathedrals have been stripped of their treasures, and their candlesticks are now gilt instead of gold. I was told the other

day by a railroad manager that his purchasing agent had bought over three hundred wooden saints for fuel, many of which had been carved and gilded in Spain hundreds of years ago. A solid silver balustrade, which has stood in one of the churches since the time of Cortez, was torn down not long ago and taken to the mint; and a chandelier in the cathedral of Puebla, when melted, made sixty thousand silver dollars."

JUDGE DUFFY, of New York, said last week to a slugger who had been locked up over night for getting drunk: "I am told you are a pugilist. I am opposed to pugilism. Pugilists ought to use their muscles for something that would benefit humanity, welding iron, digging cellars, and such like. You may think John L. Sullivan a wonderful man. So he is a wonderfully muscular man, but he has very little brains. Brains are superior to muscle. If a ship were at sea, and the captain and mate should be washed overboard, and John L. Sullivan was aboard that ship, he wouldn't be selected to bring it into port. The passengers would be more likely to trust their lives to the smallest man aboard that ship, if he had the most brains. That goes to prove that brain outweighs muscle. Some of these days, some respectable citizen in the neighborhood of Madison Square Garden will come down here and make complaint against that place as a disorderly house. If he does, I'll issue a warrant and arrest all you pugilists, and commit you to the island as vagrants for six months. There isn't any judge of the Supreme Court that'll let you go. McCoy, you're a stranger in town, I'm told. I was going to fine you \$10, but I won't: I'll discharge you."

THE Russian ministers seem to be renewing their activity of late, in spite of the rigorous action of the Czar, who tries in vain to stamp out the conspiracy against the government. Whatever be thought of the methods pursued by the Nihilists,—and some of them we believe unwise and unjustifiable,—there is no doubt that the Russian people have good reason for rebelling against the imperial government. "One-tenth of the oppression practised upon the people of Russia, if applied in this country," says the Herald of this city, "would drive hundreds of thousands of our people into armed resistance to its enforcement. The great defect in the policy of the Czar is that it is diametrically antagonistic to modern enlightenment. It runs counter to the spirit of the age; and, unless Russia can be completely secluded from the rest of the world,—an operation which could only be accomplished by transferring the empire to some other planet,—no cessation of revolutionary efforts can be looked for. As the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church, so in this case the blood of the Nihilists shed in the cause of Russian freedom must serve to encourage the growth of more and more revolutionists holding, as they now seem to hold, high social and political positions, until it will be no longer possible for the Russian administration to hold up under the conspiracies with which all of its great departments will be honeycombed."

In a recent lecture on "The Miseries of Poverty" reported in the New York papers, Prof. Felix Adler said that the income derived from the worst class of tenements far exceeds the rents yielded by the finest residences on the best streets. The income is secured by persistent violation of laws; but the landlords, through the political influence they possess, easily protect themselves. The lecturer said that there should be an Act passed by the New York Legislature like the Cross Act of the English Parliament, compelling the owners of unsanitary houses to sell their possessions. He urged, also, the formation of a building company, to be composed of private citizens, who should receive a loan from the public treasury, either city or state, and be empowered to rebuild the bad tenements and to put up new ones. The company should be restricted from taking more than a moderate percentage on the investment. Under Prof. Adler's direction, a Sanitary Aid Society for the Tenth Ward of the city of New York has been organized. The inspection of tenement houses will be a part of its work. According to the official record there have been 15,697 fatal cases of diphtheria in New York during the last ten years, and 1,018 fatal cases since the beginning of the current calendar year. Diphtheria, a filth disease, prevails in the localities where there is the greatest need of sanitary work. Prof. Adler, as a member of the Tenement House Commission, has already done much to awaken interest in a very important reform.

THE archbishop of the Church of England has prepared a prayer for the British army in Egypt, to be read in the home churches. In it, he prays, not only for the soldiers, but for the cause in which they are engaged. He says, "We commend to thy fatherly goodness the men who through perils of war are serving the nation; beseeching thee to take into thine hand both them and the cause wherein the country sends them." According to the Unitarian Herald, a correspondent of the London Echo has paraphrased the archbishop's prayer, making a very good argumentum ad hominem for its Christian readers, as follows: "And, as the followers of the Prince of Peace, we humbly beseech Thee to enable our soldiers, with the deadly weapons of their warfare, to mow down those Soudanese who have no more right to their country than we have to ours. Grant that we may both kill and take possession, making wives, widows, and children fatherless. We acknowledge that we have no right to carry the sword and death among the inhabitants of other lands, but we plead the merits and mediation of Him who taught us to love our enemies and to do as we would be done by. Grant, we beseech thee, most merciful Father, who art the Father of all the children of men, that the blood of thy children, shed by this thy people in different quarters of the globe, may work the peaceful fruit of guaranteed dividends for the rich and increased taxation for our poor; and unto thee shall be all the glory, through Him who came to visit us in humility, and who hath said, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me.'"

CHRISTMAS.

By general consent in Christendom, the twenty-fifth of December is celebrated as the birthday of Jesus. The precise time of his birth, however, either as to the year or the day of the year, is not known. With all their researches, scholars have not been able definitely to fix it, although agreeing that the accepted time cannot be correct. The name given to the day, Christmas (Christ-mass), indicates that it was primarily established as an ecclesiastical festival; and it was the custom of the early Christian Church to appoint its days of religious observance without much regard to historical or natural data. The immediate religious use was regarded as more important than the exact celebration of any past event. As early as the fifth century, accordingly, the Church had settled upon the twenty-fifth of December for celebrating the nativity of Jesus, though previously different sections of the Church had observed that event on different days; and it is altogether probable that this time was chosen because it came at the same season with the old pagan Saturnalian festival,—an ancient festival of nature worship so deeply rooted in the sentiment and habits of the people that it could with difficulty be eradicated, and features of which have since mingled with the Christian celebration of Christmas.

But, assuming the popularly accepted tradition of Christendom, what does this day celebrate? Setting aside, for the moment, the theologies that have been built and the myths that have gathered around the name and career of Jesus, what does the day signify to the rational thinker? Leaving out of view the opinion entertained, without as it seems to us adequate basis, by some Liberals,—that no such historical person as Jesus ever existed, and that the New Testament Jesus is wholly a mythological character,—the rational thinker would put it in some such way as this: Eighteen hundred and eighty-four years ago, in an obscure town of Palestine, there was born of humble peasant parents a child, to whom was given the not uncommon Jewish name of Jesus. Like the other children of like station around him, he grew up to man's estate, his childhood and youth and earliest manhood being so obscure and unexceptional that little or nothing is known of them authentically. His father was a carpenter, and the son worked at the carpenter's bench. His public career did not begin till he was about thirty years of age. Then he became a bold and radical religious reformer; a prophet of the elder Hebrew type, but of larger and more revolutionary ideas as regards the established religion of the Hebrew people; a teacher of a remarkably pure and elevated morality; and a man of singularly lofty, noble and inspiring character, mingling womanly sympathy and spirituality with masculine virility of spirit and deed. By the power of his teaching and his character, he drew around him a devoted band of disciples and a larger multitude of followers, who hailed him as the expected Jewish Messiah and urged that he should so declare himself. He yielded to the persuasion so far as to accept the title, though evidently in a different sense from that commonly given it. Brought thus into bitter conflict with the Jewish authorities, he was crucified at the age of thirty-three, or perhaps before, as a revolutionary disturber of the civil and religious peace of his nation.

Only three years, perhaps less, of public life; and yet those years were in some way charged with a power which changed the whole after-course of history, and became the origin of a new and powerful religion,—of a religion which in a few centuries had converted the Roman Empire to its

service, and thus spread among the nations which have grown to be the ruling forces of the modern world. And, to-day, the birth of that little child, eighteen hundred and eighty-four years ago, of peasant Jewish parentage, in the far-off Asiatic village, in a rude country inn, possibly in a manger of a stable, is celebrated throughout the most enlightened countries of Europe and America as the advent of the most remarkable personage this earth has ever known. From the advent of that life, civilized mankind now reckons time and counts the years; and Christian historians have made it the centre of human history,—the point toward which, by convergent lines, all previous history tended, and from which all subsequent history of any importance has diverged.

A problem of unique interest is certainly presented here for a rational thinker to settle. The great majority of Christendom have not attempted to settle it on grounds of natural reason alone. The vast majority of Christian believers have always maintained that in those few years of Jesus' life on earth there was an original and miraculous revelation of divine power; that he, in short, was not a natural man. Even during his lifetime, a kind of power, which he most probably possessed in healing certain diseases, became the ground of a popular belief that he was supernaturally gifted, and could work those miracles which it was the custom of the age to expect at the hands of a heaven-sent religious teacher. And, not many years after his death, it began to be believed by some of his followers that he must have been miraculously born,—that he had no human father, but was the offspring of the Holy Spirit, and that his birth was accompanied by many signs and wonders, by which, even then, heaven prophesied his future greatness and vouched for his more than human powers. In the course of a few centuries, with the aid of the subtleties of Grecian philosophy, the pious imagination of the Christian Church advanced to the idea that in him was even incarnated the being of God himself,—that the babe born at Bethlehem was a veritable Deity, since none but Deity, it was assumed, could do the works which he grew up to do. And this is still the belief of much the greater number of Christian people who celebrate this Christmas day. Not many years ago, even so broad-minded a man as Charles Kingsley said in a published volume of sermons: "The babe who is born at Bethlehem, who grows up, as other human beings grow, into the man Christ Jesus, is none other than the Lord God who created the universe"; and again that God was a child, and was nursed in a cradle, and grew into youth and manhood.

But these efforts of orthodox Christians to explain the greatness of the results which have come from the life of Jesus not only lead to monstrosities like this, which the rational thinker at once rejects, but they also clearly evince to him that the actual teachings and life of Jesus are only a part of the sources from which these great results, manifest in the various power and phenomena of Christianity, have come. These very beliefs and sentiments, which grew up in later years and centuries about Jesus, and many of which are quite contrary to his teachings as found in the New Testament, helped toward enlarging the result. The contributions that came from other sources as well as from Jesus and Judea, especially the contribution from the Greek-Alexandrian philosophy, adapted the new religion for its wide-spread empire, and gave it a power it could not otherwise have had over the European nations. It would be, indeed, unjust to Jesus that he should be held responsible for much that has passed under the name of Christianity, and been even counted

among the essentials of its permanence and power. The truth is, the great river of ecclesiastical and theological Christianity has many tributary streams; and the waters of some of them, if analyzed, show quite different elements from those which are found in the character and doctrines of Jesus. So far, indeed, has Christianity in general departed from the simplicity of his character and life and from the ethics of his teaching that almost in one thing only can he be said to have been its founder; and this is in its acknowledgment and development of his doubtful claim to be the expected Messiah.

But, after Jesus has been divested of the theological and mythological accretions which have concealed his real character, there still remains enough to draw the heart of mankind to him in admiration for his gifts, and to make it natural and easy to celebrate his birth. Indeed, it is not until we have put him in the line of natural humanity that we begin to appreciate his real greatness. As a god, he falls short of our ideal. As a supernatural man, there are points on which he fails to meet expectation. But, as a man only, with only human powers and subject to human imperfection and limitation, he rises to grandeur. It is a thousand pities that the Christian Church has so long gazed at him through the glamour of its theological conceptions and worshipped him as Deity that it cannot now see him in the simple greatness and strength of his humanity. The ecclesiastical portrait, with all the endeavor to deify him, has only succeeded in representing an emasculated saint; but the real Jesus was the most robust of men. He could thunder with indignant passion over injustice and hypocrisy, no less than melt with compassion for the suffering and wronged. Let Christmas celebrate for us, not Jesus the god, but Jesus the man. Wisely says Emerson: "If you are childish and exhibit your saint as a worker of wonders, as a thaumaturgist, I am repelled. That claim takes his teachings out of logic and out of nature, and permits official and arbitrary senses to be grafted on the teachings. . . . Whoever thinks a story gains by the prodigious, by adding something out of nature robs it more than he adds. It is no longer an example, a model; no longer a heart-stirring hero, but an exhibition, a wonder, an anomaly removed out of the range of influence with thoughtful men. . . . The history of Jesus is the history of every man written large."

WM. J. POTTER.

HUNGER.

II.

It is amazing to me how any one, while giving vent to his own fanciful conceits, can find courage to sneer at protoplasm, to make light of the veritable life-quickened substance actually here in existence, to disparage flightily and overweeningly the visible, tangible manifestation of all vital activity. Those who are thus self-complacently indulging in the derision of protoplasm can hardly be aware that they are not making fun of any whimsical coinage of the human brain, such as commonly displayed with so much ardor and dazzling eloquence in the lucubrations of speculative philosophy and theology. They are not even engaged in detracting from the merits of those conjectured entities that form the building material of our most prominent sciences, not engaged in scoffingly questioning the potency of the supra-sensible atoms of physics or of the evanescent mental particulars of psychology. They are unwittingly laughing at their own vital being; at the positively manifest existent, which in its most primitive stages—long ere the formation of any

stationary organs—is already displaying under our eyes all the essential and wondrous functions of life, and which in its most developed forms is constituting our own living selves. It can, indeed, be only want of attention to the facts under actual view that provokes the soaring imagination of introspective seers to slight the substance embodying all vital powers.

I, also, have revelled in the poetry of various tongues, and have pondered the foremost thought of all ages; yet have I met with nothing remotely so fascinating as the study of protoplasm, especially in its most primitive forms. Day after day and year after year, I found myself silently riveted to the microscope, watching in lucid transparency the magic cycle of visible activities that constitutes life. Whoever is desirous of seriously occupying himself with the problems of living existence cannot possibly be spared the trouble of contemplating the general facts of vitality and organization. We here, at all events, have to enter somewhat intently into the sphere of biology; for our task is to learn what part of our natural being is organically paramount, the entoderm or the ectoderm, the so-called organic life or the life of outside relations.

A tiny globule of finely granulated material pushes forth into its watery medium long and slender projections from all parts of its surface. In various kinds of such protoplasmic individuals, the projections or rays measure, at last, more than three times the length of the diameter of the original globule, and are so slender as to be visible only with very high powers. The most primitive of these beings remain motionless with stiffened rays, passively exposed to the currents of their medium. Of the numberless impinging particles of foreign matter, only very few adhere to the substance of the seemingly deadened rays. On close examination, it becomes apparent that some sort of chemical interaction is taking place between the material thus adhering and the coagulated protoplasm. The foreign matter is in reality the food of the moner, evidently attracted and retained by dint of chemical affinity.

Now, the question is: Have the rays been protruded, in order to get food; or have they been protruded, in order to establish more extensive intercommunications with the dynamical powers, to bring the living substance into efficacious physical contact with terrestrial and cosmical influences capable of affecting it? Let us then search for the real purpose or effect of this blending of food-particles with the exteriorized and stiffened protoplasm. Under our eyes, we see it redeemed from its deadened state and rehabilitated to life. It gradually regains its fluent constitution, forms under intrinsic commotion rounded masses, is re-incorporated into the body of the moner, and goes, under full reintegration, to develop new rays.

Unmistakable evidence proves that the outflowing protoplasm, forming the projections of amoeboid individuals, becomes more or less rapidly and profoundly disintegrated through normal contact with the medium, through functional stimulation by the dynamical powers of the environment. Its combination with foreign material, its so-called feeding, has no other object than to restore it to full integrity. Food, whether immediately assimilated as foreign stuff or assimilated only after elaborate organic preparation and transformation, as nutritive medium or blood, remains in all instances nothing but complementary material, fit to reintegrate functionally disintegrated protoplasm. Nutrition is simply reintegration, and by no means organic new formation, or extraneous supply of ready working-power to a pre-constructed vital engine.

In higher forms of moneric life, the material of the projections is pushed out in much larger masses, and is in consequence not coagulated through and through during its contact with the medium. Only its surface becomes more or less deeply deteriorated and stiffened, but is soon again remelted by chemical union with the more protected and less disintegrated substance inside the projections; the whole forming, under continuation of this play of outside and inside forces, a shrinking mass, at last wholly retracted and fully reincorporated with the main body of the individual. In these more advanced stages of life, an accumulation of restitutive material or food inside the moner enables it to carry on uninterruptedly, and without any further immediate material help from outside, the significant vital play of alternate propulsion and retraction of portions of its substance. To our senses, the individual life of primitive protoplasm seems to express itself entirely in the constant reiteration of this one vital activity, the pushing forth of projections and the drawing in of the same. If not abnormally disturbed, the moner continues hour after hour its monotonous movements. The living substance at a certain stage of its expansion is disintegrated by the influences of the medium, and shrinks in consequence. Thus disintegrated, it combines with restitutive material, and re-expands in consequence. This is the gist of all objective vitality. Life consists in this definite cycle of chemical and physical incidents.

The more attentively we study various kinds of amoeboid individuals, the more obvious does it become that the consummation of all their vital activity consists in presenting their chemically highest substance to the stimulating influences of the environment. The moment of clash between the chemically unfurling protoplasm and the functionally disintegrating external agencies constitutes the climax of vital manifestation. And, moreover, the direction of all fundamental organic development is impressed upon the vitally reacting mould during this specific act of disintegration. By splitting off from the protoplasm a definite molecule, the forces of the medium determine to some slight extent the composition of the ensuing restitution. The pre-established direction of the organized affinities of the living substance undergoes some infinitesimal modification during the molecular displacement effected on each concussion by the dynamical agents. This modification tends through molecular adaptation to equilibrate the combined effect of all disturbing influences, establishing a centralized unification of such effects.

This surely is the narrow and laborious path by which fundamental organic development forces its gradual ingress into the living substance. In this process of superimposed increments of molecular elaboration, the functional disintegration of the active protoplasm gains the significance of functional evolution,—an evolution so attuning its play with the environment as to render the intrinsic vital reaction consonant with the dynamical action of the external stimuli. In all this vital activity, food serves only as complementary material to reconstitute the chemical integrity of the substance disintegrated during the functional play.

The Darwinian theory, brilliantly luminous so far as it goes, fails to account for the fundamental facts of organization as necessary products of the interaction between the living substance and its permanent medium. It only explains how accidental variations of the necessarily established organs are selected as useful during the more or less casually occurring incidents of the struggle for existence. The perpetual dynamical influences of the medium are, however, the veritable powers

that shape and sustain the essential groundwork of organization. In living beings, the surface of contact with their medium becomes differentiated in the course of development into specific sensory provinces,—touch, sight, hearing,—answering to the specific stimulation of as many dynamical powers. And the central intercommunications and unifications of such peripherally differentiated sense reflect faithfully in universal forms the general and constant relations of the organism to the influences affecting it. It is the sensory organs thus fashioned, together with their centralizations and the conjoined motory instruments, which are apt during the struggle for existence to undergo such incidental transformation as renders the organism best suited to carry on its special mode of life under the influence of special surroundings.

These peculiar surroundings are formed by the objects immediately and urgently affecting the organism. They call forth and usurp its vital reactions in a manner far more striking to us than the persistent and universal powers. Thus, the hunting, seizing, and devouring of prey are performances mentally realized by us as vital exertions, ministering immediately to the sensual appetites actually felt by the pursuing organism. Yet the demand for restitutive material originates really in the want of chemical saturation, occurring in the ectoderm when functionally disintegrated during its play with the forces of the medium. Only, the practical difficulties in the way of the satisfaction of this want engross in most instances the life of outside relations to such an extent as almost completely to obscure its own evolutionary supremacy.

The study of transparent, elementary forms of life renders it, however, unmistakably evident that one part of the protoplasm is partitioned off by its direct chemical interaction with so-called food, and is thus destined merely to prepare the restitutive material for the other portion of protoplasm carrying on the dynamical functions. It is quite certain then that, in organization, the preparing or digesting material—the entoderm, in fact—is essentially subservient to the wants of the substance constituting the life of outside relations. It is biologically evident that a living being does not in verity move, feel, and think for the ultimate purpose of feeding, but that it feeds, in order that through moving, feeding, and thinking it may reach higher stages of development.

A more significant and helpful truth than contained in this simple and undubious observation the study of nature cannot well reveal. Together with its generical bearings, the bequeathment and inheritance of organic results thus developed, it constitutes the fundamental fact and import of vital evolution. It contains also the intrinsic and inexorable vital ground, the genuine "categorical imperative" of the ethics based on the philosophy of organization. It is, all in all, the foundation in actuality of our social and moral tendencies,—the constitutional potentiality of true progress.

Life means at its very outset the spatial increase, the specializing refinement, and the central unification of organic correspondences to the universe of outside influences. Thus far, then, every doubt is dispelled concerning the veritable drift of our actual existence; and it is to the humblest of living monads that we owe the precise elucidation and incontrovertible certitude of this all-important bearing of vitality. However much concealed by the coarser exigencies of the struggle for existence, it remains, nevertheless, the supreme fact of life that the uplifting power in organization is to be found in the increasing harmonization of our relational life with the external world actually affecting it.

Hunger is a feeling only mentally and vicariously indicating an organic need, having its real origin and ultimate fulfilment in the structures of the entoderm. It is the sensory surface—the nerves, brain, and muscles—that have to be supplied with restitutive material, so that amid their functional play they may preserve their structural identity.

Pleasure itself, elevated by hedonic ethics to the paramount, self-sufficient aim of human striving, is—even in its widest sense, as comprehensive happiness including altruistic satisfaction—only a mental concomitant, vicariously significative of harmonious interaction between the organized faculties of our life of relation and the influences affecting it. Whenever gratification of any kind of feeling is made an end in itself, then the hyper-individual or generical import of organization has been perverted. Not self-satisfaction even of the most ideal kind ought to be made the true aim of human life, but higher organization through rational, ethical, and æsthetical transformation of our environment, and therewith of the relations connecting us with the same.

The ethical misdirection of noble creeds, as well as the banefulness of ignoble lives, have their origin in the false position ascribed to or assumed by the organic sphere embodying the appetites. Thus far, the conscious attitude of ethical culture has been little more than a defence against the inordinate promptings of entodermic requirements or sensual feelings. It ought to become, indeed it is its naturally ingrained propensity to become, the intellectual sublimation of such requirements and feelings for the far-reaching ends of ectodermic fructification and elevation,—ends in themselves altruistic and undying, but necessarily involving more and more perfect individual organization by means of more and more subtle, comprehensive, and unifying relations to the vast order of multitudinous interactions among which we move and have our being.

EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

HEMPSTEAD, TEXAS.

A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT.

Mr. Kennedy finds an indication of Walter Scott's proclivity to democracy in the fact that a number, perhaps the major number, of that novelist's most powerful portraiture are of persons in humble life. For myself, I see nothing in this but the instinct of a true artist, who, conceiving of remarkable and salient characters, places a goodly number of them in situations where the restraints of polite life and the veil of cultivated manners are wanting, and where, accordingly, character displays itself more freely. But this is not my present point. I wish to remark upon a current abuse of the word "democracy." Democracy is a political doctrine and condition. As a condition, it lies essentially in universal suffrage, with the delegation of all authority by popular election; and it rests upon the doctrine that, so far as concerns political matters, every man is the moral equivalent of every other, therefore entitled to an equal voice in determining the obligations of a community. Whoever embraces this doctrine with entire persuasion is a democrat fully fledged: whoever inclines toward it, but without entire and conscious persuasion, is a democrat in the egg, that may or may not chip the shell. Aristocracy, on the contrary, gives to a limited number a position of superiority determined by birth, not by merit, and so continued in hereditary succession from age to age. Now, these two systems, diametrically opposed as they seem, agree in one fundamental particular. By both, all natural, all real distinctions are ignored. In both alike, knowledge and ignorance, intelligence and stupidity, nobleness and sordid-

ness, are placed on an artificial level. Aristocracy says that some men are peers by virtue of their birth from a certain lineage; democracy, that all men are peers by virtue of their birth as human beings. Both, in short, are conventional systems, and, to the extent of the agreement here noted, conventional in the same way.

Suppose some one, now, to say in the face of an aristocracy that a man should have weight according to his worth, and to pour contempt upon those rules of distinction which make a great man little and a little man great in estimation, for no other reason than that each is the son of his father.

Such a sentiment would be hailed in some quarters as democratic, especially if it were said in a splendid and powerful way by a man of great name in literature; but it were just so far from being a democratic sentiment as the speaker from saying that in political relations all men should be of equal weight, and worth be left quite out of the account. Take for an example Burns' "A man's a man for a' that." How often has this been recited as embodying and immortalizing the creed democracy! But just so often its import has been grossly mistaken, for the burden of the ringing verses is no such platitude as that a man in homespun is as much a member of the human species as any other. "Man" has not here the sense of *homo*, applicable to all human beings indifferently, but of *vir*, applicable only to a superior order of man. In our vernacular, one may express the highest admiration of another by saying emphatically, That is a man! *Man* is here, like *gentleman*, a term of distinction, but more expressive and energetic than the latter. Burns uses the word in this sense,—that is, as a peculiarly vigorous term of distinction; and the poem is a reclamation in behalf of that nobility which lies in a man's soul as against that which lies only in his estate, costume, and coat-of-arms. It does not assert the equality of homely worth and gilded worthlessness, but their unspeakable inequality rather. It does not say that Greatheart in hodden gray is as much a man as Noheart in purple and fine linen. As much indeed! That is not the tune by a good deal.

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that."

Would he say that "yon berkie ca'd a lord" is gold, and that all men are gold, "berkies" as much as any? No, the astonished lordling hears that, beneath golden trappings, he himself is base metal,—hears it from the guest whom he had invited to his house to entertain his company with the scintillations of genius, but whom, as being a peasant and therefore, of course, not fit to sit at table with himself and his fine friends, he had sent to the kitchen to dine with the servants. It is no plea for equality to which he listens, but the notes of proud and just disdain. Rank is admitted, but as the stamp to distinguish gold, not to give lead the pre-eminence of gold or to make all metals equal. To call this democratic, as has so often been done, is simply to throw over the poem a verbal blanket which conceals, instead of expressing, its meaning. Burns did not sing, A man's a man for all his being an ass. What he sang is, in truth, not a political doctrine of any sort.

But, if the word "democracy" be here intruded, it is so yet more flagrantly when an occasion to apply it is found in the mere fact of an artistic or dramatic sympathy not confined within the strait limits of a conventional system, or even of a creative imagination more at home in the cottage than in the castle or court. Can one really believe that Scott in conceiving and portraying the character of Meg Merrilies, and in giving her a place of such importance in his plot, signified, even remotely, an opinion of the gipsy's fitness and title to vote,

and the title of all gipsies as well? Why, then, shall we not say that Mr. Cole and Mr. Johnstone, in painting cows with great truth and expressiveness, indicate an opinion that these creatures should be permitted to vote? Nay, since they paint cows rather than human figures, why must not we suppose them to think that cows should vote by preference? Really, we must try not to see everywhere only the color of our own eyes. The system we prefer will lose the service of our wits, when we suffer the very extremity of our predilection for it to confound them. To avoid this catastrophe, let us call to mind the case of a man who shows how little democratic opinion can be inferred from somewhat more significant than artistic sympathy; that is, from the strongest and most appreciative personal sympathy with characters that owe nothing to birth or fortune. The two portraits which Carlyle, himself the son of a peasant, has drawn with most love and delight, are those of Burns and Johnson, men humbly enough born; while his greatest hero, Oliver Cromwell, was a country squire. On the other hand, I can recall no instance in which he has represented a lord by inherited title as a great man, unless Mirabeau, who was a ragged sort of patrician, be regarded as an exception. Certainly, no man ever showed a slighter respect for merely titular pretension. But all the world knows that he was far enough from being a democrat. He contended that the truly great man should be the governing man,—the great man being he that has the clearest eye to see what ought to be done, and the highest power to combine the energies of many in disciplined order and direct them toward the doing. His idea is not strictly practicable; but it is one, nevertheless, that through democracy or whatever system must be in some tolerable degree realized under penalty. That is no lucky nation in which little men do the governing, however democratic its methods. Even Jefferson recognized this, and claimed it as a chief merit of popular institutions that they afford, as he alleged, the surest guarantee for the constant promotion to power of those whom he called "the natural aristocracy." Perhaps he thought it but for the hour in which he was writing to John Adams; for he was pre-eminently one of those concerning whose deliverances we must consider, not simply what was said, but who was addressed. And yet the claim might prove not altogether unfounded, were natural standards and real distinctions kept always and clearly in view, or were we less disposed to flatter the system we favor than to supply its deficiencies and redress its one-sidedness from the resources of mind, in open communication with that fulness of all truth which is contained, or to be contained, in no institution whatever.

The foregoing is preliminary to a short homily, which I propose to deliver in the next number of *The Index*.

D. A. WASSON.

POE: THE POET AND THE CRITIC.*

Thirty-five years ago (on the 7th of October, 1849), Edgar Allan Poe—friendless almost and destitute quite—died in a Baltimore hospital. For every year which has since elapsed, we have had a biography of the poet; designed to show why this child of genius, happily born and kindly nurtured, lived and died as he did live and die; making self-will or will-weakness, pride or vicious inclinations, ill-fortune or besottedness responsible for what is alleged a life failure. Widely variant as each estimate of the poet's life and work is, self-contradictory in statements and conclusions as

* Read before the Northern and Southern Club at Portland, Me., Oct. 22, 1884.

most of them are, no one of these biographies discovers to us the man, and none is worthy the acceptance of this later generation. We may gratify a proper pride in the remembrance that the poet Willis—himself one of Poe's truest friends—gave to the world the most comprehensive and appreciative of these numerous estimates of Poe's genius and character; but the imperfections which mar the beauty of Willis' essay even—and its brevity is one of these—serve in their way to emphasize the statement that Poe's biography is yet to be written.

The world has waited long and impatiently for this ideal biography of its idol; but into this wearisome time of waiting compensations have come. We understand Poe, as most of his contemporaries could not understand him. Time has relieved us from the necessity of defending him. The symmetrical beauty of his character is apparent to us. That we may know and love the man, it is not now necessary that we should look at him with partial eyes, but that we should see him as he truly was. The mists have cleared away. The shadow of the man has melted into thin air; and the man himself, great and godlike, stands before us, proudly uncomplacent, yet tenderly responsive, waiting his laurel crown!

The truth is that like Keats, like Carlyle, Poe was in advance of his age,—as the man who is, above all things, original, must always be. American literature, at the time of Poe's entrance upon the arena, had become little more than a name and a memory. Bryant with his "Thanatopsis" had sounded the first note of the revival of letters; but Bryant's youthful genius, though it struck out unhackneyed thoughts, patterned the arrangements of its works after the prevailing style, so that, at his appearance, the then "poets" did not at once take alarm. The "favorite poems" of the day were utterly dull and thoroughly respectable. Almost without exception, they were born in lawful wedlock of Homer's *Iliad* and Blair's *Rhetoric*. The subjects being thus chastely conceived, they were enwrapped in the dainty swaddling clothes of correct rhymes and rhythms, and attained their majority and passed into old age without ever once freeing themselves from any of these restraining bonds. In short, it was at this time the unwritten law of American literature that style must maintain itself even, if necessary, at the cost of sense; and that the poetry of the emotions must be left to the ladies,—who made sad work of it. A personage of Poe's creation sums up the situation thus:—

"We seldom find . . . half an idea in the profoundest sonnet."

Poe threw a firebrand into the camp of the Philistines. With the masterful instinct of the true poet, he made rhymes and metres subserve his thought, while his thought subserved only the promptings of a mighty genius. Love was his choicest theme; and, disdaining the worn-out similes and the threadbare comparisons with which his predecessors had adorned their classically correct amatory verse, his lines were so vibrant with passion, so surcharged with sweetness, that they fixed their place with the great originals from which other poets had copied. Somewhat more than this: they took higher place, for they were more in harmony with the true free thought—though few there were who exercised it—of the day in which they were written. As between Poe and "the poets of the tuckermanities," the old contest of the present with the past was once more renewed. The master and the slaves contended, and Time fought on the side of the master.

Let it be noted and remembered that Poe's attitude and acts in his battle with the little-great

men of his own time were consistently dignified and manly. His pen was a caustic which burned that it might heal. Not for the ignoble "love of cruel sport," which urges so many professional critics to be severe, did he rebuke the pretenders to thrones in the realm of poesy, but because he felt himself the God-appointed guardian of Parnassus, the angel set at the gate with a flaming sword to keep out the unworthy. No man ever held the poetic faculty in higher honor; none ever more sacredly administered his sacred trust. "With me," he wrote in the preface to his collected poems, "poetry has been, not a purpose, but a passion; and the passions should be held in reverence. They must not, they cannot at will be excited, with an eye to the paltry compensations or the more paltry commendations of mankind." Holding allegiance to such a faith, he could neither hesitate nor falter. His duty was plain: the world was to adjudicate the pretenders' claims, but the pretenders were first to be set before the world in their true light. It was to this work that Poe, in his capacity of critic, addressed himself; and this work it was which he steadfastly pursued, though fame and wealth were with his enemies.

And then the clouds swept down! It is sad reading, the life history of this man, who would have blessed his fellows, and was cursed of them. Here on the one hand was a fiery yet sensitive nature, in which high heroism and the sweetest tenderness commingled; on the other, the boorish tastes and low sensibilities of a mob of (miscalled) literary men. The present outcome of the uneven contest was certain. He might enrage them, but he could not better them; for their natures were not susceptible of improvement. He, with Truth for his weapon, could arouse in them the unreasoning anger of the brute; and they, from behind their refuge of lies, could send forth baser lies to cause him the poignant anguish which such a nature as his alone could feel. It was at the cost of temporal peace that he gained enduring fame: rest was for him only in eternal rest.

Of the man who could thus suffer and thus endure, we must predicate somewhat more than obstinacy or self-will. We must admit his possession of all the finer and higher virtues which may sway the human breast,—Truth, Sincerity, Courage, Love. We may inquire into his character, search his works, as we will, yet we shall find nothing which militates against his possession of all these. True and sincere, kindly and manly was he at all times. Without affectation, without hope of reward, he held on in his appointed way. If there seem to have been in his conduct, at times, variations from the straight path, let us believe—as we have reason—that they were more apparent than real. So long as we condone the frailties of Burns, for example, repeat applanisively his bacchanalian odes, and wink at the misery which his habits brought to those who should have been his dearest, we have no right to befoul the memory of the great American, who—if any one suffered—suffered in his own person for his faults, and whose writings trend toward the highest morality. If, by the same standard for action which we apply to others, we test Poe, he will need no defence.

Through the weird intensity of "The Raven"; the sometimes sibilant, sometimes clangorous melody of "The Bells"; the tender pathos of "Annabel Lee"; the powerfully contrasted grief and indignation and aspiration of "Lenore"; the sweet loveliness of "Israfel"; there breathes a higher strain. Between the lines, the partial reader sees another aspiration which Poe might well have made his own,—a trust which every word of his illustrates and enshrines: "And we are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent

destiny; and, not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay, under the Almighty effort let us advance on Chaos and the Dark!"

WALTER L. SAWYER.

THE STATE AND RELIGION.

Commenting upon a recent editorial in *The Index* in opposition to the appointment of a Thanksgiving Day by the federal government, the *Christian Statesman* says: "*The Index* is always logical and consistent. We almost always justify its reasonings, but dissent from its premises. Its premises, in this case, are these: Christianity has not been proved to be true; the Bible is not known to be the word of God to man; there is no evidence that nations are dependent on the favor and accountable to the government of a personal God. Granting these premises, its conclusion is sound. But take these premises: there is a living, personal God who is the author of national as of individual life, and who in his word commands all nations to worship and obey him. At once, the appointment of a time for the united expression of thanks for his mercies is seen to be reasonable and becoming. *The Index* will not deny that this is the teaching of the Bible. It is more honest and candid than those Christians who hold to the secular theory of government and ignore its contradiction with the word of God. The real question then, the only question, is whether the Bible is true. And we fail to see how *The Index*, even on its own principles, can object to a people who believe in the Bible and in the government of God over nations, expressing their belief and acting on their convictions."

The people who accept the theological doctrines mentioned by our contemporary, whether many or few, should be, as they are, at liberty to agree upon and appoint a time for the expression of their thanks. But there are multitudes who do not accept these theological doctrines. Their intelligence and honesty are beyond dispute. They help support the government. Many such have fallen, and others bear scars of wounds received, defending in battle their country's flag. Many Christians there are too, who, accepting as authoritative the Bible as they understand it, yet believe that evil only can result from discrimination by the government in favor of or against any class on account of any religious or unreligious views, and who wish to see Christianity depend now wholly upon its own appointments and the inspiration it imparts, as it did when its conquests were made before it was united with the State under Constantine. Supposing the party which the *Christian Statesman* represents had the numerical strength and the power to carry out its purposes, how could it, with any pretence even of regard for justice and respect for the rights of man, disregard the convictions and wishes of all these people whose interest in the peace and prosperity of the country certainly will not be questioned? If the State can recognize the Bible as the word of God and Christianity as a divinely revealed system, it may logically declare what interpretations shall be accepted, what sect correctly represents Christianity; and, in using the Church as a means, it can logically make a compulsory church law, compelling all persons above a certain age to belong to and attend church with prescribed regularity.

"The real question is whether the Bible is true," says our contemporary. The general and growing conviction in these days seems to be that the Bible, fairly tried by the accepted canons of historical criticism and examined in the light of science and common sense, must be regarded as

partly true and partly untrue. This conviction is shared by immense numbers of Christians, including many of the most learned and the most honored of all Christian lands. While Christians are not agreed as to the dividing line between the divine and human, the inspired and uninspired, the true and the erroneous portions of the Bible, and differ as to just what this revelation reveals; and while a large and increasing number of intelligent and thoughtful people regard the book as simply a collection of ancient writings, containing the history, traditions, and fables, the laws, proverbs, and precepts, the poetry and prophecies, the prayers and imprecations of a remarkably religious race,—why should the State assume to decide between these divergences as to the correct position, and make requirements and issue proclamations, virtually saying to one class, "You are right," and to all other classes, "You are wrong"? Rather do not justice and liberality, as well as the voice of history and the lessons of experience, teach us that the settlement of such questions should be left to time and research, the State meanwhile favoring no religious beliefs and opposing none, but protecting the adherents and the opponents of all in the enjoyment and advocacy of their views.

The *Christian Statesman* assumes that Christianity is true; that the Bible is God's word; that Jesus Christ is the ruler of nations; that therefore our national constitution should be made an evangelical document; and that, in all official acts and papers, Christianity, presumably as it is understood by the *Statesman*, should be recognized as the national faith. It believes in compulsory Christian education in our public schools, requiring all taxpayers to contribute to the support of Christianity, in excluding the testimony of "infidels" from our courts, rendering them ineligible to office and probably depriving them of the ordinary rights of citizenship. The consummation of its purpose would be the destruction of religious liberty. Of this, fortunately, there is no great danger. The present tendency, on the contrary, is toward more complete State secularization. But the *Christian Statesman* represents quite a large class of religious zealots; and there is still in this country an enormous amount of religious bigotry and intolerance, to which at times they can very successfully appeal in obstructing and delaying liberal reformatory work. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and it is well to keep an eye on these pious plotters against freedom and progress.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

It has been said that a New England man, weaned early and sent out West, makes the best type of an American. Wade, Douglass, Chandler, and Carpenter were New Englanders who made themselves Westerners by early transplantation. Senator Ingalls still lives as an illustration of what a man of Puritan stock can become in the imperial environment of the great States of the West. In a Senate too largely composed of mere millionaires, he stands out conspicuously noteworthy for high intellectual qualities. As a debater, he is eloquent, pungent, and formidable,—in fact, up to the best traditions of the United States Senate in its palmiest days, before the euroaching spirit of Mammon had lowered the senatorial standard of intellect. He went West in the Border Ruffian period of the history of his young State, when it was the debatable ground between freedom and slavery. Thus, he was trained in the very storm and stress of the slavery conflict. He went fully armed and equipped intellectually to make his mark. He is not only one of the leading debaters of the Senate, but he is a writer whose pen is in request in the pages

of our best periodicals. He is orator, scholar, and publicist, all in one. He has had two terms of service in the Senate, and is likely to be re-elected next month to serve a third term. Now that there is to be another Democratic administration after a lapse of twenty-five years, Kansas may need the services of her distinguished senator at Washington more than ever. His career serves to remind us of New England that there is an ampler, vaster New England in the great West which was settled by Yankees and indoctrinated with the New England spirit. The future triumphs of the descendants of Puritans are to be achieved, and there such New-England-born men of intellect as Senator Ingalls did well to transplant themselves in youth; for there they have found environments, physical, intellectual, moral, and political, suited to their capacity, and making possible their careers of great usefulness and honor.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

WE have received, as a specimen of Prang's Christmas cards, a set of four, representing some scarlet-robed, comical-faced Christmas elves at their merry pranks, which, however, are designed for the pleasant surprise of mortals during the festive season of joy-giving.

A FRIEND writes us, "Dr. Davidson, the most eminent Biblical scholar in England and the head and front of the Protestant scholars of the world, says *The Index* is edited with more ability than any American paper he has received, but he has no sympathy with agnosticism."

THE sanguine lessons of history have ineradicably laid down in human consciousness certain ideals. They are the guides to general peace. For man do they appear as self-knowledge, love to others, sense of duty, veracity. He whose mind has ripened in those spheres cannot be a hypocrite, a coward, a reveller, a serf, a niggard, a fanatic, a mocker. Adversity incites him not to egotistic anxiety, not to usury, but to the most energetic assistance, to a courageous defence of the common danger ere it assumes gigantic dimensions. Cowards are in *primis* those who within their walls of luxury and splendor revel in effeminate security, who but vegetate in their refined abundance as higher animals. "They have received their reward." Wealthy or poor, whoever knows no higher ideal than to eat, drink, sleep, whoever can but meet with lust and selfishness all Friendship, Love, and Beauty, is already punished, as his heart is dead to the numberless blessings which in daily intercourse with humanity enchant ever afresh the pure in mind.—*Bostoner Rundschau*.

THE following extract from an address of the president of the Milwaukee Trade Assembly, to workmen of that city, as the *Haverhill Daily Laborer*, from whose columns we take it, says, contains a lesson that has a broad application, and may be thought of with profit by members of labor organizations everywhere: "We do not take the full advantage of the means at our command to help us forward. The things that are of the utmost importance to us are scarcely noticed, while others that are useless or positively an injury to us receive too much of our attention. The opening of a variety theatre is of more interest to a majority of us than the opening of our night schools. The *Police News* and periodicals of that class have a larger circulation among our ranks than the labor journals that are published for our interest. We can talk like philosophers about a game of base ball, but have a very limited knowl-

edge of the laws of political economy or of the workings of our social system. Our billiard and pool rooms are crowded nightly, while the public reading-room has but few visitors."

HON. HARVEY N. SHEPARD, before the New England Club last Saturday, upon the occasion of their forty-first dinner in celebration of Forefathers' Day, thus referred to the Pilgrims:—

Strong in faith, cheerful in devotion, large-hearted beyond their means, wonderfully free from the superstitions of their times, social and hospitable, remarkably tolerant, they maintained the separation of Church and State, and established freedom of conscience. The first to declare the right and duty of the individual as against both Church and State, they not only claimed for themselves the right to free thought and free conscience, but also gave, willingly and ungrudgingly, to others who differed from them like respect and freedom. They did not, as the Puritans, make church membership a qualification for voting, nor prescribe severe penalties to secure absolute conformity; but, like the Catholic colonists under Lord Baltimore in Maryland, they molested no man in the free exercise of his own religion. Episcopalians, Baptists, and Antinomians, fleeing from the prisons, the whipping-posts, and even gibbets of Massachusetts Bay, found in the Old Colony a quiet home. To the Hutchinsonians, they granted a tract of land, "although they had their errors in as great dislike as" those from whence they came. To John Myles and his Baptist flock, they gave a dwelling-place and a welcome to offices of honor and power. Roger Williams they made for three years associate pastor of their church. Only two persons were ever tried for witchcraft, and they both were acquitted.

IN a recent review of Mr. Fiske's brilliant essay *The Destiny of Man*, we remarked of the author's avowed acceptance of the doctrine of immortality "as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work," that, while a belief in a Supreme Intelligence "carries with it some implication, some slight moral probability at least, that physical death is not the end of human consciousness," we could not reconcile Mr. Fiske's exuberant declaration of faith with his "repeated efforts in other works to show that morality, volition, purpose, intelligence, and consciousness are qualities which the thinker has no right to ascribe to the Ultimate Reality." We added, "Did not he claim to be still in accord with Mr. Spencer on this point, we should think his views had recently undergone a radical change." The *Commonwealth* quotes our remarks, and adds: "Mr. Underwood was bound to state, which he seems to have forgotten to do, that, whenever Mr. Fiske argues against the right of the thinker to ascribe morality, volition, purpose, and so on, to the Ultimate Reality, he is always arguing against an anthropomorphic conception of that Ultimate Reality; he is arguing always against the thinker's right to 'posit an external agency which is in the slightest degree anthropomorphic,' and to affirm of that external agency that it adequately represents the Ultimate Reality." Of course, when Mr. Fiske "argues against the right of the thinker to ascribe morality, volition, purpose, and so on, to the Ultimate Reality, he is always arguing against an anthropomorphic conception of that Ultimate Reality,"—in other words, against a conception of the Ultimate Reality which includes "morality, volition, purpose, and so on,"—a proposition so self-evident that we could not "have forgotten" and were not "bound to state" it.

IN his *Cosmic Philosophy*, Mr. Fiske endeavors to show at length that there are no grounds whatever for believing that the Ultimate Reality possesses morality, purpose, design, will, or intelligence; but that, on the contrary, the attribution of these qualities to the Ultimate Reality involves palpable absurdities. "If," he says, "harmony and fitness are to be cited as proofs of beneficent design, then discord and unfitness must equally be kept in view as

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

SECULARIZATION.

A Paper read at the Convention of the Free Religious Association at Florence, Mass., Nov. 20, 1884.

BY FREDERIC MAY HOLLAND.

This does not mean secularism or atheism or abolition of the churches. It simply means elevating them to the high position earnestly desired by their most enlightened advocates, that of institutions supported wholly by free-will offerings, and carried on with most strict deference to the sacred rights of individual liberty. In short, secularization means having the churches run by the people, and not letting them run over any of the people.

Nowhere does the nineteenth century surpass the Dark Ages more gloriously than in having put an end to burning and massacring heretics. Nothing is more to our honor as a nation than our having given up all attempt to produce uniformity in belief by the labors of hangman, sheriff, and constable. Every American can believe what he likes and disbelieve what he likes, go to church or synagogue, or stay away from all places of worship, and not have the least fear of being treated as a criminal. The constitutions of our States contain ample guarantees against persecution, and its infiction would be so utterly impossible under the light of public opinion that it makes comparatively little difference what the law-books say on the subject. There are, however, some exceptional cases in which petty persecution is still legally possible. For instance, there is the statute still in force in Massachusetts by which the credibility of a witness may be disparaged on account of disbelief in God. Pennsylvania, too, has statutes which deny people who think like Humboldt and Harriet Martineau the right to protect themselves or their friends by legal testimony. This discrimination against men and women who are too conscientious to say they believe what they do not know sufficiently, amounts to a discrimination in favor of the people willing

to swear to anything. Thus, these statutes and unconstitutional provisions might be entitled "Law to encourage Perjury and Hypocrisy." Our Massachusetts statute is, fortunately, a dead letter, which is a strong reason for its repeal. Nothing does more to weaken the authority of good laws actually in force than to adulterate them with enactments which cannot be executed, and should not be.

North Carolina stands, so far as I know, alone in saying that "all persons who shall deny the being of Almighty God shall be disqualified for office." This is a direct attack on the right of every voter to say who is most fit to guard his interests. Not many years ago, the opportunity of securing an excellent governor for North Carolina was taken away by this atrocious law. It is hard to tell whether we have more reason to blame or pity the bigotry which condemns men like Mill, Gambetta, and Humboldt as unfit for any position of public trust. To say, as six of our States have done, that clergymen should not hold office, seems to me equally contrary to the right of citizens to choose their own representatives. This latter provision is also of interest as showing that some of our wisest men have thought that the power of the Church should be checked rather than encouraged by the State. None of these disqualifications for office are in force in Massachusetts, and I presume that all legislation of this class is a dead letter everywhere. If so, it ought to be promptly buried out of sight. The same may be said of our law punishing denial of the existence or government of God, and exposing the Bible to contempt or ridicule, with imprisonment for not more than two years in state prison or a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars. Similar laws exist in other States. No one can seriously think that writers like Theodore Parker or John Stuart Mill deserve to be punished as criminals. They could have been under these laws; and so could Martin Luther for saying that the Apostle James wrote an epistle of straw, and Henry Ward Beecher for telling his congregation of the colored woman who said she liked to read the Revelation of John, for that was the only book in the Bible she really understood. Perhaps it is not safe to tell such stories. Certainly, I have no right, according to the law against blasphemy, even to remind you of Jonah and the whale or Balaam's ass. Attempts have been made to stop Ingersoll's mouth by this statute; but the fact is that it would muzzle Beecher, Talmage, Spurgeon, Collyer, and popular preachers generally. The religious newspapers, too, would be much duller than at present, and the pastoral visit lose all its charm. Nobody wants to enforce the law. Why not clear it out of the way?

A second great principle of freedom in which all our State constitutions agree is that the churches are to be sustained by free-will offerings, so that no individual is to be forced to contribute for ecclesiastical purposes, and no public money appropriated to aid sectarian enterprises. This principle, however, like that of not molesting individuals on account of unbelief, has not yet been carried out consistently. The question whether church schools are to be aided by the State has been settled forever within our own remembrance, and after a struggle in which the founder of *The Index* took a prominent part. There are laws actually in force in nearly all the States, which annually invade the right of every citizen to his property by compelling him to make contributions for sectarian purposes. Churches are exempted from taxation, and this is increased just so much for the owners of other property. The poor man's house or shop has to pay the expense to the State of protecting costly shrines for the exclusive bene-

evidences of less admirable contrivance. A scheme which permits thousands of generations to live and die in wretchedness cannot, merely by providing for the well-being of later ages, be absolved from the alternative charge of awkwardness or malevolence. If there exist a personal Creator of the Universe, who is infinitely intelligent and powerful, he cannot be infinitely good; if, on the other hand, he be infinite in goodness, then he must be lamentably finite in power or in intelligence."

"In short, there can be no hypothesis of a 'moral government' of the world which does not implicitly assert an immoral government [the italics are Mr. Fiske's]. As soon as we seek to go beyond the process of Evolution disclosed by science, and posit an External Agency which is in the slightest degree anthropomorphic [that has will or intelligence], we are obliged either to supplement and limit this Agency by a second one that is diabolic, or else to include elements of diabolism in the character of the first Agency itself." "When we speak of intelligence, we either mean nothing at all, or we mean that which we know as intelligence. But that which we know as intelligence implies a circumscribed and limited form of being, adapting its internal processes to other processes going on beyond its limits." "It is the primitive fetichistic habit of thought, however modified by conflict with scientific habits, which furtively leads us to regard volition as supplying the nexus between cause and effect, and to interpret the harmonious correspondence in nature as results of creative contrivance and indications of creative purpose." Again, "The unconditioned Source of the phenomena which we distinguish as material may well be neither quasi-psychical nor quasi-material." Thus, it is seen that in *Cosmic Philosophy*, Mr. Fiske—agreeing with Spencer, whose philosophy he accepts and ably expounds—argues against the right of the thinker to ascribe to the Ultimate Reality any moral or mental qualities whatever; and, from that stand-point, we repeat, Mr. Fiske's argument in favor of immortality based upon "the reasonableness of God's work" is inconsistent and absurd. Accepting the hypothesis of an intelligent and moral Author of the universe, one may consistently argue from the beneficent nature of that Author in favor of immortality; but if he denies our right, as Mr. Fiske does, to ascribe goodness or intelligence to the Ultimate Reality, and declares it to be unknowable, of what value is an argument based upon its character?

For The Index.

THE AGNOSTIC VIEW.

I bow to no concept of haughty man,
No tyrant in the skies, no trinity
Of manlike gods whose will created me
A slave, to struggle through life's fitful span
And offer up eternal prayers. The plan
Of all the holy creeds I fling from me
As vain and idle thought, base imagery
Of that we cannot know. I cannot scan
This mighty cosmos,—space and world and star,
And life on countless globes so wondrous, vast,
Through time's grand cycles in majestic flight,
I cannot see, feel, know all things that are,
And bow to such as these,—ghosts of the past,
Huge shadows of ourselves that flee the light!

To this I bow: the Infinite Energy
That lives in all, that breathes throughout all space;
The Self-existent, in whose wide embrace
The myriad worlds revolve in swarms, and we
Are born, grow old, and die. Philosophy,
In its sublime research, no words can trace
Whereby the mind may grasp its vastness. Place,
Time, cause, design, Lord, God, or Deity
Are transient, earth-born things. Its laws are sure
And steadfast through eternity; they guide
The stars, and people worlds with life; they teach
Me wisdom, truth, and right, what shall endure,
What perish, all that man can know this side
The silent grave: beyond, no thought can reach.

C. F. DE MOTT.

fit of the rich. Only those churches whose seats are free can, with any propriety, be called public charities. No building can be called a public charity which is not open to public use. And there may still be a question whether an institution carried on mainly for sectarian ends, however openly, is so plainly a public charity that its taxes should be remitted by the State. There are many so-called charitable societies which are only sectarian enterprises, carried on with too little regard for the general welfare to deserve exemption from taxation. Why should men be forced to contribute toward the expenses of any society, whether openly religious or ostensibly charitable, whose main object is not to lessen the number of paupers or criminals or sufferers, but to increase that of Episcopalians or Methodists or Baptists? Corporations are said to have no souls; and their intentions are not necessarily so holy as to exempt them from taxation, merely because they call themselves charitable and religious. Only the unsectarian charities can justly claim State aid. So, again, the salaries of chaplains in the legislature, army, prisons, and other public institutions, are paid in violation of the principle that no money can justly be collected from the citizen except for the general good. Does the welfare of the community require that the murderer be taught to say, as he mounts the scaffold, that he is going straight to heaven, and that he wishes the spectators were as sure to go there as he is? Are the prayers which usually open the legislative sessions anything but an empty form? Are not the clergymen who live in the neighborhood of the hospitals, poorhouses, and prisons, able and willing to visit such of the inmates as desire it? And is it not better that each inmate should have the right to see a minister of his own faith than that a representative of one single sect should be sent by the State to men and women holding hostile views? All the money thus paid by individuals in consequence of the employment of chaplains and the exemption of churches and sectarian charities is taken unjustly by the State, and the amount is great enough to justify vigorous agitation. The plainest case of extortion is the exemption of churches, which costs every tax-payer in Massachusetts, on the average, a dollar annually, and increases all taxes about one and a half per cent. Some of us are trying to have the churches left wholly to that amply sufficient revenue which flows in readily from voluntary support. They will stand all the stronger and nobler when they are placed wholly on this basis, as is the case in California. They cannot teach pure morality, if they refuse to pay the State what they owe it for protecting their property. They do not follow Him who came to preach to the poor and the outcasts, to publicans and sinners, if they devote themselves to pleasing the wealthy and respectable, and therefore spend money so profusely that they can steer clear of bankruptcy only by keeping the publican—that is to say, the tax-gatherer—out. We propose to have the publican let into the Church. Massachusetts is already acting more justly than some other States, in taxing religious societies for all their property not actually used in public worship. We ask the State to go one step further, and tax all church property without exception.

A third great doctrine of liberty is universally recognized by the States of our Union, in declaring that no preference is to be shown by the law to any sect or church. But here, too, we have not yet been able to live up to our principles. Our Sunday laws, for instance, show a decided preference for the opinion of a few sects over that of sensible people generally. Massachusetts may justly be required to cease to set up ten-dollar

and fifty-dollar fines, like scarecrows, against working, travelling, hunting, fishing, dancing, going to the theatre, etc. There is no object more proper for petitions from all the States than to have our letters as promptly and frequently carried and delivered on Sunday as during the rest of the week. It is a mockery of religion as well as of justice to have Sunday set apart as a day on which a man who will not pay his debts can show himself in public without danger of legal process. The law invalidating contracts made on Sunday seems to take it for granted that the best way to save men's souls is for the State to curtail their chances to save their property. There are possibilities of real injustice to honest people, suggested by the story of the young man who repudiated his matrimonial engagement, because it was a Sunday contract. I am willing and desirous to have Sunday a holiday, but I think it would remain so without the existing laws.

We all know, too, that the Anglican version of the Bible is used in our public schools, and not as a text-book or a means of teaching morality, but as a symbol of religion, a sacrament. And this is an unconstitutional discrimination, not only against the Baptist, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic translations, but also against the disbelief of the Jews in the New Testament, as well as against the strong conviction of all Roman Catholics and free thinkers as well as many Unitarians, that the Bible is wholly out of place in a public school. The Roman Catholic, of course, wishes no religious instruction or influences for his children except from his own priest; and his feelings are what ours would be, if we were asked to send pupils to a school where prayers were offered to the Virgin or worship was regularly observed according to Jewish, Moslem, or Mormon ritual. It is greatly to the credit of the Roman Catholics that they have been so patient under this injustice. No wonder that they keep on asking for schools in the interest of their Church, when the Protestant insists so obstinately, not only on his Bible, but on his most sectarian hymns. In fact, the hymns have much more effect than the Bible; and it is strange that liberal people can quietly suffer so much Orthodoxy to be openly taught their children at their own cost. It is high time for us to say plainly that reading the Bible in the unrevised version, and following it up with orthodox hymns, is simply using public money for sectarian propaganda, and no longer to be allowed. Extracts from the Bible might properly be employed in ethical culture; but the sacramental use of the Bible, according to the custom followed in the churches, cannot be permitted to teachers paid by general taxation. So clearly unconstitutional are our school laws in this respect that we may any day see the practice abolished by a decision of the Supreme Court of some State whose citizens press the issue.

Such a compulsory shutting up of the controversy is, however, much less desirable than to have it satisfactorily ended, after full discussion, by the free choice of the voters, ordaining that sectarian preferences shall henceforth be excluded from our public schools. The observance of Thanksgiving and Fast Day is certainly in the interest of those citizens who belong to the so-called evangelical sects rather than of those who do not, and who usually have good reason to protest against the wording of the proclamation. The most objectionable case of sectarian preference, however, besides the religious use of the Bible in our schools, is the compulsory observance of Sunday. Let us hasten the time when all sects and religions shall become fully equal before the law.

If those provisions of our state constitutions

which guarantee that no preference shall be given to one form of faith above another, that public money shall not be appropriated for sectarian purposes, and that peaceable citizens shall not be molested on account of their belief or unbelief, were really carried out consistently, we should have no more laws discriminating against the credibility or capacity for office of atheists and agnostics, punishing honest and manly expression of opinion as blasphemy, forbidding Sunday travel or labor, increasing individual taxation on account of the exemption of churches and employment of chaplains, and presenting a sectarian translation of the Bible for the religious reverence of the children in our public schools. All this part of the great war for religious freedom can be waged on constitutional ground. A word or two of the letter of the constitutions may here and there have to be improved, but their free spirit will thus become only more clearly manifest.

There is a fourth principle, however, which is not adequately recognized by the constitutions of any of our States. Their framers, while willing that there should be no superiority of sect to sect, were in general desirous that there should be a decided preference expressed for religion in some shape over irreligion. Thus, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Massachusetts plainly declare that it is the duty of every man to worship God. Most of the constitutions begin by acknowledging his existence; and there is not a single State which does not sanction the taking of oaths, and thus declare that religious hopes and fears have a higher claim on the conscience than the moral law, which bids us speak the truth always without regard to self-interest. Our law should say with Shakspeare:—

"I'll take thy word for faith, not ask thy oath:
Who shuns not to break one will sure crack both."

The State has no business to try to teach theology. Government exists for the political good of the governed, not the spiritual welfare. No State can have any just authority over the soul. The first duty of the State is to protect the lives and property of the citizens. Some high authorities, like Herbert Spencer, argue that it has no right to do anything more; for the liberty of each has no just limit but the equal liberty of all. If that is the case, the State has nothing to say about religion. Perhaps we may cautiously advance a little farther on rather dangerous ground, and admit that the State has a right to raise money to keep up roads, bridges, schools, public libraries, and a few other institutions open to all citizens, without regard to their religious peculiarities, and plainly serviceable to the whole community, doing for each citizen what no one can do so well for himself. The peculiarity of religion, however, is that each soul can best minister to its own needs. Does the Roman Catholic seek to have his spiritual wants relieved by those whom he calls heretics? Does the Protestant look for light to the Church of Rome, or the come-outer to any sect or church? Does the Jew want Christians to provide for his religious needs? What can a State in which the ruling majority is Protestant do for Jews or come-outers or Roman Catholics, except to leave them alone? Only when the State keeps on its own ground, and lets the churches and synagogues take care of their interests without a word of preference, does it hold the position which most surely entitles it to the love of all its citizens. It is the State which has no religious aims or preferences which can most confidently ask for the support and reverence of all the people, without distinction on account of belief or unbelief. The welfare of the State demands that it stand above all religious differences and sectarian strifes. And thus it becomes the fountain of laws which all

good men wish to enforce, the throne of moral authority which all citizens, even the wicked, must alike revere. Is the State to step down from this high position, in order to prop up the churches? All experience has shown that the churches are most pure and useful when they owe their whole support to those who believe in them sincerely and disinterestedly. It is not likely that the churches will be given up, at least for many centuries; but it is highly important for the whole community that they should prosper in proportion to their services to the people, and should not to the smallest extent be kept up by public money and patronage, contributed as a matter of course, whether they deserve it or not. Let every church live on what its own members offer, and do what it can in return to give them heavenly riches. Let the State confine itself to taking care of our earthly interests. This is certainly all that our Presidents and Governors and Legislatures are able to attend to; and, if they seek to do more, it can be only to accomplish less. All history shows that when the Church has been most lavishly pampered and patronized by the State she has been most corrupt. Our prosperity as a nation has been largely due to our increasing success in making the Church and State each stand squarely on its own ground and do its work without interfering with the other's privileges. All our legislation must ultimately be brought into conformity with the principle of complete independence of Church and State. This result is as loudly called for by the economic law of division of labor as by the great principle of religious liberty. The true interest of both State and Church requires that each should take full possession of its own peculiar field.

Deeply religious men, like Harris, Garfield, Bryant, Collyer, Savage, and Hale, have spoken earnestly for the complete separation of Church and State. The first organized effort in America began when one of the purest and noblest of reformers, Francis E. Abbot, announced in *The Index* for Jan. 4, 1873, those nine Demands of Liberalism soon to be incorporated in the Liberal League. They run thus:—

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts, shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that, not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

These demands cover substantially the same ground as this essay. Why they were not pressed by the Liberal League, and why that society has

lost many of its best members, I need not say here. If the League will prosecute vigorously its legitimate work of secularization, and drop other issues, I shall gladly overlook the past. Neither that organization nor another, which has unfortunately done nothing but publish an admirable pamphlet, "The Provisional National Association for the Secularization of the State," can do more, however, than might be accomplished by the Free Religious Association. It is nearly twenty years since it began its great work of purifying religion and binding all who profess its various forms together in bonds of brotherhood. This has already been so far accomplished that the most zealous members have often asked, "Cannot the Free Religious Association do something more?" Last summer, the *Christian Register* inquired, "What is your organization going to do, which cannot be done better by the American Unitarian Association?" The members of the Free Religious Association can answer, We are going to secularize the State. We expect much help from Unitarians, but we are aware that some of them are unwilling to aid us; and we are sure that the American Unitarian Association will not consider this any part of its legitimate work. We are united in our desire to increase religious liberty, and to sweep away all laws which infringe upon it, whether by compelling unwilling contributions for sectarian purposes, by discrediting atheists in court, by enforcing Sabbatarianism, by excluding unbelievers from office, by punishing free speech as blasphemy, or by setting up the Bible to be worshipped in our public schools. All these abuses must be reformed before religion can be called really free. Our constitutions and statute-books must be purified, not only of these relics of the Dark Ages, but of all phrases requiring the observance of Sunday and the taking of oaths. Expression of faith in the divine existence may be highly proper elsewhere, but it can have no place in the official utterances of the State. In order to free religion from governmental control, we must confine the State to its legitimate business of protecting life, liberty, and property, and doing simply what we all wish to have done, but none of us can do well enough for ourselves.

These great reforms lie before us. It may take a century to carry them out; and, when they are accomplished, our Association can still find work enough to do. An endless and glorious future lies before its members, rather let me say before all who believe in liberty and morality, who love freedom of thought and speech, who delight in reform and progress. But let us not look so far into the future as to overlook the pressing reforms that stand close at hand. Two petitions have been prepared by the Secularization Committee of the Free Religious Association, as authorized at the annual meeting, in hope of hastening on reforms for which some of us have already asked in vain, and for which we shall keep on asking until justice triumphs. These petitions ask the taxation of churches and the repeal of the statute discrediting the testimony of unbelievers. I invite all who believe in these reforms to help me circulate the petitions. I beg those who really feel an interest in this work to assist it by pecuniary aid. I implore all my friends to keep, not only these special measures, but the general interests of secularization dear to their hearts. The struggle with vested interests must be long and bitter, but victory is only waiting to crown the champions of freedom and justice.

Who best can suffer best can do.—*Milton*.

ALL true work of a man, hang the author of it on what gibbet you like, must, and will, accomplish itself.—*Carlyle*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE WAY TO IMPROVE THE RACE.

Editors of The Index:—

What one knows and can do may be very short of what one is capable of knowing and doing. There being no truth more universal of the race than the above, the practical and foremost duty of the day is not one of breeding a higher type of man so much as one that will enable men to use more effectually the talents they already possess. If there is a demand for a higher type of the human race, the way to meet this demand most successfully is in making the very best provision possible for the present type of humanity. If the children of the world were properly fed, clothed, and sheltered, and educated, and trained to habits of industry and true recognitions of each other's rights and duties, they would be so far above their parents that they would claim to be born of their teachers. JOEL DINSMORE.

DISCRIMINATION.

Editors of The Index:—

I read years ago Burnap's paper on discriminating between principles, opinions, and phraseologies, and was edified by it. I ask now the question whether we should not discriminate between the character of Jesus and his mistakes.

In all human history, we know of no better instance of unbounded love than that of Jesus. The happiness of mankind depends very largely upon indiscriminate love,—love for the good and the bad, love for one and all. We will sing joy to the world for the character of Jesus. But, if his mistakes had died with him, as they do with most of mankind; if his admirers had discriminated between his character and his mistakes,—we should not have had so much bigotry, intolerance, fanaticism, and wretchedness. All his mistakes have been adopted and perpetuated as of equal importance with his character. His mistakes concerning poverty, his Messiahship, his second coming, the doom of the wicked, the necessity of baptism, the supremacy of Caesar, the existence of Satan and of demons, have been foundations and authorities most tenaciously upheld by conflicting sects. Mankind will not become a mutual admiration society, with love one for another, until they shall discriminate between the character of Jesus and his mistakes. W. G. BABCOCK.

RELIGION A JOYFUL THING.—A correspondent of the *Montreal Times*, whom we take to be Capt. R. C. Adams, is writing very pleasant descriptions of what he has seen and heard in making the rounds of the churches of that city. At the St. James Street Methodist Church, he lately heard Mrs. Pearson, a handsome English lady, speak from the pulpit. "To watch," he says, "her glowing, rosy cheeks, bright eyes, pearly teeth, as she utters the terrors of hell and damnation, the warning seems almost pleasurable; and, when she appeals to you with a beaming smile to come to Jesus, you feel you would like to do so, just to oblige so charming a lady. But, as a terrifier of sinners, she is not powerful; for the tale of woe from such a cheery face makes one feel that the speaker really cannot believe that God is going to torment forever the vast multitude who do not believe or have not believed in Jesus as the only Saviour." After praising the music, the correspondent relates what he saw after the service: "David said he did not understand certain things till he 'went into the sanctuary,' but it was when I came out of the sanctuary that I got light as to why young people go to church. The young men gathered in a line opposite the doors; and I counted at one time forty-three on the curbstone, and others were on the steps against the houses. Occasionally, one stepped up to a blushing maiden, and, hooking his hand under her arm, escorted her away in the bright moonlight, doubtless to discuss sacred themes. A merry laugh came back, showing that the young pair heartily indorsed Mrs. Pearson's statement that religion is a joyful thing. The exit of beauty was closed by a very tall young girl, who stopped to converse with a taller young man, who had immense buttons in two rows on his coat, possibly a policeman. One of the few young men who had not found a mate then turned to his comrade and sadly said, 'Well, it is all over now!'

They moved to the next corner and said, 'Let's wait till that tall girl comes along.' I passed them and went up the hill, with a stream of young ladies, each being helped up the toilsome ascent by a strong hand placed under her arm; while cheerful voices showed that the sermon had not occasioned any alarm as to future torments. I reflected. Here is one great secret of church-going. Is it not a good feature of an institution that it provides so much social enjoyment, and such opportunities for the promotion of acquaintance between young people? Only let proper instruction be given upon such occasions, and all will favor the preservation of the Church, as a useful factor in social and mental progress."

BOOK NOTICES.

JOHN ADAMS. "American Statesmen" Series. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price \$1.25.

Mr. Morse has given us in these three hundred and thirty pages, in addition to a well-written biography of the second President of the United States, a compact, impartial, succinct history of the causes that led to the revolt of the American colonies against the claims of Great Britain, the ultimate success of the fight for independence, and a vivid picture of the state of American politics in the years immediately following that hard-won success. The biography strikes the reader as a remarkably conscientious piece of literary work. The faults as well as the virtues of the old patriot are clearly shown and commented upon. His rashness, impetuosity, egotism, and jealousy of his contemporaries are shown to be not in the least incompatible with his sincere patriotism, unswerving honesty, sagacious statesmanship, untiring industry, and sturdy independence of thought on all matters, including religion. There is a warning lesson conveyed to all ambitious youths in this record of a singularly successful and brilliant life, exhibiting as it does how full of hard work, turmoil, disappointment, and annoyances the most apparently glorious careers are capable of being. A leading member of the first American Congress, one of the committee chosen to draft the Declaration of Independence, thrice appointed as the representative of America to foreign nations, elected to the first Vice-Presidency and made the second President of the United States, in addition to various smaller honors, one would think his cup of happiness had been full to overflowing; and yet that he was far from being satisfied the record of his life plainly evidences. Every high office brought with it its own peculiar inconveniences, trials, and hardships. There is no effort at fine writing in this work. Its style is plain, lucid, and sensible; but it is admirably well fitted to give just and true ideas as to the beginnings of this government to young students of history. S. A. U.

OUR GREAT BENEFACTORS. Short biographies of the Men and Women most eminent in Literature, Science, Philanthropy, etc. Edited by Samuel Adams Drake. With nearly one hundred portraits emblematically embellished. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884.

Mr. Drake is an unwearied book-maker; and, in the present instance, he has resorted, as did Raphael and other famous artists, to a company of under-workers in the performance of his work. Few, if any, of the biographical sketches are his own. They are "the joint production of many writers," and are of unequal value. The scheme of the work is Mr. Drake's, and it is well conceived. What is aimed at is "an abstract and brief chronicle" of the most helpful men who have been active since the introduction of the art of printing. No strictly military heroes are admitted. Literature and art furnish the greatest company. It contains some whose places might have been better filled,—Hannah More, but not George Eliot; Southey, but not Tennyson! Some who are here with fullest right seem to demand the presence of others. Why Dickens and not Thackeray? Why Longfellow and not Emerson? Theodore Parker and John Brown are conspicuously absent from the department of "Philanthropy." In "Philosophy," we have Roger but not Francis Bacon! And Immanuel Kant is wanting, though his philosophical profundity does not prevent his being the subject of a very interesting personal sketch. Other omissions might be named; but it would be ungracious to name them where so much is given, and generally that which

could not be left out. The book is one for boys to read. They cannot learn too soon something about these benefactors of the race. The portraits are not flattering; and the way in which they are "emblematically embellished" is not beautiful, though it is ingenious in some instances. The omission of Darwin's name from the catalogue of "Science" is an omission so astonishing that we have reserved the mention of it for our closing word.

THE Almanac issued in the joint interests of physical and mental culture by the Freidenker Publishing Company of Milwaukee, and entitled *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender*, is animated by a strong and noble purpose to bring the German and American elements of our nation into a closer harmony, which will enable them to exchange reciprocally their advanced ideas of political and religious freedom. Few Americans can show such complete freedom from superstition and bigotry as may be found in this little pamphlet, joined with healthy moral feeling and a lively, good-natured humor, free from all irreverence. The poetry is particularly good; and the extracts from Heinezen are remarkably interesting, as are those in that companion volume, already noticed in these columns, the *Freidenker-Almanach*. It is to be observed that the reading matter in the two works is wholly distinct, except the few introductory pages which ought to be in every Almanac. The calendar proper, or list of days, designed for the Turners, has the advantage of being in better type than is used in its companion. Either can be obtained for 25 cents, and will be found of great value, not only as an astronomical guide and a help to learn German, but as a teacher of the most completely developed truth.

READERS of the *Art Amateur* for December naturally looked first for criticisms on two important artistic exhibitions open during November,—the pictures of Mr. George Fred. Watts in New York and the illustrations of the Persian Poems of Omar Khayyam by Elihu Vedder in Boston. They will find a very interesting account of Mr. Watts and his pictures, with two good woodcuts. This painter seems to have stepped out of conventional ruts, and to express his ideas with originality and force; but we have not had the opportunity of seeing the pictures here, as we yet hope to do. The English school should be fully known in all its varied character. Greta gives a flippant notice of Vedder's pictures, which by no means does justice to these original and profound creations. Mr. Vedder has caught the spirit of the Oriental poems, which, while seemingly expressing only the lightest Epicureanism, bring out rich overtones of thought and philosophy, so that they are counted by some as religious poems. So Vedder's pictures, while giving the bacchanal laughter which mocks at the earnestness of life, present such depth and beauty in other forms and faces as to reveal the spiritual permanence which underlies the transitoriness of mortal appearances. We wish the Art Museum could secure these remarkable drawings, so that they might be thoroughly seen by all who are interested in American art. Art Hints and Dates contain admirable suggestions to the young artist, as, "It is a great mistake to try to put into a drawing more than your eye sees in the original," and others on "The Use of the Claude Lorraine Glass," on "Saving Palette Scrapings," and on "The Preservation of Sketches." Practical Lessons in Wood Engraving, Modelling, Architecture, and Decorations are continued, and many new publications noticed. We are grateful to the publishers for not giving us a Christmas number of hackneyed sentimentalities. We wish them a prosperous and happy New Year.

THE contents of the December number of the *Popular Science Monthly* are as follows: "The Reformation in Time-keeping," by W. F. Allen (illustrated); "American Aspects of Anthropology," by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.; "School-culture of the Observing Faculties," by J. C. Glashaw; "Queer Flowers," by Grant Allen; "Alcoholic Trance," by T. D. Crothers, M.D.; "The Problem of Universal Suffrage," by Alfred Fouillée; "Cannibalism as a Custom," by A. St. Johnston; "Starvation: Its Moral and Physical Effects," by Nathaniel E. Davies, L.R.C.P.; "The Chemistry of Cookery," by W. Mattieu Williams; "The Perils of Rapid Civilization," by C. F. With-

ington, M.D.; "Religion and the Doctrine of Evolution," by Frederick Temple, D.D.; "Liquefaction of the Elementary Gases," by Jules Jamin; "The Oil Supply of the World," II.; "Oddities of Animal Character"; "Biographical Sketch of Edward B. Tylor" (with portrait); "Correspondence," "Editor's Table"; "Science in School Management"; "The Abuse of Political Power"; "A Jewish Explanation of Jewish Success," "Literary Notices," "Popular Miscellany," "Notes."

THE frontispiece of the Christmas *Wide Awake* is a reproduction in eighteen colors, by Louis Prang & Co., of a water-color by F. H. Lungren, a Merry Christmas Scene. In addition to this, the holiday season is duly referred to in the articles: "Wonderful Christmases of Old," by Hezekiah Butterworth, with ten illustrations by Lungren; "How Christmas Cards are made," by M. E. Hollingsworth, with seven illustrations by E. H. Garrett; the poems, "Christmas Day," by Susan Coolidge, "A Christmas Carol," by Mary E. Wilkins, "December," by M. E. B.; and the pictures, "The Christ Child" and "A Christmas Carol," by Hassam. There are also excellent contributions by Charles Egbert Craddock, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Edwin Arnold, Mrs. Lizzie W. Champney, Annie Sawyer Downs, Rose G. Kingsley, Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, E. E. Hale, Sarah W. Whitman, Prof. A. B. Palmer, Yan Phou Lee, and other writers.

THE *Unitarian Review* for December contains the following articles: "The Unties of Unitarianism," by Rev. James T. Birby; "The Hebrew Prophets," by Rev. R. P. Stebbins, D.D.; "The Revised Version and its Marginal Renderings," by N. S. Folsom, D.D.; "The Father of English Protestantism," by Rev. Nicholas P. Gilman; "Wiclif," by Rev. F. W. Holland; "None Other Name," by Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D. "Schleiermacher's Sermons" are noticed at length in "Things at Home and Abroad."

THE Christmas or December number of *St. Nicholas* is in no wise an unworthy tribute to the patron saint of the holidays from whom it takes its name. Pictures, poems, and stories are all excellent, and the outcome of excellent brains. These are some of the writers who make this number of an always brilliant magazine for young folks well worth a year's contribution: among poets, John G. Whittier, "H. H.," Lucy Larcom, and Christina G. Rossetti; among prose writers, Louisa M. Alcott, Mary Halleck Foote, H. H. Boyesen, Frank R. Stockton, J. T. Trowbridge, Edna Dean Proctor, and Mary Mapes Dodge.

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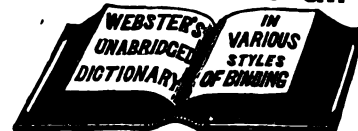
"Now, the whole force of this case depends upon the assertion of Goldwin Smith that Dr. Van Buren Denslow is a disciple of Herbert Spencer. But the assertion is not true in any sense or in any degree. On the contrary, Dr. Denslow is an open antagonist of Mr. Spencer. His essay on Spencer's Philosophy, first published in the Chicago Times, while speaking of the man in the usual terms of perfunctory compliment, as have also Goldwin Smith and the Saturday Review, is adverse, carping, and depreciatory on every point that he considers. The criticism was regarded as so damaging that Spencer's friends were told they must reply to it or forever hold their peace; and we were confidently assured that the last we should ever hear of Spencer's system was the thud of the clods that Denslow had thrown upon its coffin."—Prof. Youmans, in Popular Science Monthly and in Introduction to Current American Edition of the Data of Ethics.

Stephen Pearl Andrews, as political executor of the late Thomas Paine, is as fiercely indignant at Mr. Denslow's analysis of Paine's politics as Prof. Youmans is at his assault on Spencer's Philosophy. On the other hand, George Jacob Holyoake speaks of the analysis of Paine's political philosophy as "the most masterly refutation of it extant, without showing in his words or in his mind any enmity against the great agitator whom he confutes."

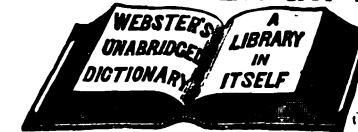
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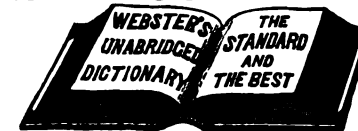
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THE INDEX

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VOL. XVI., OLD SERIES.—NO. 784.
VOL. V., NEW SERIES.—NO. 27.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1885.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE Montreal Free Thought Club has happily utilized the present mania for holiday cards by issuing for popular distribution very handsome Christmas and New Year cards, of refined designs, accompanied by verses or sentiments inculcating liberal thought from Thomas Paine, R. C. Adams, Hattie Tyng Griswold, and other writers. A good idea!

"THE Brotherhood of Thieves; or, A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy," a letter, by the late Stephen S. Foster to Nathaniel Barney of Nantucket, has been republished by the author's old co-worker, Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N.H. The reprint is a close facsimile of the original in form and general appearance. It was originally published in 1843, and was a powerful weapon in the anti-slavery armory.

At a meeting of the Liberal Union Club, held at Young's Hotel last Saturday evening, Dr. W. T. Harris spoke in favor of excluding the Bible from our public schools. Col. T. W. Higginson urged the importance of working for the repeal of the law in this State, under which the testimony of the atheist is liable to be discredited; and Mr. F. M. Holland pointed out the injustice of exempting church property from taxation. Brief remarks were made by Judge Holmes, George W. Stevens, D. H. Clark, J. H. Wiggin, Cornelius Wellington, and others.

THE *Herald* of this city thinks the pope was not in a Christmas mood on the glad anniversary. "There was," it says, "no trace of 'peace on earth, good will to men,' in his reply to the Christmas congratulations of the cardinals. His holiness 'deplored the abnormal position of the papal see, vigorously censured the Protestants for their machinations,' rebuked the liberal press, and denounced the divorce laws submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. Another day than Christmas

would have been more appropriate for these pessimistic deliverances. It would do the pope good to get out of the twilight of the papal palace and take a tour through the United States."

REFERRING to the Delmonico dinners,—in celebration by our wealthy respectability, Conservatism and Orthodoxy, of "the starveling band of despised come-outers who settled at Plymouth,"—the *Boston Transcript* observes: "It is well for self-satisfied respectability and conservatism to pay the tribute of veneration to radical come-outism, even that of a couple of hundred years gone by, and even though it may never occur to them that the come-outism of to-day may be similarly honored in the generations that are to come. It must needs result in a little loosening of the soil, hard trodden by the feet that blindly follow leadership. As for the come-outers and independents, whether those of two hundred years ago or those of to-day, it is the very law of their being that they never care much what others say. If they did, they would never leave the regular religion or the regular party."

THE Christmas and New Year's Cards for this season issued by Louis Prang & Co., the pioneers and leaders in this business, seem to have reached the acme of perfection in the different departments. Looking over a specimen collection of these cards, one is lost in wonder at the variety in form, the wide range of artistic yet appropriate design, the wonderful combination of colors, and withal the delicacy of finish in most of them. This year, Mr. Prang has, at great expense, called to his aid the best attainable artistic talent. Among those who have contributed designs to this season's productions are such artists as G. B. Le Fanu, J. W. Champney, Walter Satterlee, W. Hamilton Gibson, W. H. Beard, Dora Wheeler, A. F. Bellows, Mrs. Sarah E. Whitman, Harry Beard, Miss L. B. Humphrey, E. B. Bensill, Mrs. E. T. Fisher, Miss F. Bridges, A. Sandier, W. L. Taylor, Mrs. O. E. Whitney, Geo. Merwanjee White, Miss L. B. Comins, Mrs. M. B. O. Fowler, J. F. Murphy, Miss V. Gerson, H. Giacomelli, and H. Winthrop Peirce.

SAYS the *Springfield Republican*: "Oliver Johnson desires that there shall be no legislative chaplain appointed henceforth, for reasons reverential to Christianity and the usage of prayer; and he proposes that, instead of the perfunctory opening with prayer, the Christian members of any legislature substitute a daily devotional meeting of an hour or half an hour, to be held in the legislative halls, thereby 'to quicken the consciences of the tempted, to abate partisan feeling, and promote a public sentiment favorable to just legislation.' He thinks 'men holding bribes would flee in dismay' from a legislature so protected with spiritual preparation and the answering presence of God, and asks which of the State legislatures will be first to try his plan." Think of it! The average legislature of these days spending an hour or half an hour at a daily devotional meeting! "Men holding bribes," instead of fleeing in dismay, would be the most regular attendants at such meetings,

and would make the "devotional" feeling in many cases subserve their evil purposes. What we need in legislators is intelligence, education, common sense, and strict attention to the public interests. The legislative hall is no place for a "devotional meeting." It is the place for public business, for the public good. Perhaps Mr. Johnson would have a *silent* devotion of an hour or half an hour! That would, in one respect, be an improvement on the ordinary prayer of the chaplain; but it would involve the infliction of unmerited punishment upon some, and might increase the power of mischief of others, for

"Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do."

THE unjust and cruel treatment of the Chinese in this country is not limited to those communities in which the Chinese question is a burning social problem. In this city, assaults are made upon them frequently; and the protection afforded them by the police, of which they are greatly in need, owing to a disposition of roughs to persecute them, is less than is given to any other class of our population. In some instances that have fallen under our notice, the policemen called upon showed indifference to the assaults, if not in sympathy with the assailants. E. Toy, an American citizen of Chinese birth, in business in this city, writes thus to the *Boston Daily Herald*: "It seems to me very queer and unjust that a hard-working Chinaman and citizen cannot be protected from the many depredations committed on him by the hoodlums who make his life miserable. A week ago last Sunday, a pane of glass in my store, No. 37 Broadway extension, valued at \$5, was broken. I immediately went in search of an officer. As I was going along the extension, I was attacked by the mob which had by this time collected. In the scrimmage that followed, I received a black eye. In addition to this, I had \$28.50 stolen from my inside coat pocket. The party who committed the assault I had arrested, and I thought that I would have redress in the municipal court; but, for some reason or other, this party was discharged. Seven years out of the eighteen which I have spent in the United States, I have been in business in this city. Three years ago, I was naturalized, and hold my papers to-day. Now, I do not speak for myself, but also for the rest of my countrymen, who are troubled in the same manner. It seems to me that we who are the least source of trouble to the Commonwealth should be protected." The ill-usage of the Chinese living in this city shows that there is a public opinion which is either uninformed or callous to wrong done repeatedly to a small class of the community for no other reason than that they are Chinese and have methods of living differing in some respects from our own. We have read much about the Chinese's hatred of foreigners, whose ill-treatment in the interior of China is often mentioned as an indication that the people are on a "low plane of civilization." Had we not better turn our attention to some of the indications that the "plane" we are on is not the highest possible?

NEW YEAR'S PROSPECTING.

It is the wont of *The Index* to pass from the old year to the new, and from one volume to another, without specially marking the transition. It has no new prospectus to issue and does not reprint an old one. Several of its "esteemed contemporaries," of various religious persuasions, have contracted the habit of coming out at this holiday season with a special number in gay-colored covers, and with a good deal of promise concerning the future, and not a little self-complacent glorification over their enterprise. We do not call in question their right to this species of self-celebration,—to this holiday tone and attire: though we have noticed that generally they fall into the old gait again soon after the new year is entered, and then we have thought that, after all, the old gait is best, unless some of the new promises can really be fulfilled. Even our usually staid and sober neighbor, the *Christian Register*, which is approaching its threescore years and ten, appeared this season in the disguise of a garb verging toward "yellow-covered literature," and of cosmetics that happily but ill concealed its wise and venerable age. *The Index* has not such friskiness of nature, but keeps its steady mien and its own natural every-day dress through Christian and Roman Saturnalias and Easter festivals and all the denominational carnivals. Though still young in years, it aspires to that rational kind of dignity and authority of which it is said that "wisdom is the gray hairs unto men." None the less, *The Index* wishes all its religious contemporaries, whatever be the color of their covers or their creeds,—blue, green, red, or yellow,—a Happy New Year; and also all the success, not perhaps that they may wish, but (we will be sincere) all that they deserve and rightly earn!

With this amiable and considerate spirit toward all the rest of the world, *The Index* has, however, on this New Year's day something to say for itself. This is its fifteenth birthday. Its most sensitive friends will excuse it, therefore, if to-day it departs from its usual modest reticence, and talks a little of its own aims, desires, and ambitions. It has, indeed, no new promises to make, but frankly asks that expectations of its future, at least for the coming year, be measured by its present performance; and it has the assurance to think that this will give ample ground, not only for its holding the place it now has with its constituency, but for its presenting increased claims to the attention of the liberal public. If compliments—and compliments from sources which make them mean something—would pay printers' bills, *The Index* would have a fine fund in bank to draw upon. It has its critics and fault-finders,—as what paper has not?—and its editors have by no means reached their own ideal. They would make *The Index* better, if they had a larger income at command. But, even as it is, they believe that it may not be ashamed to receive the congratulations of its friends to-day, and that it may be amply justified in hoping for new friends and for a generous increase in its subscription list. Several new contributors of fine scholarship and ability have appeared in its columns the past year, among whom, to name no others, may be especially mentioned Thomas Davidson, Edmund Montgomery, and Charles Froebel. Its old list of writers remains nearly intact, some coming back into the present number who have been too long absent. Any paper may congratulate itself, and reasonably ask for a liberal support, that can bring together into its New Year's issue, and chiefly by their own spontaneous impulse, four such writers as Messrs. Wasson, Tuttle, Chadwick, and Abbot.

The Index continues to hold a unique place in journalism. Its first number was issued on the first day of January, 1870, in Toledo, Ohio, under the editorship of its founder, Francis E. Abbot. In September, 1873, it was removed to Boston, which has since been its home. Mr. Abbot continued to edit the paper for ten and a half years, bringing to it the great intellectual vigor, the clear logical acumen, the intrepid moral courage, and profound moral earnestness which distinguish all his mental work, and which our old readers will joyfully recognize and welcome in the address which we print from him to-day. Absorption in the cares and labor of private teaching has not diminished his interest in liberal ideas nor detracted aught from his power to state them. We hope that *The Index* anvil may hereafter ring with his strong strokes oftener than he has allowed it to do in recent years. Mr. Abbot retired from the arduous task of responsible manager and editor of the paper with the last issue for June, 1880; and the publication was then transferred, with his cordial good will and with all its prestige and possessions, by the old *Index* Association to the Free Religious Association, under whose auspices, through the medium of a board of trustees, it has since been conducted. Its editors, however, have been as free from control by a superior authority in their official duties as was Mr. Abbot; and the principles and objects of the paper have remained essentially unchanged. If any readers have thought they detected a difference, it has been only that difference in respect to ways and methods of working for the same general object which necessarily appears in different individual workers. In his standing prospectus, Mr. Abbot used to say that it was the aim of *The Index* "to increase general intelligence with respect to religion; to foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual; to substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfishness; in brief, to hasten the day when free religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities."

These are substantially the same aims which are stated in the prospectus of *The Index* under its present management; and to these aims it expects to adhere in the future. There are other liberal publications that are working in a general way in the same direction; but we know of none that has precisely the same stand-point as *The Index*, or that works for precisely the same aim or by just the same method. We especially know of none that appeals to the same class of readers. There are liberal journals which, in their way, may be doing a necessary work, which have yet a very narrow aim and a very crude, not to say coarse, method. Their method is still largely that antique one of showing up the discrepancies and indecencies of the Bible, and ridiculing the absurdities of orthodox theology and the moral infirmities of church members. There are others which are on a higher and broader platform, but are yet mainly destructive in their work, or, in their constructive work, are devoted to the propaganda of some special phase or side issue of Liberalism. *The Index* has always aimed to keep abreast of the advancing scholarship of the age and in full accord with the progress of science. It has been constructive quite as much as destructive. It does not think it worth while to waste much powder on dogmas that are being rapidly outgrown

by the enlightened minds of Orthodoxy itself; but it would watch the new positions which such minds are taking, and be ready to test them, on equal grounds, in the courts of scholarship and of rational, scientific philosophy. Thus, *The Index* has become an organ through which thinking, scholarly, well-equipped writers have sought to express their convictions on questions of the deepest import to religious progress and to the social and moral well-being of mankind. In this way, keeping to the scientific method of ascertaining facts and their purport, and of the freest inquiry and discussion, it is doing a constructive work toward a more rational philosophy of life as well as destroying old superstitions. Particularly does it seek to emphasize the supreme importance of morality in all efforts to propagate and organize Liberalism. Holding the position that true thinking is a condition of essential and vastest moment to human progress, it would yet proclaim the sovereignty of moral law over all human activity and the supreme transcendence of right living as the goal of all thought and all endeavor. It would arouse Liberalism itself to a deeper sense of its moral mission.

The Index is sometimes criticised for not being sufficiently popular. It is complained that it is too scholastic and literary, and shoots over the head of the average reader. We admit that a larger infusion of the popular element into its columns might be an advantage: it would doubtless be a pecuniary advantage. And, when this can be done without detracting anything from its intellectual and moral character, we shall welcome the change cordially. At the same time, if these two aims cannot be successfully united, we confess that it would rather be our ambition to make *The Index* a paper that should command the attention of thinking and cultivated readers of various sections of society than to make it a publication that should simply satisfy the liberal masses. We would make it a teacher of the teachers, a paper to be read, not only by thoughtful men of affairs, but by editors, preachers, students, professors, and others who are or are to be, in various ways, the moulders of public sentiment. This, to a considerable extent, is its office already: we would make this still more its office. We would make *The Index* a paper that should both propagate liberal ideas and lift and educate Liberalism itself. And on this, its birthday, we ask its friends, old and new, to consider its opportunities and how they can help it better to fulfil its mission. Let us rally to extend its subscription list; and so make, if possible, this new year the best year which *The Index* has ever known.

WM. J. POTTER.

POSSESSOR OR POSSESSED.

Every political system is, of necessity, conventional and arbitrary, more or less. Every one, if it be not altogether vicious,—in other words, not really a political system at all,—has a ground in truth and right; but even the best comes far short of including all that truth which goes to a right order and conduct of corporate societies. No doubt, aristocracy had its function in civilization, and therein its reason to be. It belonged to the immemorial antiquity of all the best nations, all the most progressive ethnic stocks. The kernel of civilization grew originally in that shell, and continued to grow in it long, the two expanding together.... This is proof that such institutions did not have their sources in mere unrighteousness and unreason, for the shell that has such an origin is one in which no living kernel grows. Nevertheless, aristocracy was always conventional and arbitrary in part; and, at length, in quite too

large a part, as we in this country are sufficiently aware. Turn now to democracy. "All men are equal," it says; and this affirmation is the basis it builds upon. But this is only one pole of the whole truth. The correlative truth is that men are unequal, that they differ widely in value, and differ in extreme cases as light and darkness, or as positive and negative quantities, some being of priceless worth and some worth much less than nothing. The equality of all men, if put forth as the whole truth, becomes as huge and noisome a lie as was ever disgorged upon the world. But the correlative opposite which must be conjoined with this affirmation to make it other than false, so far from being a basis upon which democracy builds, has no place in its structure of institution. It may, indeed, be in the action, if it be in the minds of those who take part in the working of those institutions; and thus the partiality or one-sidedness of the system be redressed in its operation. But it will not be in their minds, if they permit the system, as it were, to think for them, to be speech in their mouths and belief in their heads. Ours may be an excellent system to possess, but every public system is a bad one to be possessed by.

Observe that I do not here speak to the reproach of democracy, not even by remote implication. Turning to any other system, actual or possible, I should not indeed find the pinch in the same place; but it would surely be found somewhere. Institutions, like individuals, have their leanings and limitations; and as no man is mankind, so no political system is the perfect embodiment of political truth. Hence, every such system, if it is long to endure as a form of productive and progressive life, must receive both nourishment and correction from the truths it does not contain. From whom is it to get those necessary succors? Only from those of whose heads it has not so taken possession that all their thoughts must needs bear its impress; only from those who have some sufficient power to look about them with fresh, unbiassed eyes, as if in a new-made world. But what if there are none such? It is not of good augury. When democracy or whatever system has so far prevailed over the best intelligences that they can speak only in its dialect, think only in its moulds, and judge only by its standards, it has prevailed quite too far for its own health. Feudalism had arrived at this last stage of supremacy, when a Froissart could see honor and worth only in men of feudal rank, and in doing so had reached its point of decline, the point from which it could only pass, so to speak, into a state of hibernation without spring to follow, living upon its own fat until it should die of inanition. Do you answer that democracy is not feudalism and could not suffer in the same way? You utter the very prepossession against which I am trying to raise a small note of warning. Any and every public system may suffer in that way; and democracy is at present the likeliest of all to do so, since it is that which engages prepossession most.

Hence, the need for those who, taking part in our democracy as good citizens, shall do so as men swim in the sea; that is, with the head out. They will be all the more able to serve it for not suffering their minds to be swamped in it. Would I could say how deeply I have this matter at heart, and with how good reason! Myself passing off the stage of life, I look with unspeakable longing among those entering upon it for the bright and brave spirits who shall stand to democracy in the relation of possessor and not of possessed, with eyes to see and courage to utter the truth that will be least to its liking and most pertinent to its need. They will have noble examples to follow. The republican Milton wrote in his Defence of the

English People, "Nature gives the wise man rule over the less wise." In those discourses which cost the republican Algernon Sidney his life there is a passage too long to be reproduced here, but whose tenor is indicated by the opening clauses, thus: "That equality which is just among equals is just only among equals; but such as are base, ignorant, vicious, slothful, or cowardly are not equal in natural or acquired virtues to the generous, wise, valiant, and industrious," etc. (Vol. i., p. 105, edition of 1750.) So republicans have spoken, their heads not swamped in a system, nor they converted from their proper human estate into a sort of fish-like creatures, to breathe the air of thought only as implicated in a denser medium; but how many among us choose rather to flatter democracy by claiming for it all that does and all that does not belong to it, like one who should find Beethoven's symphonies entire in the tune of Yankee Doodle! One man, however, we have had, who, while none could accuse him of undervaluing democracy, was not its echo, but retained the power to shock its self-love upon occasion. Emerson was a theoretic democrat, and beyond the point of sound judgment, as I think; but it was he who said: "Why this continual crying up of the masses? The calamity is the masses." And it was he who wrote to Mr. Conway that "not one man in thirty is worth his room in the world,"—very undemocratic utterances, but a very wholesome bitters for our democracy, nevertheless. And, in this connection, I feel bound to name Mr. Kennedy again. His excellent little paper, "Carlyle in London," makes it clear that, whatever sign to the contrary one may see or imagine, his head is above water, and that he does not make democracy the measure of his appreciation. This confirms an opinion I had already half formed, that he is one who can lend our system the service it least desires and most needs.

The work of the American scholar, what is it? Many have given an opinion on this head; and the latest is that it is his work to do, not the work of a scholar at all, but that of an agitator. Well, here is a part of my opinion. It is one chief function of the American scholar to uphold the balance of truth against the necessary one-sidedness and exclusiveness of our political system. He is not to turn agitator against it, but to be a vessel and voice of the truth it does not contain,—a function little performed, more's the pity, and, when performed, little welcomed even by those who themselves should take part in it. Matthew Arnold comes to this country, and discourses upon the place in civilization of the few who judge by standards and live to ends which are not those of voting majorities, but without whose higher spirit and ever-burning lamp it would not be well with voting majorities. What follows? Not merely vulgar zealots, but men of liberal intelligence, cry out indignantly that he assails our democracy. I dare say he had no intention either to assail or defend any political system whatever; but, however this be, he offered our democracy the best possible service by holding up to view one of those truths which it is the tendency of that system to obscure or conceal. Mr. Parkman publishes a paper on "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," and champions rush to the rescue, intent to smite. Suppose him wrong: nevertheless, being a man of sincere and penetrating intelligence, he speaks truths that have among us few tongues, and shows our democracy where it is weak or wanting. When will the hot advocates of universal suffrage do as much to render it not a failure?

In conclusion, let me come to the test-point. Suppose some one to believe with firm confidence that democracy is the best system for us and for

all nations that have had the requisite training, and suppose him to speak as follows: We must admit the wise and the stupid, the high-minded and the sordid, as political equivalents, since we know not how to draw a fixed line between them: nevertheless, they are moral equivalents nowhere, nor more at the polls than elsewhere; and those who are not moral equivalents cannot have the same right to determine the obligations and direct the conduct of the community. He possesses democracy and retains the mind of a man. Suppose some one, on the contrary, to reject as utterly false the latter clause of that sentence. He is to my mind one of the possessed. Let him not take it ill of me that I say it frankly: the words might be suppressed, but as to the thought I have no choice. To assert the equal right of the capable and the incapable, the well-intentioned and the ill-intentioned, to directing and controlling power, is but to say in other terms that they are moral equivalents. To me, this is a monstrous imagination; and of him who holds it veritable I must perforce think that his head is under the democratic element, not above it in the free air and light of Nature's truth. I grant that unequal men must be admitted more or less to equal power. Sheer off as we may the excesses of ultra-democracy, this necessity will remain; but, when an external and conventional necessity gets into men's heads as an ideal right, it has conquered what should command it. Let it be ours, while admitting that necessity, to be indomitably sane in presence of it, and thus to give it all the correction which uncorrupted thoughts can afford.

D. A. WASSON.

THE RATIONAL TIME-VIEW.

The New Testament time-view was, "The time is short." The rational time-view is, The time is long. Behind us and before, the faith of reason sees an extent of years, of centuries, of ages, in comparison with which the chronology of Archbishop Usher is a very little thing. The six thousand years, which the archbishop dates from the beginning with sufficient Biblical warrant, are the most recent times of the chronology of modern science. At the Biblical date for the creation of the world, the civilizations of Egypt and China could already boast an immemorial antiquity. Already, they had perfected great arts and sciences, founded great institutions, evolved great systems of government and sociality and religion. But these things had not grown up, like a mushroom, in a night. They were the slow result of almost incalculable reaches of time. The movement of civilization in its higher manifestations is sometimes tolerably swift; but, in its lower and its lowest stages, it is slow and painful to the last degree. It is the first step that costs. From the old stone age to the new stone age (that is, from the time when man's only implement was some natural chip of stone to the time when he deliberately fashioned some chip or other into a more serviceable shape), what centuries of patient groping there must have been; and, again, from the stone age to the bronze, and from the bronze age to the iron! And yet, beneath deposits that must be allowed at least half a million years for their accumulation, the geologist discovers implements which bear the marks of undoubted human workmanship. Yea, verily, the time is long; at any rate, the time which has elapsed since man began his long and painful march from his primeval brutishness up to the present hour,—so long that, in comparison, all that he has done would seem discreditable, if we did not remember what a wretched, squalid animal it was who took the first

step of that advance which has at length resulted in our arts and sciences, our morals and religion, our government and homes.

The time is long,—the time that man has been upon his way from worse to worse and bad, from bad to good and better. Will the time of his yet future progress from better onward to the best, which forever entices him and eludes him, be shorter than the time consumed already? It cannot be.

"To insight profounder
Man's spirit must dive;
His eye-rolling orbit
At no goal will arrive;
The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found, for new heavens
He spurneth the old."

If man had no farther to go than he has already come, then, it may be, a million years would be sufficient for the cycle of human development; for the rate of progress is much more rapid now than it was in the remoter periods of the past. But I am by no means going to believe that man's present attainment is any half-way house upon the mountain side of his immense endeavor. I find my faith embodied in the words of Browning, worthy as any that I know to form a part of that great Bible of humanity which is being slowly written by the succeeding generations:—

"Man's self is not yet man,
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
While only, here and there, a star dispels
The darkness; here and there, a towering mind
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows. When the host
Is out at once to the despair of night,
When all mankind alike is perfected,
Equal in full-blown powers,—then, not till then,
I say, begins *man's general infancy*."

Here is a faith worth cherishing. But it is a faith which demands a mighty range of time for its free play. I think a million years will hardly be too much to bring so vast a consummation to its birth. But how the vision dwarfs the millenarian's petty dream of some theatrical catastrophe! How it ennobles the mind that dares to cherish it! And what a sword it lays upon the shoulder of each one who dares, knighting him and demanding of him such thoughts, such words, such deeds as shall contribute to bring in the late but glorious day!

What is the moral ideal which is relative to this rational time-view, as the New Testament morality was relative to the time-view of the Apostolic Age? That view—"The time is short"—demanded a certain order of moral ideas. What order of ideas is demanded by our view,—The time is long,—an order based upon the continuity of human nature and society, as the apostolic order was based upon the expected revolution of the one and dissolution of the other? Then no domestic or social or political institution was truly sacred, because the death warrant of each and every such institution was already signed and sealed. The doom was so imminent that there was no future even for the individual. For us, it is not so. For us, who still feel our life-blood warm in our veins and who have no good reason to anticipate disease and death at any early day, the matters which were indifferent to the early Christians are by no means indifferent. Paul's reasons for marrying or not marrying, based upon a groundless anticipation, have for us no force whatever; nor any more have his injunctions to political and industrial indifference. Whether the government under which we live is good or bad, whether our means of livelihood are adequate or not, whether our lives can be made comfortable and beautiful, how we shall provide for our children, how educate them, and so on,—these are matters which the rational time-

view forces on our attention. We might be as indifferent to them as Paul himself, if we believed in any speedy breaking-up of the existing order; but we do not cherish any such belief. Even the most doleful scientists do not forbid us to declare, "The time is long." It may be that the sun is going out or that the earth is going to rush in upon its fiery heart. In the former case, as Prof. Clifford said, we shall be frozen: in the latter case, we shall be fried. Yet not exactly "we," not even our great-grandchildren many times removed. Some million of years longer, the old bounty will go forward, and children will be born upon an ever happier earth. And so for us the order of this present life becomes a matter of engrossing interest. The contempt which has been heaped upon it, the indifference which men have vainly endeavored to feel concerning it, we see to be a pitiful survival of an order of ideas based upon a misconception of the first Christian community. We cherish no such contempt. We affect no such indifference. The order of this present life is for us a matter of commanding interest and supreme importance. To make this order as just and fair, as bright and beautiful, as sweet and sane, as free and grand as it is possible to make it,—this is the moral ideal that is correlated with the rational time-view, with an indefinite continuance of the present order of the world.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

HARD TIMES.

Republicans say the times grow worse for the incoming of the Democrats, and the latter reply, This is the result of twenty-four years of misrule. One cries that it is tariff-tinkering and fear of free trade; another, that it is this same high tariff which has brought on general stagnation. Has it? England with her boasted free trade is faring worse than we. Protection kills the goose in America, and free trade finishes it in England! "Look at it!" exclaims another politician. "Has not the country always prospered under a high tariff? and, when this has been removed, have not stagnation and panics brought us to ruin?" Perhaps, but we have had twenty or more years of high tariff,—almost prohibitory at times; and does the present condition of affairs offer anything to boast of? From press and platform, from counting-house to farm, from palace to cabin, goes up the wail of 'hard times.'

When the pressing question is asked as to the cause or causes of the present stagnation, low prices, and general depression, the sage political economist complacently answers, "Over production,—too much produce, too much machinery, too much labor, too much cloth, too much everything." Saying which, the oracle falls back into dignified silence, as though the sentence was axiomatic; and the editorial columns of the press echo the reply, and debate upon it, as though a new economic law had been discovered. Of all the pretensions to scientific knowledge, of all the shams by which unblushing ignorance seeks to impose on honest credulity, the science of political economy as at present taught is the most shameless and unmitigated. "Overproduction!" Of what? Wheat, corn, flesh, houses, furniture, clothing? Would then a drought, a blight which would destroy the next year's harvest, be a blessing? Would a half crop be a cause for thanksgiving? It would double the price; and, while a few lucky holders would gain, famine would, from the other side, reach out her livid hands and cry for bread. Is there too much flesh? Then murrain or fever or cold winters to decimate the herds of millions of cattle grazing on the Western plains would be desirable. Beef would advance: a sirloin would sell

for twice its present value. Is there too much cloth? Then the burning of the mills or the suspension of the hum of countless spindles and looms would, by enhancing the value of cloth, be the greatest of blessings. Too much lumber sawed, too many nails made, too much of everything used in building houses? Political economy! The child's method of putting effect for cause. Overproduction, when in the midst of this plethora of abundance there are at least a million souls who will this winter's night go to their beds, if beds they have, hungry and shivering! There are mountains of coal, elevators bursting with grain, lofty warehouses packed from basement to attic with clothing, yet this want and suffering.

"Ah," comes in reply, "these are the products of labor; and, if people will not work, they must shiver and starve." Of whose labor are they the products? Who will not work? These poor? Give them fair wages and a chance, and see whether they will not work. Do the owners of those elevators work? Have they performed a single day's labor for the millions of bushels of grain they hold? The owners of the coal mines, is it by their sweat the long drifts are struck into the heart of the seams? Do the owners of the factories, the mill-masters, the "bosses" of labor, work? Few will work, unless something be gained by their toil; and when wages sink to starvation rates, when the toil of the day will not give bread for one's family and a respectable shelter, not to say home, between idleness and work there is little preference. A recent correspondent in a New York journal says that, if one should go to the great thoroughfare leading to the Brooklyn bridge at five in the afternoon and remain until seven, one hundred thousand working women would pass on their weary homeward way. The united wages of this hundred thousand, toiling the long day, would not reach the daily income of Vanderbilt, who has done nothing more than drive a fast horse for an airing, happily, if in his insolence he has not run down some unfortunate footman. One hundred thousand are glad of a narrow room and a hard pallet, that one may live in vulgar profligacy.

Talmadge, who is perhaps one of the best weather-vanes, catching quickly the drift of public thought, in his thanksgiving sermon takes for granted that all our woes come from overproduction, and, as he wildly beats the air with arms and legs, like revolving rakes on a Western reaper, shrieks for the Almighty to open the "gates of the South," and let the vast accumulation flow into Mexico, Central and South America! Yet he in the same discourse wails over the "millions" who are hungry, who will have no Thanksgiving dinner, and only consoles himself with the thought that their bare plates will be filled when the Southern gates are opened! It is not clear how produce going out of a country can feed the hungry in the country. Ordinary intelligence would conclude that, when the gates were open and the South supplied, there would be more urgent hunger. But the great preacher is not troubled with ordinary understanding, and political economy is composed of a series of paradoxes. Its foremost students have for some past generations been frightened by the terrible Malthusian doctrine of overpopulation. They have regarded it as a law as fixed and demonstrable as that of gravitation that population increases out of all proportion to that of the food supply, and hence have looked upon wars, pestilence, plagues, heavy death-rates as disguised blessings. These strike the quick blow, and those who fortunately escape are kept from prolonged starvation. Vice and crime are nature's checks, and celibacy a wise resort for the cultured. Now, in the face of this delightful theory, on this

continent the inhabitants have multiplied beyond precedent or Malthusian dream; yet the food supply has more than kept pace, and has now reached such an alarming abundance that it threatens the nation with bankruptcy! And, more dreadful than everything else, there is, back of all so much labor, such an infinite creative power that, if turned loose, ruin would come with swift feet.

The Chinese, then, must be walled out, convicts must not compete with outside mechanics, prohibitory tariffs must protect home productions, else the necessities of life will become so cheap we shall be ruined. Again, we meet a paradox: costliness of products is a measure of prosperity. In accord with this wise theory, when the coal lords are not satisfied with the price of coal, they close the mines until the price advances many times beyond the cost of production, and then they call it lively times. When cloths advance, so that the factory dukes receive as profits a lion's share of the wages they pay, it is good times. The mine, the furnace, the factory, "shut down" and await a better market. But what of the men who are thus "shut out"? Good times? Not until every family in this broad land can by honest toil sit at evening around their own blazing hearth; not good times until they can by honest toil be comfortably clothed and fed; not good times until, after these essential requirements are met, a little time is gained for mental and moral culture.

If all were comfortably housed, clothed, fed, and educated, there would be no overproduction. "But," comes the objection, "any one can have these desirable objects, if they will work for them." A favored few may do so, but the many cannot. Do not say that they are not willing to work. If they had the certainty of a home before them, the most idle would become like Hercules. Say to a man, A cottage, a garden, a farm; home where your children can gather the grapes from the vines you planted, where you can sit with your wife under the shade of the fruit trees you have grown, where all shall be your own and descend to your children without reserve, and the dream of life is answered.

It takes money to make money, and so true is this saying that a single dollar pitted against the combined labor of the world will in the end conquer and gather the whole to itself. All it asks is to receive its interest and be let alone. It will never become sick, grow weary, or for a moment rest. Whatever may happen to labor always works advantage to its invincible power. There is still a little room left for labor to go West, but even this requires money. Money must be had to get money. In other fields, what opportunity has the laborer for securing a home? What hope is there for the woman who by overwork receives the princely salary of fifty cents a day, or for the man who receives twice that sum, and has a family to support!

In these times do we hear of the capitalists cutting down their own personal expenses, foregoing pleasure trips to Europe in private yachts or over the continent in special palace cars, driving fewer fast horses, or in any manner curtailing their vulgar waste and profligacy? Oh, no: the cut comes from the other end of the line. The laborer who creates this wealth, who receives barely enough to supply the absolute necessities of life, who sees with grim patience his wife thinly clad, his children in their raggedness gather at a table where half-rations are served,—he is the sufferer. Ten, fifteen, twenty per cent. reduction on an already inadequate allowance is the economic method. It is exactly in effect like a "shut down," if there is a strike, and better, if there is not.

When improved machinery cheapens the cost, the

laborer is not given the benefit. As long as possible, the grain is reaped by capital; and, when the product is cheapened by competition, the laborer suffers reduction of wages. The hopelessness of labor begets improvidence and recklessness, and a keen sense of injustice nurses those passions the full expression of which appears in Nihilism.

A true political economy will recognize that every laborer is a financial gain to the State. Every product is a gain; and the more vigorous the production, the greater the wealth and prosperity. But there must be just and harmonious distribution. It is not overproduction, it is want of just distribution that is the cause of the present unfortunate state of affairs, whereby there are hunger and nakedness in the midst of wasteful abundance. The owner is often surprised, on examining a hive in late winter, to find the combs loaded with honey, a populous colony, yet all dead. The honey had been stored where they could not reach it. They exhausted the central supply, and then perished because they could not reach the outlying combs. Unlike the bees, the human worker suffers, but not patiently or blindly; dies, but is reproduced and remains to have his wrongs righted; to have even-handed justice; to enforce his demands even in the face of death. To open the gates of the South; to tinker the tariff, so as to protect this or that affair; to pass pettifoggery laws, which make compromises and patch up for the time,—may momentarily relieve the pressure; but the cause remains in its potency, and will remain as a perpetual menace to the security of our institutions.

It is not how to throw our surplus on foreign countries, not how to prevent labor and machinery producing to their utmost, not how to suppress population or diminish the food supply, but how a just and righteous distribution of the abundant and diversified products the Cyclopean hands of machinery have made possible can be made to those who assist in their creation. The solution may reach beneath the traditional methods of government and send some of the present ideas held sacred by monopolists to limbo; but come it will, and the method of its coming depends on the wisdom of those in power.

HUDSON TUTTLE.

THE TYRANNY OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Public opinion never rises to the intellectual or moral altitude of the great thinkers, and it never sinks to the depths of the most debased individuals. It is "collective mediocrity." It finds expression in manners, habits, usages, laws, and literatures, which react upon it and tend to give it comparative fixedness in its elementary characteristics, in spite of its proverbial fickleness, which is true of it only in regard to that which involves no perceptible disturbance of the established order of things. This complex body of thought, like an organism in which many parts coalesce and become co-ordinated in one structure, although subject to modification in the later accretions, becomes like "the cake of custom" hardened with age. It is not strange, therefore, that in some of the older countries, like China, it is hardly possible for the reformer to make so much as a dent in public opinion, in favor of the removal of barriers to progress and the introduction of the ideas and methods of a more advanced and progressive civilization.

Even in the most enlightened communities today, the tyranny of public opinion is the most powerful influence constantly exerted against intellectual development and moral and social progress. It prevents free and impartial discussion of

unpopular views, and intimidates into silence and conformity with prevailing beliefs and observances the great majority of those who hold these views; thus directly discouraging independence, sincerity, and consistency of thought and speech, if not indeed making these qualities the exception among those who hold decidedly unpopular views, and silence or acquiescence and a temporizing course the general rule.

Authors are compelled by the tyranny of public opinion to keep back their best thought, when it is unpopular, lest the publisher decline to issue their book, or the thought, if published, be used by those representing public opinion against their reputation and the sale of the work. The secular press aims to represent public sentiment in its treatment of moral, social, and religious questions. If a journal thinks it has gone a little too far one way, it is not uncommon for it to counteract the impression by going as far in the opposite direction. We look neither to the pulpit nor the platform for entire fearlessness and frankness of expression. Professional men who depend upon the public for patronage, politicians who are ambitious for office, teachers in our schools and colleges, and merchants and business men generally, if they have opinions which are in conflict with those of the masses, avoid making them known either by silence or juggling with words, that they may conceal rather than express their thoughts. Facts like these—which, we think, cannot be fairly disputed—indicate that the tyranny of public opinion even among us to-day, when heresy is no longer punished with death, imprisonment, or fines, is the foe of intellectual and moral advancement.

As John Stuart Mill says: "A state of things in which a large portion of the most active and inquiring intellects find it advisable to keep the general principles and grounds of their convictions within their own breasts, and attempt, in what they address to the public, to fit as much as they can of their own conclusions to premises which they have internally renounced, cannot send forth the open, fearless characters and logical, consistent intellects who once adorned the thinking world. The sort of men who can be looked for under it are either mere conformers to commonplace or time-servers for truth, whose arguments on all great subjects are meant for their hearers and are not those which have convinced themselves. Those who avoid this alternative do so by narrowing their thoughts and interests to things which can be spoken of without venturing within the region of principles; that is, to small practical matters which would come right of themselves, if but the minds of mankind were strengthened and enlarged, and which will never be effectually made right until then. While that which would strengthen and enlarge men's minds, free and daring speculation on the highest subjects, is abandoned."

All original thought must come from individuals. All great moral and social reforms must receive their first impulse from the few and not the many. Nothing, therefore, can be more imperatively demanded in the interests of progress than the freest and fullest expression of those opinions which clash with the orthodoxy and conservatism of the day, as a counterpoise to the tendency of an arbitrary and despotic public opinion to make all think alike, and thus to produce "intellectual peace at the price of intellectual death." It is not simply the right, it is the duty of those in advance of their fellow-men to speak their honest thought, and in a way to be understood. They who temporize in dealing with great questions of public interest are so far, though they talk and

write in praise of morality, the enemies of moral progress. Loyalty to conviction and courageous devotion to the highest conceptions of truth, regardless of public opinion or personal interests, is a demand of the times, both in public and private life. It is not enough for the liberal thinker of to-day to praise Paine and Parker, Emerson and Darwin, who gave to the world their best thought. Nearly all the intellectual and moral heroes of the past have their eulogists among the more conservative minds of to-day. The thought of the past is no finality. Our intellectual horizon was not fixed forever by any or all the thinkers now dead. Darwin's views, now accepted in the main by men of science, were ridiculed by press and pulpit within the memory of men who are yet young. If there were no conceptions of to-day similarly regarded by those who represent public opinion,—which does not yet indorse Darwin's teachings, but is tolerant of them,—the fact would not be creditable to this generation. There is a vast amount of truth not likely to be popularly received for a long time; and they who defend it, in spite of the tyranny of public opinion, perform a service the value of which cannot be estimated. There is still need of journals "whose praise," as a London periodical says of *The Index*, "is not in all the churches," and whose praise, we may add on its fifteenth birthday, is not likely to be in all the churches in the year just commenced.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

TO ALL our contributors and readers a Happy New Year.

It can do truth no service to blink the fact known to all who have the most ordinary acquaintance with literary history, that a large portion of the noblest and most valuable moral teaching has been the work, not only of men who did not know, but of men who knew and rejected the Christian faith.—*Mill*.

We have received from the Ingersoll Secular Society of Boston a card of membership, for which the society will accept our thanks. On the card, in addition to a brief statement of the society's principles, are these two sentiments, the former from Ingersoll, the latter from Clifford: "Banish me from Eden when you will, but first let me eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge"; "If men were no better than their religions, the world would be a hell indeed." The meetings of the society are held in Paine Memorial every Sunday at 2.45 P.M.

"THE function of the State is purely secular. It is to see that equal rights are enjoyed and the general welfare promoted; but it has no right to decree, for example, that any book or any day or any place is holy, or to except church property from taxation, or to appropriate any portion of the public money for sectarian purposes, or to enforce the reading of the Bible in the public schools, or to proclaim when it behooves the people to fast for their sins or feast for their abundance, or to require any religious test for office, suffrage, naturalization, or giving testimony in the courts."—*Wm. Lloyd Garrison*.

"THE rival claims of society and solitude," writes Lillian Whiting, in the *Boston Evening Traveller*, "often present a problem perplexing to one inclined to studious pursuits. If the persons one may meet are great in the literary world, there is the possibility that their condensed greatness may be better received through their books or their

pictures or statues. If they are not great, the student is liable to think, with a slight flavor of deprecation, that their society would be of little consequence at best. But there may still be another view not wholly without value,—that every one needs the correction and the adjustment, the facile mental habit, that is gained alone by contact with the world and the attrition of companionship. Lacking this or even limiting one's social interchange to one especial class of people, one lacks all the side lights and varied angles of vision from which new points of view are obtained. The life that becomes crystallized in a narrow groove, however high it may be, is not the life of beneficence or of the widest influence."

IN a very interesting lecture recently delivered by Mr. Anagnos, Superintendent of the Blind Asylum of this city, before the Science Class at the Parker Memorial, the lecturer, as reported in the daily papers, said:—

A Mr. Mollineaux, a learned Irishman, was the first to ask the question whether, if one were born blind and sight were given by a surgical process, such a person could tell the difference between a cube and a round ball. To this, Locke replied no. Leibnitz, however, took the opposite ground, and said that our mental faculties were not dependent on our senses, and that a person could tell the difference; and Locke's assertions were discredited. Light was soon thrown on this very point by the operation of a great English surgeon, Dr. Fessenden, who removed cataracts from the eyes of a child born blind. Then came the test; and it was found that the child could not tell the difference, nor could he by looking at them distinguish a cat from a dog. The animals had been his pets. He was observed putting his hands on them and stroking them, then looking at the cat and saying, "Ah, pussy, now I can tell which you are hereafter." The problem "that the impressions which we receive are the experimental result of our senses" seemed to be solved then.

At present, *The Index* is living upon the vinegar of quoted criticism, which it mixes to the consistency of mud with its own innuendoes. Why in the name of common sense can it not buckle down to its own peculiar task of never saying anything to displease the preachers, and let other people alone to do their work? The world is wide; and no one would ever stumble upon *The Index*, if it did not obtrude itself upon their notice.—*Truth-Seeker*.

The above paragraph is taken from the coarse and scurrilous sheet which our neighbor the *Investigator* once—with some exaggeration, however, we think—characterized as "the New York cesspool." It is a sample of the notices we have from time to time the past few years received from that paper, which is rarely mentioned in these columns. It is not anything "mixed to the consistency of mud" found in *The Index*, nor "its own peculiar task of never saying anything to displease the preachers," which really offends the *Truth-Seeker*,—the name of which we have long thought should be changed to *Truth-Hider* or *Truth-Flincher*,—but rather the fact that *The Index* fearlessly tells the truth on questions that concern the liberal public, whether it "displease the preachers" or so-called liberal papers, which with narrow sectarian views, and from considerations of self-interest, distort or conceal from their readers the truth, as the editor of the *Truth-Seeker* by his own admission suppressed a portion of the proceedings of the National Liberal League in his report of its last meetings.

ONE of the contributors to the *Christian Statesman* has discovered another cause for Blaine's defeat. It is that nine days only before the election he travelled on Sunday, the whole day. All things had been going prosperously for him up to that date. Immediately afterward, the disasters and blunders of his campaign began,—among which the correspondent enumerates Dr. Burchard's unfortunate alliterative remark, the millionaire ban-

quet, the stormy night for the Blaine procession, the clear skies and dry streets for that of Cleveland. These, the correspondent thinks, were evident tokens of the divine displeasure at that Sabbath-breaking. Cleveland, as we believe the papers reported, went to church that Sunday. The *Statesman's* contributor sums up this grave matter thus:—

As the *Tribune* says, "One week before, the election of Blaine was sure." But it, and all, omit an event which began that week and which was the first fatal step, and all the more inexcusable because of the certainty of the result and the want of any plea of political necessity. Mr. Blaine travelled all that Sabbath day, journeying from Chicago to Jamestown, N.Y. That this was Mr. Blaine's own plan or suggestion I do not believe, but that he wickedly yielded to the plans of the Committee who arranged for the desecration of that holy day is evident. Others, who like him are members of Christian churches, and officers, and among the rest Stewart B. Woodford, an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church, are reported as having participated in that same dishonor to the Christian Sabbath and its divine Lord. No wonder the disastrous week, begun in such defiance of the Lord, was continued with such noticeable warring of the elements against the Republican candidate and his party. Jeremiah declares (xvii., 19, 27) that the Lord will honor those who honor his Sabbath, but will kindle a fire in the gates where the princes and rulers "will not hearken unto the Lord, to hallow his Sabbath." As Christian professors, their guilt is a thousand-fold greater; and it is only of the Lord's mercies that, instead of sending folly, and confounding their wise counsellors, and turning into defeat their bright prospects and wise plans, some greater judgment did not fall upon the guilty ones.

For *The Index*.

OLD YEAR AND NEW.

White and cold, winding-sheet
Wrap softly round him;
Leave him now, lying cold,
Where winter found him.
Old Year of sin and pain, Old Year of sorrow,
Die with thy evil gain, cloud no to-morrow.

White and soft, budding year,
Cling to me purely;
Fill me with peace and truth,
Tenderly, surely.
New Year of hope and trust, New Year of doing,
Come, give me life for dust, comfort for ruling.

For *The Index*.

THE NEW YEAR.

"Rejoice! it is the glad new year, rejoice!"
This was the greeting from a cheerful voice.
The earth seemed newly decked in glistening white,
And on my window-pane the morning light
Shone through quaint landscapes; for the frost and snow
Had traced with artist hand o'er all below
(And while the human world in slumber lay)
The fairest scenes,—a wonderful array.
My fancy, too, not idle, spread its wings,
And, joyful as the lark that joyful sings,
Upon the canvas of the untold year
Portrayed its every joy and hope and fear.

That New Year's day, with all its hopes sublime,
Is garnered now into the lap of Time;
The pictures on my window-pane are lost;
Ideals, too, have vanished like the frost.
How shall I now rejoice in the New Year?
Responsive in my soul, a voice spake clear:
"Rejoice, rejoice, with every birth of morn!
For with each dawn a new new-year is born;
Though airy castles fall, yet build again:
Far nobler fights the soul shall yet attain;
No losses can its majesty appall,
For Time shall be till it surmount them all!"

GOWAN LEA.

MONTREAL, 1885.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

The Intellectual System of Liberalism.

Substance of an Address before the Liberal Union Club,
Boston, Oct. 25, 1884.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT, PH.D.

The subject upon which I shall venture to speak to-night, with necessarily inadequate preparation, is the "Intellectual System of Liberalism,"—a subject which may seem not directly connected with our practical concerns, and yet, in my opinion, lies at the root of all practical concerns.

I have been for many years a believer in the theory that thought, or intellect, is the deepest fact in our nature; that life itself would be impossible except as the manifestation of purposive intelligence, and that the action of intelligence, in some low, crude form, must accompany everything that can be called sentient being, as distinct from the unconscious existence of the inanimate world. There must be some directive idea to give an aim even to the affections or to the impulses,—much more to the will. An animal cannot seek its prey, or even open its mouth to feed, without having a more or less conscious purpose of satisfying hunger by the act. It must have some intellectual element in its consciousness, before the feelings or passions or even the blindest instincts can find any object upon which to expend themselves. The feeblest sensation, the most elementary consciousness, is a species of knowledge, and knowledge is the activity of mind alone.

Now, while mere sensation is the lowest conceivable form of intellectual life, or the minimum activity which is compatible with its existence as such, there is no higher form of it conceivable by us than the scientific co-ordination and subordination of all discovered truths in a self-coherent intellectual whole—in other words, a theory of the universe sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all that Man has yet learned of Nature, and suffi-

ciently elastic to make room for all that he may yet learn of it. Such a theory of the universe will be, in the sense in which I use the words, the "Intellectual System of Liberalism." Such a theory, I admit, notwithstanding the confident and exaggerated claims of some modern philosophers, and notwithstanding the still more exaggerated claims made for them by some of their indiscriminately admiring disciples, has not yet been framed; nor will it be framed, until philosophy itself has undergone a mighty revolution of foundation, spirit, and method; nor will it even then be framed by any one mind alone, but only by the co-operating minds of many generations of great thinkers. But, for all that, it will be framed at last, and the revolution in philosophy which will prepare the way for it is even now silently and surely going on. Liberalism can never become a dominant force in the evolution of human society until it has become an intellectual system first of all; and I am very sure that the beginnings of its intellectual system will be the beginning of its practical power in the world. I see, as a fact, that, while the various systems of superstition are strong and active and well supported, and while they govern the world in virtue of their creeds, liberalism is weak, because it has no common unity of thought; it has no intellectual system of ideas to which all liberals may give their free adhesion, and out of which may grow common unity of action. They do not act together because they do not think together,—because they have no intellectual system. If liberalism is ever to be the controlling force in the world, it can be so only in virtue of working out something which I call an intellectual system, a system of thought distinct from rules of action or guides to feeling, yet creative of both.

If I were called upon to define liberalism in its intellectual aspect, I should give this definition: LIBERALISM IS THOUGHT FREE TO FOLLOW NATURE. That is the utmost freedom that thought can ever attain. If it follows fancy, self-interest, hope, fear, desire, it is enslaved; it is truly free, if it follows Nature. That is to say, if thought, in the relations which it creates for itself, follows the relations which exist in the objective universe, that is precisely what sensible men mean by freedom; and the tyrant, the despot, the Pope, interfere with freedom of thought, because they prevent thought from following the relationships which exist in the objective universe, and would compel it to follow some other guide of their own devising. Such is the forced thought which is imprinted upon children's minds, in early infancy, through the Catechism, filling the young head with dogmatic notions which divert the intelligence from following nature: it is made to follow an artificial system of men's devising. Thought not free is that which is not allowed to follow nature, but on the contrary made to follow some theory, devised artfully or artlessly as the case may be, which is forced on the child's mind in the stead of nature; and I mean by liberalism, in its intellectual aspect, thought free to follow nature, free to be moulded by the relations of things as they are. This is not freedom from all system; it is simply freedom from the arbitrarily and unnaturally contrived systems which have grown out of human ignorance, or selfishness, or folly. Freedom from human systems does not mean freedom from all system. If thought is free to follow Nature, then the question whether thought is systematic or unsystematic will depend upon the question whether Nature has any system or not. *If Nature has a system, then thought, in following Nature, must be systematic.*

I want to put this idea forward clearly at the beginning; for, to my mind, thought that follows

nature does not attempt to impose any law on truth. That thought alone is free which takes its highest law from something higher than itself, and faithfully moulds itself according to that which really is. Truth itself lies in establishing an equation between the interior thinking and the outward reality; and it is attained when the thought-relation established internally is identical with the actual relation discovered externally. So, whether our thought is to be systematic or not, must depend upon the prior question whether Nature is systematic.

What shall be the answer to that question? Do we find order in Nature? Do we find unity, organic wholeness, correlation of part with part, a course of things exhibiting such a smoothness of action and freedom from friction as to result in universal evolution? If we do, then Nature has her system, for those results cannot be produced without system; if we do not, then Nature is chaos, for chaos means nothing but Nature without system. In fact, the earliest word used in the Greek language to denote the universe as a whole was the very name for system, *cosmos*,—order, beauty, harmony. That was one of the earliest perceptions forced upon the mind of man, when he began to consider the larger aspects of existence; he could not help perceiving the unity, the wholeness, the orderliness, the system of Nature. Very well, then; if we concede this point, that Nature has her system, then thought, when free to follow Nature, must reproduce that system, and must itself be systematic. Such I conceive to be the truth.

Now every man, more or less, endeavors to systematize his thinking. He may not do it in a very profound or philosophical manner; he may do it half instinctively; but every man, if he looks deep enough, will see that back of his every act lies some theory of life which he is trying to carry out,—some system of thought, wise or foolish, large or small; he has his theory of life, and that theory is his intellectual system and theory of the universe.

Believing this, that Nature has her system, and that thought left free to follow Nature will be pre-eminently systematic, I want to point out that there are two kinds of systems, which I have perhaps already assumed; but I wish to speak of them more definitely and to show their difference. I mean *artificial systems* and *natural systems*.

There may be an artificial and partial order of things deduced from a part of the facts, as when Linnæus founded the science of botany upon the number of stamens and pistils. The relations he discerned were real relations, but were not adequate to give the entire system of plants which will correspond to all the facts of nature. It was a provisional and quite artificial system, not based upon all the possible relations that could be detected existing among plants; and it has become now entirely displaced by what is called the natural system, which classifies plants according to their total organic relations.

Now, all the imperfect systems of men, undoubtedly, even the most crude and despotic systems, have been based upon some true insight; they never have been made out of the whole cloth, with nothing in nature to correspond to them. I suppose the crudest system of fetishism had its basis in truth, and it was perhaps the best theory the fetishistic tribes were intellectually competent to conceive. It was a step in the line of progress to adopt their theory. But, as knowledge grew, that theory was seen to be incomplete,—a system which followed nature, but followed it incompletely. It was necessary to correct the first crude insight by the larger subsequent insight, and that system

began to decay, and another provisional system took its place, but a better one. No sane man imbued with the thought of this time will imagine that we shall ever arrive at a perfect system, co-extensive with the infinitude of the universe. The best system ever devised will be imperfect; but the essential distinction between artificial systems and natural systems lies here,—that the one is *invented* with more or less will, while the other is simply *discovered*; that is, found to be existing, and adopted from Nature herself. Just so far as the element of will enters into men's thinking, just so far you have arbitrary and despotic systems. The systems which have most cursed mankind have been those into which entered the most of will. Every intellectual system ought to follow the existing relations of things as they are, which can neither be changed, nor inverted, nor subverted, by the will of man. Nature pursues her own course, by her own laws. The utmost the human mind can do is to discover what those laws are, and what the real relations of things are. The distinction between artificial or invented systems and natural or discovered systems is supremely important to be borne in mind, and I do not mean to forget it, in speaking of the intellectual system of liberalism. By that I mean the natural or discovered system of the universe, as distinguished from all artificial, invented, or arbitrary ones.

There has been a very great and indiscriminating dread of all system among liberals. Those of you who have lived in the world of radical thought during the last twenty years will remember what vehement and often passionate expression has again and again been given to the feeling of contempt for all attempts to systematize liberalism, either socially or intellectually: "Away with definition! Let us have no definition of God, no system of thought, no organization of the liberal movement! Let us have all fluent! To define, to systematize, to organize, is to stop the wheels of progress, and arrest the ever-changing thought!"

All that, it strikes me, was a symptom of our own crudity. I thought so during those twenty years, and I think so still. For all life, from its lowest to its highest forms, is essentially *organic*. Organization is at once its necessary result and its noblest manifestation. All intellectual life tends irresistibly to intellectual system; all social life tends irresistibly to social organization; and every social organization is necessarily the expression of some intellectual system. If liberalism is ever to be a living force in history, it can only become so by evolving an intellectual system first of all, and then creating a social organization based upon that system as its organic idea. The Greek idea was the political independence of the city; hence its social organization was communal individualism. The Roman idea was the political unity of the world; hence its social organization was universal imperialism. The Christian idea was the politico-religious unity of the world; hence its social organization was the union of political and religious imperialism in the Catholic Church. The mediæval idea was success in war; hence its social organization was chivalry and feudalism. The modern idea in its highest form is democracy, or the reconciliation of personal liberty with political unity; hence its highest social organization is the American republic. And the liberal idea is the further evolution of democracy into the spiritual republic, socially organizing freedom and fellowship and religion in the Commonwealth of Man.

I began my own work with a plea for liberal organization and thought, in life, in society, in religion. My whole work as a liberal has been connected with the work of organization,—seeking to establish no arbitrary system of my own mak-

ing, but to follow the discovered pattern set in Nature herself. But experience has shown me that the liberal movement (in this country at least) is not yet intellectually mature enough to permit any large or effective social organization of it. Without unity of thought no unity of action is possible, and what we call the liberal movement has neither. The only unity it possesses is negative—opposition to the established order of things; it has no intellectual system, no moral system, and therefore no root of constructive or positive social unity. For this reason I have ceased to desire any social organization of it on a large scale, at least for the present, and shall dedicate what remains to me of life to the task of furthering the development of its intellectual and moral system—in a word, its philosophy. And the system of its philosophy must be natural, not artificial,—discovered, not invented.

To have a dread of system, then, is to have a dread of Nature; and that is to me the last foolishness. I do not understand what there is to cause so much dread of system, unless, as the burnt child dreads the fire, liberals dread the artificial kind of systems which have hitherto prevailed. But the experience of the past, wisely interpreted, simply teaches us to substitute a natural system for artificial systems of whatever kind, and to look for its foundations to the ever-increasing knowledge of Nature herself. The most formidable artificial system which exists in this country is that of Christianity; and you will readily see how it differs from the natural system of democracy.

The organic idea of Christianity is that the human race is to be governed by a divinely appointed Christ or king; that monarchy is the divinely appointed system of government, and that mankind owe allegiance to the Christ-king as monarch by divine right. That idea, more or less crude, more or less developed, lies at the foundation of all the various forms of Christianity. It was the fountain head of the whole system. Christianity as it appears in the Middle Ages was nothing but the logical application to human affairs of that idea of the divine Christ-king. Jesus the man was crucified and disappeared, but his followers conceived the idea that he still survived in the heavens as the real, though absent, monarch of mankind. What must be the result of that thought of a divine king, invisible in the heavens, and yet still the ruler of mankind? Human government must go on. What more necessary than that somebody should represent on earth that divine monarch in the heavens? Logic prevailed in history, and the Pope became the viceroy of Christ. Logically develop that system, and what do you get? A papacy in which the Pope becomes first the infallible viceroy, then the incarnate Christ, and lastly the incarnate Trinity itself. That, instead of being a violation of Catholic logic, would be its logical development, and the Pope would be worshipped as God himself; that would be the natural culmination of this theory of the Christ. Of course, such an artificial theory is despotic; it can only co-exist with despotism; and you find, all the way down, that Christianity has been in alliance with political despotism all over the world. It has been the background upon which the throne political stood forth, an object to be not only seen, but religiously venerated, by the popular imagination. There is always this background of divine sanction behind the thrones of Europe, because the organic idea of Christianity is essentially monarchical. But the strength and growth of the republican idea in this country have been such that we seldom understand so artificial a system. Christianity as a system is

unintelligible in a society which has lost all the monarchical consciousness; we are so used to the people's self-governing that we can hardly understand the real Christian thought and feeling. Particularly is this true of religious liberals. I think that few radicals understand the real Christian consciousness, because they cannot conceive that intense personal devotion to a divine monarch like the Christ, which is at the very heart and core of Christianity. Still, be that as it may, the artificial nature of this Christian system is shown by its utter incongruity with all modern life. It is an excrescence in America. All our life here is based upon the republican idea, which has crept from the Constitution of the United States into the popular mind, and is advancing steadily in the direction of larger and larger freedom from this domination of personalism.

The artificial system of Christianity began to break up some hundreds of years ago. First it was the Pope who was the object of protest; then it was the Church; then the Bible; then Christ himself; and now, the idea of infallible intuition. Men are now coming to the conclusion that experience only is the ground of all knowledge of objective reality—not the experience of the senses alone, but experience in the broad sense of all actual affection of human intelligence by the outward world, all bringing of thought and fact together in actual contact. This is the origin of knowledge,—the constant action and reaction between man and his environment; and, in that, the chronological priority of the action of the environment will be established as the true principle. Experience, the actual affection of intellect and sense by outward existence—that is the beginning of all knowledge.

The Christian theory of dogmatic revelation, the revelation of abstract dogmas, practically inconsistent with nature, led to a false system of human life. The Church system, however, was based upon some truth. Its ethical laws were often of the highest type, and will remain so to the end of time. Who questions the authority of the Golden Rule? That rule was a true insight of Christianity, and it will abide, no matter what changes. But, taken as a whole, the system of Christianity did not correspond with the whole of human life; and, as life grew larger and broader and deeper, the necessity became manifest for some other and truer system. For this reason the human mind broke away from it by degrees, and for us, at least, the whole constraining system lies now in ruins around us.

Liberalism began as a protest against this artificial system, and it went on protesting. Protestantism has been its true name and its real nature, until now it is little else than individualism pure and simple—until little is left but "churches of one member," and cities of one citizen. But is this bald and barren individualism to be the final outcome of liberalism? We find ourselves to-day in a condition in which we experience the weakness of liberalism as a practical social power in the world. We have gone on protesting against artificial systems, but we have no natural system of our own: we are individuals only, taking our own thought as the ultimate appeal and final test of truth, with no common ground of decision when our individual minds fail to agree. Is the eternal truth to be determined by what Tom, Dick, or Harry thinks? Tom thinks he is the final umpire; Dick admits no authority beyond himself; Harry thinks his say-so must be so. But nobody else is convinced by them. Individualism ultimates in an intellectual and social deadlock. The society in which Tom, Dick, and Harry are members must come to some common conclusion,—

must adopt some common course of action. Individualism contains no social principle; it has no seed of social growth; it is nothing but the last stage of protest; its forces are all centrifugal. But liberalism is inherently constructive, social, and organic; it leaves thought free to follow Nature, that it may reproduce the system of Nature in society and life, and mould the world upon it. That is the kind of system liberalism aims at, to bring all human life into perfect conformity with the laws of nature. The cosmical harmony of those laws of nature will be the intellectual system of liberalism, when it is found.

But, you ask, if there is to be an intellectual system which is to govern social life, what shall be its principle of construction? I answer: Science is the discoverer of the facts of Nature; Philosophy is the discoverer of the system of those facts. Science discovers the facts themselves; Philosophy discovers the large mutual relations of the facts; Liberalism must take its system from Science, the discoverer, and from Philosophy, the organizer of the facts. Those are the sources whence the system of liberalism must proceed. It cannot come from mere abstract theory, or from mere empirical observation; still less can it come from the arbitrary dogma or "revelation" of the church; it can come only from the scientific and philosophical experience of mankind. Science is nothing but the clarified experience of mankind; common sense is their unclarified experience. Science, which gives the great mass of unrelated and unordered facts, is reduced to a system by philosophy, which, if it be wise, aims only to organize these facts after the pattern given in nature itself, and to discover that system of which nature is itself the living expression. It is to philosophy, then, that liberalism must look for its system, while to science it must look for its facts; these twain together will yet create the intellectual system of liberalism.

Now we come to the principle which is the hardest to explain and make clear, and yet a principle of supreme importance. Just now I was rejecting the idea that the individual judgment should be taken as the ultimate appeal in matters of truth, and that there should be no higher court of appeal than my own individual consciousness. Yet what other appeal have we? The church is no appeal, the Bible is no appeal, the Christ is no appeal: what is the final appeal, if the individual is not? Well, friends, I think that the system of Christianity, in its only logical and thorough-going form, the Roman Catholic form, has always retained one great and true principle which we liberals have let slip from our hands. Catholicism has always insisted on the authority of the church as a whole,—always insisted upon its right to mould the thought and command the faith of the individual believer. That was but the distortion of a great truth. It was indeed a distortion of it. The church assumed to be itself the rightful authority that should control the believer's faith; and the bishops in their oecumenical councils claimed to be themselves the church. But, in spite of that, the Catholic Church, even in its most extravagant abuse of the principle of the collective authority of the church over the individual, had some sense of the social reason of mankind, the non-individual and universal reason of the race, the eternal reason of the world which includes both matter and man, as distinct from the arbitrary thought of the individual thinker. What keeps the Catholic Church alive to-day is the living power and truth that lie in this principle; and it will continue to live and grow until we have come to see what that truth is, and preserve it, while we let the extravagances and

distortions of it go where they belong—to the limbo of dead superstitions.

Now what can possibly take the place of this ultimate appeal to the individual consciousness? The difficulty lies in the practical necessity of arriving at some decision. If two individual consciousnesses fail to agree, how are they to come to agreement? Unless they do agree, no common action is possible. If each man should account himself the ultimate appeal, there could be nothing but social and intellectual anarchy; society would be impossible. Men in society do not actually live by the rule of ultimate private judgment. Even in our politics, the rough rule that "the majority must govern," is a half-perception of what the Catholic Church has to some extent perceived all the while. Democracy itself rests on the right of the majority to govern. Now what right have the majority to govern, if there is no likelihood, no presumption, that the million are wiser than the one man? I admit that infallibility is no part of human life. The individual and the multitude alike make fearful mistakes; but, nevertheless, as to all public affairs, the nearest approximation to practical wisdom is necessarily assumed on the democratic theory to be the verdict of the most minds. There is an element of truth in that assumption, but not the whole truth. We must look higher to find an adequate conception of the tribunal of truth.

How do you suppose it is that in the last twenty years the theory of Darwin has won its great and magnificent triumph over the old theory of periodic special creation of species? You will remember that in 1859, when Darwin published the *Origin of Species*, the book was received with a burst of opposition, one might almost say indignation. I remember my father's saying to me, on returning from the meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, that there was but one man who stood up for Darwin, and that was Asa Gray; all the rest rejected this theory. How happened it that the theory rejected all over the world has now become so well established that it is almost as hard to find an opponent of Darwinism as it was then to find a champion of it? The revolution came about solely through the power of evidence. The one man in this case had discovered the system of nature, and had made the evidence clear. The facts were all on his side, so that all he had to do was to present this evidence, and here and there one man would see it, and then another would see it; until the united rejection of the truth was at last followed by the united acceptance of it,—Nature dictating to man what he should think, and man being absolutely unable to disobey. That is the explanation of the triumph of Darwinism. So with every other discovery that at last becomes accepted. The process is simply that of bringing before mind after mind the relations that exist objectively in Nature, until Nature's system forces itself into universal recognition. These two elements, individual discovery and universal recognition, are equally essential to the establishment of any truth; and the combined result would be impossible, if either Nature had no intelligible system, or if the individual had no power to discover that system, or if all individuals had no common intellectual nature subject to universal laws. Philosophy must find room for all these facts, or confess its failure to comprehend the greatest of all facts,—the actual existence of a great body of established truths about the universe, the actual validity of human science as the work of universal human reason guided and controlled by the universal reason of Nature herself. It is this necessary fact of the universality both of human reason and cosmical reason to which individualistic liberalism

is stone-blind; and its intellectual blindness is the root of its social powerlessness.

It is in that way that we have to recognize the influence of numbers in matters of thought. Darwin had to conquer first this man, and then that man, until finally the great mass of men gave in its adhesion to his discovery. But so long as one intelligent and competent scientific man can be found to dispute Darwin, just so long Darwinism must be an open question. Questions become closed in science by the unanimous agreement of all those entitled by special knowledge of the facts to form an independent opinion. No question is ever ruled out arbitrarily in science. Scientific associations adopt no creed; they are united by the desire to discover, and he who can discover can make it plain at last. If he has discovered, he has the evidence on his side. Scientific men do not need a creed; the common reference is to the standard of truth in Nature herself, to the existing relations of things. Nature herself is the only creed of the scientific association; no more, no less. The facts, the relations, the system of the universe itself,—that is the creed. The method of science is thoroughly objective,—testing, verifying, repeating the experience, if you are not sure of the facts, going over the thing again and again, until you find that there can be but one answer,—that the answer of experience is so and so, and not otherwise. Then men cannot help believing. Nature dictates belief, when she has made her relations clear and plain. That is the way science establishes every truth. People talk about the variances and disagreements among scientific men. There is a margin of unsettled questions, but it must not be overlooked that the great body of science is established as firmly as the rocks of the globe. The great body of science is made up of established truths; truths first of the individual, then of the few, then the belief of a party, then the conviction of the race. The unsettled questions gradually become settled, and the verified answers pass by common consent into the great common treasury of knowledge; and it is only from this universally accredited knowledge that civilization itself proceeds.

But, when all who know the most agree, who has any right to raise a question? He alone who knows more than they,—not he who knows less; and this superior knowledge he must prove to the world's satisfaction. Ignorance is usually conceited, and we find ignorant men now and then trying to prove perpetual motion, though it is known to be impossible. We find ignorant men now and then bringing forward various impracticable theories, and making futile attempts to demonstrate the impossible. How are they treated by scientific men? Do they put them in prison, or interfere with their freedom? Not at all. The crank is as free as the most profound philosopher, but he does not get a hearing; that is the silent answer Science makes to the cranks. She holds men to be reasonable, and, if not so, laughs at them, as she laughs at Brother Jasper of Virginia. That is the answer, and that is the only persecution the scientific world ever inflicts upon the crank and the fool. But the answer is effective without persecution.

Now the system of liberalism will have to be built up by the same process. We must take our facts from science, and our system from philosophy, and the union of the two will give to liberalism a system by which it will create a new and beautiful harmony, first in human thought, and then in human life. For life lived as nature would have it lived is the ultimate aim of liberalism,—not the life of natural savagery, but the life of natural civilization, since it is the true nature of man to be a social and moral being. . . .

I am sick to death of the pertness and personal conceit of which I see so much among radicals. It is time for us to cultivate a different temper, the temper of the man of science,—most tenacious of his thought, never letting it go so long as there is the least hope of truth to be got, never losing sight of it, adding experience to experience, until by and by he has all the light he can get, and then presents his results before his fellows, willing to be corrected or to be proved mistaken, only anxious to advance the truth. This temper of the scientific mind, such as it shone in Charles Darwin, is the most deeply religious thing that characterizes this century. I see more of true religion in that humble yet resolute devotion to truth for its own sake than in all the churches, in all the songs and prayers and sacraments of Christendom combined. It seems to me the most truly religious state of mind, as far removed from pertness or conceit as can be. We need to correct this individualistic self-feeling of ours by keeping ever before us the higher dignity, the superior majesty, of the universal human mind; for it, and it alone, may claim to be the prophet and priest of Nature, and to interpret to each successive age the Universal Reason of the All. But it is Science, not the Church, which voices the loftiest insight of the human mind.

Philosophy, I said, was to be our organizer, our system-maker, scrupulously and reverently taking the facts as Science gives them. But Philosophy herself has got to be revolutionized. Modern philosophy is in a very crude state. We are wandering about as in the labyrinth of Crete, and Philosophy has not yet found the clew to lead us out. We have got to begin afresh, with the existence of human knowledge as the original fact of all facts. When we do that, we find that human knowledge is not my knowledge, nor yours; it is the knowledge which is the possession of the whole human race. We must make the transition from the little individual *I* to the universal *We*. The beginning-point of philosophy is not with the individual, but with the race; and when that is clearly seen, and its consequences accepted, there will be the greatest revolution in philosophy that has taken place since the birth of human thought. The change must be from the narrow stand-point of individualism to the stand-point of universalism; the question is, not what I think, feel, or believe, but what the human race knows. What is the highest information about this or that fact? What has Science discovered about it? Bringing all things to the test of the *We* instead of the *I*, the revolution will yet be made, and its mighty results will at last appear. Then we shall have a philosophy which does not need to debate whether an external world exists, or not; there will be an end to the elaborate foolery which claims that "all the world is my impression," "all I know is the states of my own consciousness." If this is what I must say, the next man must say that all the world is *his* impression, that I myself am only one of his own conscious states, and that he himself is the whole universe—in a nutshell! This nonsense is the logical outcome of our present philosophy. Old Dr. Johnson, one morning, came down to breakfast very cross. Boswell said, "What is the matter?" The Doctor said, "I had a dream. I dreamed that I got into an argument with a fellow, and he beat me." Said Boswell, "You need not feel badly about that. You were the other fellow too, and you only beat yourself." That is the sort of comfort one gets from the philosophy of to-day. The necessity of revolutionizing it is shown in the fact that modern philosophy began with the *ego* alone, and, trying to construct the

universe on that simple basis as a logical beginning, has never yet succeeded in believing heartily in anything but the *ego*. If it sticks to its own avowed premises, it can logically end only in absolute idealism and egoism; but, this being an unpalatable conclusion, it lays down principles which it dares not adhere to, and pays the penalty of proceeding on unsound premises by making itself ridiculous in the eyes of every keen-witted observer.

The result of the revolution that I point out would be this: that philosophy would cut loose from this idle talk about the *Ego*, and devote itself to something useful. I did not begin my conscious life with any self-created thoughts: I inherited my thoughts; I received thousands of impressions from persons and things around me, and I cannot put myself in the attitude of being the creator of my own derived existence. The time will come, sooner or later, when philosophy will begin with the facts of science as given facts, and cease to call them in question; and science gives that realism which philosophy has no right to challenge. We do *know* an external universe; we cannot make a motion or think a thought without knowing it. With that admission as a beginning, Philosophy has a clear course before her. She must take this universe as she finds it expounded and revealed by Science. The business of Philosophy is to bring these facts into order, to arrange them, see what their system is, and thereby get a clear conception of human life, and help the world to govern its life according to this conception. That is the object of any intellectual system, to give direction to human life; and, if liberalism has any excuse for being, it must exist in order to give to the world, to the individual and to society alike, a higher and better law of life than the churches give. If she has not a better system than they, then, at the start, it is plain she cannot give a higher ideal; and, if she has not that, she has no business in the world at all. Christianity is the best religion, if it shall give the best law of life. That is the practical test, the test of experience, the ethical test; and the world will always believe that that is the best religion which makes the best men and the best society.

I think that Nature herself, scientifically known and philosophically conceived as a living whole, will give this best ideal and this best life. That is why I am so earnest for the spread of liberalism. It is not because I want to force my hobby on my fellow-men, nor because I want to make proselytes. I want to see liberalism spread, but only with this religious thought, with these lofty moral ideals. The system of thought that can organize them into life will make the world wiser and better. Let us think that system out, until it achieves at last this beneficent organic wholeness. Every one of us is a wonderful organic system, and the proof of that fact is our consciousness, our activity, our character, our appearance here to-night. Destroy that system, where are we? Gone, dead. Life must be systematic; the life of the individual, of the world, must be systematic. Liberalism, if alive, must have its organism, its definite intellectual system, its definite social system. It must be one great, united, co-operating whole, made of many parts, with noble relations to each other and the destiny of man; and its unity, order, system, liberty, will be a vivifying and transfiguring power in the world.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER FROM LIBERAL, MO.

Editors of The Index:—

Thinking that many of your readers are feeling an interest in the success of our town, I have thought it not out of place to give you a short description of the place, people, etc., which may be acceptable to those desirous of a change of their location the coming spring. Whether seeking a more moderate and healthy climate, wishing to invest money or to provide themselves with a home among congenial people, there may be some who have never as yet heard of our progressive town. Liberal is located in the southwest part of Missouri, in a rich, fertile, prairie country, with exhaustless coal banks and good building stone quarries; climate moderate, and well adapted to fruit-growing, stock and grain raising. In fact, all branches of farming are successfully carried on. Our town is young; but the people are a temperate, industrious class of thinkers and workers, of all shades of opinion, working together as a unit for the advancement of our town in particular and humanity in general. The Liberal Normal School is already established and in good working order, under the efficient management of Prof. W. E. Grayston, where it is intended to take the child and step by step educate him or her in all the various branches, so that they may be practical as well as theoretical men and women. We have no churches or saloons. We have no use for them; but, instead, we have our Sunday instruction schools, where all alike are instructed in the things of this world. On Sunday evenings, at the general assembly meetings, we have speeches, singing, recitations, music by our little orchestra, etc., all of which is both interesting and instructive. I will not trespass further upon your valuable space, but close by saying, should any person, feeling an interest in the step we have taken, wish further information, it will be freely given by writing.

Respectfully,

S. C. THAYER.

LIBERAL, Mo., Dec. 20, 1884.

MORAL COERCION.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of December 18, you are pleased to notice with gentlemanly criticism the documents which I have recently caused to be mailed to the merchants and manufacturers of our State, calling attention to the mutual advantages to proprietors and employes of the system of employing only such persons as abstain from the use of alcoholic drinks.

By the general position assumed in your article, it is fair to presume that you have not read the original documents, copies of which are now forwarded; and I invite your attention especially to the "Testimonials," showing the effect of the adoption of the plan on a small scale and also on the larger scale of a village or town.

While I have long been in favor of moral suasion and legal protection, I am also in favor of using moral coercion and boycotting,—all the means and methods that are available and right for reducing the amount of alcoholic drinks manufactured, sold, and used to the lowest minimum possible. We agree, I presume, as to the end to be obtained, but differ as to one of the means used for that object. The reason why we differ seems to me to be simply this: advanced scientists are apt to overlook some of the old-time formulas that are based on as correct principles as have been evolved in later years, and one of these I hold fast unto as an unchangeable truth,—namely, "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure." In all my temperance work for years, the words I have kept uppermost in mind are—Prevent and Protect. They are the key-notes in all effective arguments in favor of total abstinence or prohibition.

Total abstinence certainly prevents some drunkenness. Drinking stimulants certainly does not, but leads thereto, even if indulged in with moderate intentions. Hence, my common sense tells me that all steps which discourage drinking habits tend to lessen "the evils of drunkenness." And I believe that the employment of drinking men and dealing with dissipated merchants tend to encourage rather than discourage them in their course of life. This also applies to tenants.

In letting the rooms of a tenement house, I inva-

riably ascertain whether the applicant is strictly temperate or not. If not, he must seek rooms elsewhere. My neighbors, observing that I have less trouble with my tenants and less damages to repair than others have, will follow the example. If all the proprietors of rented houses and buildings in manufacturing towns should adopt this course, it would go a great way toward insuring the practice of total abstinence in those towns, avoiding many disturbances and arrests for various crimes, and reducing public expenses. No one here denies that I have a proper right to make this rule and specify what kind of men, as to habits, may occupy my tenements. Does any one in Boston question it? If that right be acknowledged, as I think it must, have I not the right to insist that the man employed at my residence shall be, not only a total abstainer, but a non-smoker, if I choose? It secures greater safety for the man, more security for my family and property, and also for the property of my neighbors.

Now suppose I was engaged in a manufacturing business. If I have the right to rule out drinking habits on one "hired man," the same right holds good on a hundred or a thousand employes. And I fail to see the injustice which you speak of in cases of this kind any more than when applied to tenants. Applicants are not obliged to accede to the conditions, as they can go elsewhere; but the conditions, instead of being an injury to themselves or families, have been proven, wherever tested, to be of great advantage to all concerned. Mr. C. H. Tilton, Boot and Shoe Manufacturer of Ashland, Mass., adopted the system three years ago, and says that, if once adopted by business men, it will never be discarded. Mr. Tilton also testifies that, by the adoption of this plan, his employes—the total abstainers put in the place of drinking men—have increased their comforts fifty per cent., besides adding fifty per cent. to the amount of goods produced, compared with results attained by the previous workmen. The highly respected firm of E. & T. Fairbanks & Co., of St. Johnsbury, Vt., has strictly adhered to this system for many years; and their testimony and comments relating thereto would be very interesting to your readers. So also is the account of Bessbrook, Ireland, with its linen manufactures and population of about fifteen thousand. "No rum-seller or rum-drinker can find any place in Bessbrook: they are kept out of it as strictly as a wolf is kept from a sheepfold or a hog from a Jewish sanctuary. And, in this single fact, we have the most obvious cause of its marvellous prosperity." It has "no idlers, no paupers, no policemen, no drunkards."

A commendatory letter recently received from Edwin H. Baker, agent of the Otis Company at Ware and Three Rivers, Mass., says that they employ nearly two thousand persons, and that the condition of affairs which I am working for has been practically secured by them, "as a result of an unrelenting determination not to take into or retain in our employ any person known to be addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors. The change for the better in the last few years has been as marked as it is gratifying."

To construe this demand on the part of employers into "a threat," we submit is not right or just. The reasons given in the proposed "Notice" to employes are as follows, namely: "This course is adopted to promote the welfare of all whom we may employ and their families, and also for the best interests of the proprietors and of the citizens of our town or city."

As to impairing "the independence and self-respect of employes," we differ entirely on that point. In this enlightened period, the majority of drinking men who are employed have lost their self-respect, manhood, and independence. They care more for stimulants than for their reputation or the comfort of their families. If they could be induced through any honest method to abandon the glass entirely and associate only with abstainers, they would soon acquire manliness and self-respect, and be of some service instead of a curse to society.

Let us not forget that the one hundred thousand intemperate persons annually lost in this country began their course as "moderate" drinkers, not as drunkards, and that the high ground of independence and using without abusing all the privileges (?) of mankind is not safe or wise, as man is constructed at present. If, in the process of development, human beings should become of such physical condition that alcohol would have no more effect on them than the same quantity of tea or coffee, then, although dyspeptics are uncomfortable to themselves and others, they

would not be so dangerous and expensive to the community as to require segregation.

The day is coming, I believe, when business and professional men with drinking habits, and employing drinking workmen and assistants, will have few customers outside of their circle of friends with like characteristics, and when their company will be tabooed by the best society. Such a step would have far greater influence for good than all the moral suasion that could be brought to bear on that class of citizens. For such an example, we may recall the practice followed for many years by earnest members of the Society of Friends, who, at much extra cost and inconvenience, declined to purchase slave-labor goods when free-labor sugars, cottons, etc., could be obtained.

In conclusion, let us look at the subject broadly. Would any scientist or moralist declare that it is not just and proper for railroad and steamboat corporations to establish a rule—as some have—that none except total abstainers from the use of alcoholic drinks shall be employed by them? [If that rule had been in force on one of our Boston steamship lines, the one hundred lives lost on the "City of Columbus" might have been saved for further usefulness; for it is alleged that the officer in charge of the deck that night was in a lock-up in Boston the night previous on account of dissipation, and hence was not in proper condition to go on duty.] And, if one class of corporations can secure more efficient service by adopting this system, all other classes of corporations and business firms can realize more or less advantage by following the same course. If the proper rights and independence of the persons employed by railroad companies are not unjustly interfered with in this respect, then it cannot be wrong for manufacturers to adopt a similar rule.

GEORGE KEMPTON.

SHARON, MASS., Dec. 20, 1884.

BOOK NOTICES.

SI-YU-KI. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hsien Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal, B.A. (Trinity College, Cambridge), R.N. (Retired Chaplain and N.I.), Professor of Chinese, University, London; Rector of Wark, Northumberland, etc. In two volumes. 12mo. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1885.

Buddhist books were imported into China as early as the first century of the Christian era. From these books, the Chinese obtained knowledge of the history of the founder of Buddhism, and became familiar with the names of places consecrated by his presence. Many Chinese pilgrims, Buddhist priests, desiring to visit the spots and gaze upon the mementoes dear to the hearts of all devout Buddhists, impelled by the spirit of religious devotion and enthusiasm, visited India, enduring great sufferings while exposed to perils by desert, mountain, and sea. Not the least valuable portion of the Buddhist literature of China, of which a large amount has been discovered the past few years, are the records of the travels of these Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, since they contain the testimony of independent eye-witnesses as to the facts related by them in regard to the geography, history, manners, and religion of the people of India. The *Si-yu-ki*, or "Memorials of the Western World," is a work prepared by Hsien Tsiang, an illustrious Chinese Buddhist priest and traveller, who was born A.D. 629, went to India and gave seventeen years to travel and study in that country and portions of Central Asia before returning to his native land. He brought back with him, in addition to several statues of Buddha of gold, silver, and sandal-wood, one hundred and twenty-four works (sūtras) of the Great Vehicle, and other works, "amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty fasciculi, carried by twenty-two horses." Of the works translated by him are seventy-five included in "The Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka," by Bunyiu Nanjio. The *Si-yu-ki* was prepared by Hsien Tsiang from documents brought from India by himself in 645 A.D. Being the result largely of personal knowledge and experience, it is a work of great value for the history of India; and, being full of legend and old folk-lore, it is interesting even to the general reader, while it affords the best material for estimating the marvellous effect which the rise and development of Buddhism had on the old national life of India and neighboring countries. The Chinese original, now translated for the first time into English, is one of the works included in the collection of

Buddhist books sent to the India Office in 1876 by the government of Japan. It consists of Twelve Books or Chapters, and the translation is included in the two volumes here noticed. "It is," as the *London Times* says, "a strange freak of historical preservation that the best account of the condition of India at that ancient period has come down to us in the books of travel written by the Chinese pilgrims, of whom Hsien Tsiang is the best known." The "Records" have a preface by Chang Yueh, who flourished as Chinese minister of State A.D. 713-756. Prof. Beal, in his Introduction, which embraces more than a hundred pages, gives a sketch and the "records" of Shih Fa-hian, who wrote about A.D. 400,—the first Chinese traveller whose name and writings have come down to us,—and of Sung Yun, who was sent A.D. 518 by the Empress of Northern Wei dynasty to seek for books, and who with his associates brought back one hundred and seventy volumes. Numerous notes and explanations add to the value of the work, which is a contribution to the translations of Buddhist literature of a most interesting and important character, for which we believe Prof. Beal and his publishers will have the appreciative thanks of many readers.

B. F. U.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE REV. SYDNEY SMITH. By J. Stuart Reid. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

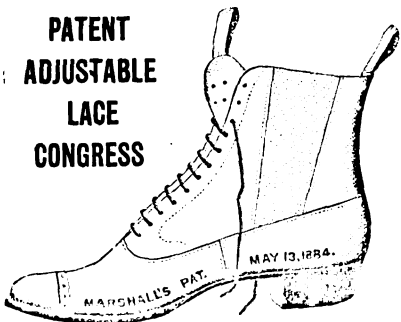
Mr. Reid informs us in his preface that his object in writing this book has been to supplement and not to rival the biography by Sydney Smith's daughter, Lady Holland, which has long been the delight of many readers. It is only fair to judge the book by the intention of the writer. As a substitute for Lady Holland's biography with the appended correspondence compiled by Mrs. Austin, this book would not demand attention. We must still go to the earlier book for perfect apprehension of the personality of Sydney Smith and for a report of his most happy sayings. But, as a supplement to the earlier and fuller book, Mr. Reid's has great merits. It is much more formal and exact in its method. The details of the laughter-loving dean's experience are given in a much more orderly manner. The reader's ignorance is oftener consulted and dispelled. The illustrations, some of which are exquisitely done, are a real help to the impression of reality derived from the printed page. The feeling which the former book planted so deeply in the reader's mind is fostered by this into more vigorous growth. We mean the feeling that the wisdom of Sydney Smith was even greater than his wit; that he was fundamentally one of the most serious of men. Here is a story that is told of Voltaire that may be new to some of *The Index* readers. It cannot be to all. "I am astonished," said a Swiss gentleman to him, "that you should speak so well of Haller, for he is outrageous in his abuse of you." "Well, well," replied Voltaire, "I believe the truth is we have both formed very erroneous ideas of each other." There are one or two of Smith's sayings about Macaulay that belong with his desire to get from him "a few brilliant flashes of silence." For example: "I wish I could write poetry like you, Rogers. I would write an *Inferno*, and I would put Macaulay among a number of disputants, and—gag him." It is a pity that he should be habitually thought of as only a jolly man of wit. His interest in politics and in sensible religion was immense. He was one of the most forward-looking men of his time, one of the most advanced, and one of the most catholic. A new book always stands a chance of being read where an old one is not, but we shall be mistaken if this book does not send many to his biography by Lady Holland and to his collected works.

J. W. C.

The *North American Review* for January contains a number of timely and admirable papers. The article by Bishop Huntington on "Vituperation in Politics" is well worth reading. "Froude's Life of Carlyle," by Frederic Harrison, contains more truth and just criticism in regard to Carlyle than any other article that has appeared since Froude's work was published. The other articles are "The Reunited Union," by Henry Watterson; "William Herschel's Star Surveys," by Richard A. Proctor; "American Labor Organizations," by Richard J. Hinton; "Socrates, Buddha, and Christ," by W. L. Courtney; "The Increase of Wealth," by Michael G. Mulhall; and "The Evidence of the Senses," by Prof. John Le Conte. (New York, 30 Lafayette Place.)

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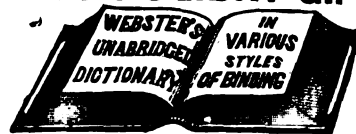
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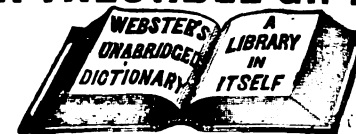
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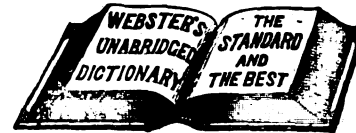
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

ACCORDING to reports published in the papers, justice in Denver is not only blind, as it is everywhere said to be, but in the police court it has of late been blind drunk. The judge of the police-court, whose recent decisions and discharges have been a surprise to the people, had to be escorted home one day last week, so badly was he intoxicated; and now it is said that his eccentric decisions were due to the fact of his having been on a prolonged spree.

DR. W. H. CHANNING, whose death in England occurred recently, was one of the early New England Transcendentalists, and was among those who tried the Brook Farm experiment. He edited the *Present* and the *Harbinger*, and contributed to the *Dial*. He was a nephew of the distinguished William Ellery Channing, whose memoir he wrote in three volumes, one of several works which he wrote. He died in his seventy-fifth year.

PROF. PROCTOR says: "The evidence now obtained confirms the theory which was advanced in 1848, and has since been maintained by Gosse and others, that a race of marine animals exists,—including, probably, several varieties,—which is characterized by a serpentine neck, a head small compared with body, but large compared with the thickness of the neck, an air breather, and deriving its propulsive power from paddles; in other words, a modern representative of the long-necked plesiosaurs of the great secondary or mesozoic era. Creatures of this class have been aptly compared to what would be formed by drawing a serpent through the body of a sea turtle."

JUDGE E. F. BRIGHAM, of the Franklin County (Ohio) Court of Common Pleas, in an action to restrain the city clerk of Columbus and the printing committee of the city council from entering into a contract with the *Sunday News* to do the city's printing during the coming year,—on the ground, principally, that the *News*, being a Sunday paper, necessarily involves the performance of common labor on that day,—decided that the de-

fendant should be restrained from consummating the contract. The defendant admitted that, although the side of the paper on which appears the matter contracted for by the city was done before twelve o'clock Saturday night, the other side of the paper was, to some extent, made up after midnight, and struck off and the papers folded and distributed on Sunday. The decision was made on the ground that, the labor performed on the paper on Sunday being common labor, the contract was made in contravention of the common labor statute, and was therefore illegal and ineffective.

WE have here a judicial decision based on an authority evidently condemned by the reason and common sense of the judge, who said: "Judges, of course, have nothing to do with legislation: we have to construe statutes as we find them, in view of the law as laid down by the text writers and by the courts of authority; and especially are they bound to follow any adjudication made by the highest tribunal of their own State. And, in this case, I am bound to follow the law as I find it laid down, without reference to my individual opinion as to what the equity of the case would demand. Our present statute is superannuated and not adapted to the present time; and it ought to be remodelled and made applicable to the present state of things, as there are many works which have become 'works of necessity' since the adoption of that statute. As, for instance, Sunday newspapers, which were a comparatively unknown thing fifty years ago, have now become, in view of the demand of the reading public for the very latest news, almost a necessity, as there is hardly a town of twenty thousand inhabitants in the country that has not one or more Sunday newspapers. No court has yet defined clearly what works of necessity are. Judge Thurman, in his decision, gives a sort of general definition, stating that it does not necessarily mean 'manual labor,' and goes a little farther and states that it may not be a work of absolute and positive necessity, but it may be 'moral necessity'; but what is meant by a 'moral' necessity is not given."

JUDGE BRIGHAM further declared that a change ought to be made in the statute, and the case in hand was one which should be reviewed by a court having authority to some extent to inaugurate a rule which would not conflict with the rules heretofore recognized, but not established by the Supreme Court. He thought it would be presumption in him to inaugurate such a rule; and he therefore should follow the principles as they are recognized, even though his decision should be reversed. He thus concluded: "I will state further that this is a case which ought to go up and have this question settled by the Supreme Court of the State, and I would not feel at all hurt if my decision were reversed." A few decisions of this sort will be pretty sure to lead either to a modification of the statute or to a judicial interpretation of it in harmony with the requirements of the times.

THE great San Francisco Observatory has been given, in execution of James Lick's will, a full

astronomical outfit, one of the most complete in the world. The thirty-six inch telescope, now under the charge of Alvah Clarke & Sons, of Cambridge, Mass., will not be ready for use for a year or more. Of this telescope, which will be the largest in the world, the *Springfield Republican* says: "The lenses have not yet been completed. The flint disc was made long ago; but no crown disc has yet been obtained, although nineteen unsuccessful attempts to cast one have been made. Two discs cast in the rough at Paris are now waiting inspection. The new telescope will bring the moon within thirty miles of the earth, a gain of fifty miles over the power of any existing instrument. It is supposed that there is another planet in our system; that Jupiter's satellites also have satellites; and that the nebulae, instead of systems now forming, may be nothing but thick groups of stars. On these and other astronomical contentions, the big glass is expected to throw new light."

THE *Christian Statesman* says: "We see that a petition is in circulation in Massachusetts for the abolition of the civil oath. The signers ask that all distinction between witnesses who qualify with an oath and others who decline to do so be ignored by the law. Here, as at other points, the real question is whether the Bible is true. If God has ordained the oath as a means of bringing the human conscience face to face with himself and awakening a solemn fear of punishment in case of falsehood, then courts of justice are bound to use the oath as an 'instrument of investigation' into the truth. If the people believe in the divine authority and in the efficiency of the oath, they cannot but prescribe its employment in their constitutions and laws. Few intelligent and candid infidels will deny that this is the teaching of the Scriptures on this matter." We object to the judicial oath, because it implies acceptance by the State of theological dogmas, because it tends to make men undervalue the obligation of telling the truth when not under oath, and because it offers a premium upon hypocrisy and punishes sincerity and truthfulness by favoring the man who lies in saying he believes when he does not, and imposing disabilities or inflicting disgrace upon the atheist who scorns to falsify in regard to his convictions for gain to himself or others. If the Bible can be quoted in support of the oath, so much the worse for the Bible. But Jesus is reported to have said: "But I say unto you, Swear not at all: neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool" (Matt. v., 34). The *Christian Statesman*, however, although it professes to regard the Bible as the word of God and to recognize Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, holds to theories and observances for which it would be difficult to find any authority in the Jewish or Christian sacred Scriptures. Our contemporary, for instance, would have the government compel men to observe as a sacred day Sunday, a festival day dedicated by the Pagan Romans to the sun, which, without any Scriptural authority whatever, was substituted by the Romish Church for the seventh day as the sanctified day for worship.

THE SENIOR EDITOR'S CREED.

The senior editor of *The Index* has just completed a connection of twenty-five years with the First Congregational Society of New Bedford as its minister. That society is a good specimen of ecclesiastical evolution. The parent society was organized early in the last century, on the old basis of New England Congregationalism, inheriting the Puritan faith and traditions. In the latter part of the century, it had an Arminian minister, Dr. West, a vigorous thinker and a liberal one for his time, who prepared the society for the adoption of Unitarianism. This step was taken by the larger part of the congregation in 1811. From that time forward, the society has been gradually growing more and more liberal, as evinced, first, by modifications made from time to time in the form of the church covenants, or creeds, that had to be assented to by those who became church-members and communicants in distinction from mere pew-holders; and, second, by the gradual disappearance of all creeds and covenants whatsoever and of so-called sacraments, and the abolition of church-membership itself as anything distinct from membership in the society at large,—until now the society stands practically on the ground of free religion. It has not been represented in the National Unitarian Conference for many years, though popularly known as a Unitarian society. Its membership is freely open to any who may desire to take part in it, no question concerning beliefs being asked. Any adult person of either sex becomes a voting member of the society by regularly selecting and paying for a seat in the church,—a degree of liberty which might lead to harm, perhaps, in a new organization, but which works harmlessly in this. The present minister has been in the habit for years of regarding Christianity as one of the fallible historical forms of faith, and of reading in the pulpit from the Scriptures of all faiths and from modern writers, as having, none of them, any other authority than that which truth itself gives to them. On Sunday, December 28, giving a discourse appropriate to the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement, he summed up the main points of his teaching in certain articles of belief, not, of course, to be imposed as a creed upon any members of the society, but as a succinct statement of his leading convictions. As these may also have an interest to readers of *The Index*, they are printed here:—

1. I believe in God as the power eternal, immortal, invisible, omnipresent, within and behind all phenomena, unknown and yet known, working in and through nature, producer and sustainer of all forms of existence, vitalizer of all organisms and life, welling up as mental and moral energy in the consciousness of man, and striving in the development of human history to establish righteousness as the law of life for the individual and for the race, and as the surest, amplest providence for human guidance.

2. I believe in man as the highest consummation and expression of the eternal energy in that part of the universe which comes within his knowledge. Beginning on the level of animal existence, springing from the lower forms of life that were anterior to him, I believe that in him the eternal energy has fashioned such an organism that he has been able to rise from the plane of animal life, through the various grades of savagery and barbarism, until he has reached the heights of civilization, enlightenment, and power which he holds to-day. I believe that he has made this progress, and has capacity for indefinite progress in the future, through his natural faculties of reason, conscience, and affection, which are a manifestation in him, under

finite limitations, of the eternal energy itself, and which may be so vitalized as to make man a secondary creator, through the practical application of his increasing mental and moral wisdom, in co-operating with and carrying forward the eternal world-purpose.

3. I believe that the moral law, or conscience, is man's intuitive perception of the equation of rights between human beings in their relations to each other. I believe that a certain stage of intelligence through the discipline of experience had to be reached by primitive man before this perception became possible, just as a certain degree of intelligence was necessary for perceiving the relation of numbers in the multiplication table; but that, when this degree of intelligence was reached, the perception of the equation of rights between man and man would follow as necessarily as the perception of the relation of numbers. I believe, therefore, that morality rests on as permanent and irrefragable a basis as does the science of mathematics.

4. I believe that religion is the expression of man's relation to the universe and its vital powers, or to its living, sustaining energy. From connection with and dependence upon this power, it is not possible for man to escape. The fact of this relation is established by science; and science, in its broad sense, must be depended upon to give the true theory of it. But, in all ages, man has been conscious of it; and his expression of the relation has threefold form,—through thought, through feeling, and through action. Through one or another or all of these forms of expression, he has sought to perfect his relation to the universal forces and laws. I believe that from this fundamental idea have grown all the special religions, while their distinguishing beliefs and ceremonies have been shaped by the intelligence of the people holding them. I believe, therefore, that the religions all have a natural origin and a natural development; that, by virtue of their common root, they are sects of one universal religion; and that, notwithstanding their differences and antagonisms resulting from their special doctrines and claims, there are among them certain underlying unities of belief and aspiration and moral sentiment by which they are bound together in one fellowship.

5. I believe that the sacred books of the various religions have the same natural source,—the human mind in its effort to express its relation to the infinite power. They are the religious literature of the race or people producing them. Various in merit, they all contain important truths; and the truths in all of them are mingled with errors. As a transcript of what humanity has thought and felt, as it has struggled with the great problems of life, they are invaluable. But they are to be read to-day, not as infallible authority for truth, but with that discrimination which can separate truth from error, and find refreshing for the heart and moral stimulus for conduct instead of a creed to bind upon the intellect.

6. I believe that the founders and prophets of the religions were human beings of superior intellectual endowments or moral insight; holy men and seers, who became the natural leaders of the people about them; and around whose lives, through the pious imagination of their followers, there afterward gathered legends and myths to express the people's wonder and admiration for their greatness and power. I believe that the lustre of the moral example of Jesus is not dimmed nor the power of his character for moral inspiration impaired by thus placing him in the natural line of humanity, and in a group of kindred souls, who have lived and wrought and died, and borne brave

testimony to the truth and the right, for the guidance and healing of the nations.

7. I believe that reward and retribution for deeds done in the body are assured by the natural law that binds effect to cause; that moral error or wickedness produces as its inevitable consequence pain and wretchedness; that, if continued, it is suicidal in its agency, and tends to the ultimate destruction of its own power; that moral good, on the contrary, is self-perpetuating, and leads ever more and more to larger and higher life, to realms of purer happiness, and to ever-greater capacity for virtue and for virtue's service.

8. I believe that, on the ground of the strongest and most rational probability, though it be beyond the realm of knowledge, man may entertain a confident hope—nay, a faith—in his own personal immortality; that the eternal energy, having achieved self-consciousness in the wonderful personality of human character, with its power of progressing upon its own nature, will not lightly throw away such a being and such an advantage after a few years of earthly life. I believe, however, that, while man may entertain this hope and hold this faith, his first of duties is not to dream of the life hereafter, but to work zealously for the amelioration of human society on earth; to show himself less anxious to save his own soul for eternal bliss than to save other souls around him from present ignorance, wrong, and wretchedness to a capacity for moral and spiritual life.

9. I believe that, as God, the eternal, living energy, is ever seeking and striving to embody his power more and more in man, soliciting him by inward constraining impulse to truth and goodness and moral beauty, so also may man correspondingly seek and find God; for

"God is seen God
In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul, and the
cloud.
And, thus looking within and around me, I ever renew
(With that stoop of the soul which in bending upraises
it too)
The submission of man's nothing-perfect to God's all-com-
plete,
As, by each new obeisance in spirit, I climb to his feet."

10. And, finally, I believe that in this verse we have a statement of religion's threefold expression,—its thought, its emotion, its deed. Here is practical religion, and here also are the spirit and attitude of genuine worship and prayer.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.

The last few months have done not a little to exhibit Mr. Spencer's philosophy in a new light. Until lately, a large part of his followers have looked upon him as a positivist of the agnostic scientific type; a unique thinker who had cut adrift from all the old schools of philosophy and discarded the old *a priori* metaphysics as unknowable, in order to make a new departure from nature *a posteriori*; an investigator who, starting inductively from the phenomena, had constructed a great cosmic system on facts alone without a trace of idealist assumption. His enemies, not a few of them, joined in this chorus with a will, and abused him roundly for these attributes which his friends had been kind enough to present him with. It was an interesting little dispute too; for the widespread attention aroused by Mr. Spencer's brilliant physical speculations naturally lent weight to their metaphysical side, and his supposed agnosticism and real indifference to ontology were quite in accord with current scientific modes of thought. It was pleasant to have such high authority for pushing aside the old puzzles of religious metaphysics, and natural to suppose his authority would

extend far enough to defend the intellect in its farthest advance, but would not sanction any illogical attempt to recapture in the name of belief a field abandoned in the name of knowledge. Seeing the beauty and extent of the new achievements of science, with which Mr. Spencer was apparently in such close sympathy, they took it for granted that he was as completely satisfied with it as they themselves. And so the buoyant and even arrogant scientific spirit of the times claimed him for a leader, without inquiring very closely into his opinion about abstractions, to which it was fundamentally indifferent. It was enough that he had called them unknowable, and turned to more practical investigations.

Now, however, they find out all at once that this is a mistake, and that Mr. Spencer is not only an idealist, but that his views approach much nearer to positive Christianity than to their own negative philosophy; and they are naturally somewhat at a loss. In his controversy with Mr. Harrison and other recent writings, he has unmistakably committed himself to the spiritualistic interpretation of the universe, and explained that his Unknowable is not a mere negation, but the infinite and eternal Substance that lies beneath all phenomena, which it is easy for us to identify with the central conception of Spinoza and so many other philosophers from the very dawn of thought. Mr. Fiske, too, in his recent Concord lecture on the destiny of man, spoke of the human "soul as a spiritual substance, an effluence from Godhood, which, under certain conditions, becomes incarnated in perishable forms of matter," "the chief object of divine care, the consummate fruition of that creative energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe," whose earthly completeness was to come in "the time when, in the truest sense, the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of Christ, and he shall reign forever king of kings and lord of lords," while beyond lay the almost irresistible certainty of immortality.

Naturally, this has seemed to the agnostics a startling abandonment of their cause almost in the hour of triumph, a return to the conservative flesh-pots when the promised land is full in sight. But it is not so. It is not a new departure, but an explanation; and Mr. Fiske might have gone much farther without leaving the line of his great leader's arguments. He might have reminded us of the irresistible force of those elementary beliefs, independent of experimental proof or even of intelligent reasoning, which Spencer recognized so fully, and claimed (with many able thinkers) that they include a belief in personal immortality and a personal deity, and thus have pushed forward the cosmic mole of attack until it became a buttress for the threatened wall of the Church,—a broad and easy pathway by which all might enter and yet the citadel be saved. He had a good example, for Mansel had done the same thing for Hamilton; and, in ontology, Spencer is Hamilton's pupil, beyond a doubt. And Mansel's argument was sound, if his premises are conceded; for, if there is any such thing as a conclusive and binding belief which is independent of experimental proof, then the want of evidence is not a sufficient objection to any other such belief. And, if ontology contains contradictions which cannot be solved or explained away, and belief is to remain unshaken by them, as Hamilton and Spencer held, then the imbecility and uselessness of reasoning on such subjects are manifest; and unreasonableness is not an objection to any creed, however extravagant, if it is only a matter of faith.

As this view of Spencer's relation to Hamilton's idealism, and his agreement with his argument

from the antinomies, may seem strange to many, we will here quote from the summing up in Mr. Spencer's *First Principles*, where, after quoting Hamilton's antinomies with approval, he says: "Thus do all lines of argument converge to the same conclusion,"—the absolute creative Power is certain, but it is inscrutable. "The imbecilities of the understanding . . . prove to be necessitated by the laws of that understanding," for "the Reality underlying appearances is totally and forever inconceivable by us." Yet belief must come in to make up for knowledge; for, while the "Absolute cannot in any manner or degree be known in the strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness, that so long as consciousness continues we cannot for an instant rid it of this datum, and that the belief which this datum constitutes has a higher warrant than any other whatever." And, in this assertion of a fundamental Reality, "Religion finds an assertion essentially coinciding with her own"; for we are obliged to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of an Infinite creative Power. This is not by any means an exceptional passage. It is repeated many times in various forms. It is true that to Mr. Spencer the old creeds were the fetich superstitions of an undeveloped age; but he urged that within their husks lay a living kernel of truth, the vital belief in an ultimate unseen Reality, an unconditioned creative psychic Existence, to whose "established order" conduct should point. And he went farther under the guidance of Hamilton, and held that the fundamental conceptions of both science and theology were self-destructive, because they involved us in alternate impossibilities of thought and thus compelled us to fall back upon belief in a realm where reason was not only inadequate but misleading,—belief which had notwithstanding the highest warrant.

There is nothing very novel about this. The list is a long one of the great idealist thinkers who have believed in this infinite and eternal Oversoul which we must acknowledge, although we only see it through a glass darkly. The strange thing is that Mr. Spencer's position in their ranks has been so often ignored that the recent explanations of Mr. Fiske and himself have excited surprise. As his main position as an idealist has been so often lost sight of, it is not strange that his minor doctrine about belief should have been forgotten; but it is a perfect defence to Mr. Fiske, or any one else who wishes to give a religious interpretation to Mr. Spencer's philosophy. It is extremely far-reaching; for Mr. Spencer did not stop, as so many of our thinkers have done, with our inability to form an adequate conception of infinity. If he had, he would have held a strong position as to its practical application, and would have been able to correct the vagaries into which belief so often runs by pointing out that they were contradictory or unreasonable. This, however, he cannot well do now; for by accepting the antinomies and the conclusion from them of the imbecility of the intellect on ontological themes, which belief is nevertheless to uphold, he loses it as a negative check. If we have got to believe in an inconceivable result, whichever way we turn, then logic fails, and even the *reductio ad absurdum* loses its force. Deprived of this negative check, no elementary belief can be disproved, however extravagant; and, instead of being surprised at Mr. Fiske's supposed advance, we ought to expect before long some new Mansel to draw the same lesson from Spencer's teaching that the author of the *Prolegomena* drew from Spencer's teacher, and evolve from it again an orthodox creed.

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

MORMONISM IN A NEW LIGHT.

IV. Visions.

The origin of Mormonism has been read by the world through the Spaulding romance and Anthon letter spectacles, which revealed fraud and imposture only, proving Smith and his followers knaves or fools; and yet I believe the verdict of history will be that the Spaulding manuscript never fell under the eyes of Smith, while the characters from the plates did fall under the eyes of Prof. Anthon. Still, the cry of "Fraud! fraud!" is heard on every hand, from reputable authors and liberal editors no less than from venal and bigoted writers. It is hard for the world to admit it has borne false witness against the Mormons, and that, in its attempt to put down Mormonism, it has told more lies about it than it was charged with telling about itself. But what a different complexion is given to the argument, if the Book of Mormon was not taken from the Spaulding manuscript, and if the characters Prof. Anthon called "a hoax, and a very clumsy one at that," were genuine! And yet I do not know of a single writer who has perceived or noted the significance of this fact, though it would seem to call for no great wit or ingenuosness. Still, Jules Rémy, the French *savant*, and by far the ablest and fairest writer on Mormonism, does venture this one remark: "Did Smith himself find any such plates? Likely enough: he is known to have been called 'the manly digger,' and there would have been nothing extraordinary had he, in his frequent diggings, been the first to find objects similar to those which we know Wiley afterward dug up in 1843." And he says, "But what is certain is that Joseph must have known of Spaulding's romance," etc., thus crediting Smith with having found both the plates and the manuscript.

But this is not all. Every writer makes Smith the finder of a peepstone, or seerstone, as it is called by the Scotch; and this stone is said to have been found in 1819, which makes it the first of his discoveries,—another fact which seems to have no significance for any writer excepting in the one direction of fraud and superstition; but the superstition seems to have been shared by the neighborhood, as there were several claimants for the stone, and the people, too, flocked to the places indicated by the young necromancer, where hidden treasures were buried. But mark that, according to the anti-Mormon theory, while prospecting with the stone, the boy finds golden plates engraved with mysterious characters, and a manuscript purporting to give a history of the ancient inhabitants of America! What philosophic mind even can say there is "nothing extraordinary" in this? But these things, be it remembered, happened to a youth, an illiterate youth, from fifteen to twenty years of age. Now, let me ask, *who* would not have faith in such a stone, and count it as something more than a mere geological curiosity? And is it strange that Smith should use the stone, which had discovered the plates, in the translation of those plates? And is it surprising that he should have availed himself of the manuscript, if he found one, as affording some clew to the subject-matter of the ancient record? This view certainly refutes the idea of Smith being a deliberate falsifier, if nothing more, and is a strong argument even in favor of Smith's sincerity, which is a question of prime importance in this discussion. But to admit his sincerity is to concede much more than that.

Let us rise to a higher plane of criticism. The conditions potent enough to generate this new religion were the temperamental bias of the Smith

family, the religious state of the time and neighborhood in which they lived, and the discovery (accidental or otherwise) of golden plates long hidden in the earth. Those were the days of creeds which were believed and proven by the Book. The sects were at war one with the other; and, though alarmed at the progress of the doctrine of the papacy, each asserted its own infallibility. There was a general ferment; and, among the many new *isms* that sprung up in the first quarter of this century, Universalism and Unitarianism are ranked among the first; but the small show of sympathy they manifested toward each other proves how slight was the advance in the religious consciousness of the times. And now at this day even, when the Mormon standard waves over its spreading empire in the heart of this great continent, these two leading sects largely cling to the belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and in Jesus Christ as our Lord and Saviour. What, then, of orthodox Christianity *fifty or sixty years back?*

The period of the incubation of Mormonism was from about 1820 to 1830. Joseph Smith's first vision is said to have been in the year 1820, when he was but fifteen years of age, the family having moved from Royalton, Vt., to Palmyra, N.Y., and a few years later to Manchester. The family was poor, the boys working out a great deal by the day. Joseph was uneducated, having attended only one of those elementary schools so common in those days. He was the fourth of nine children. His mother was a Protestant; for she would join none of the sects, though her faith in Scripture was as strong as her faith in the churches was weak. Both parents had visions, containing intimations of new and strange events about to happen. Miracles had been wrought in the family,—one of its members apparently dead had been brought to life. The enemies of the Smiths called them "dreamers and visionary persons," little weening the part religious reverie has played in the making of faiths that have arisen to bless or curse mankind. A writer who knew Joseph in his boyhood, but whose aim is to prove him an impostor, says of him that "he assumed a spiritual or religious turn of mind, and frequently perused the Bible, becoming quite familiar with portions thereof, both of the Old and the New Testaments. His interpretations of Scriptural passages were always original and unique, and his deductions and conclusions *disgustingly blasphemous, according to the common apprehensions of Christian people.*" The mother, in writing of her son, says, "I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived on the face of the earth; all seated in a circle,—father, mother, sons, and daughters,—and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age, who had never read the Bible through in his life." So it seems that Joseph, though an adept in Scripture, did not pay it his exclusive devotion.

In 1820 there was a great religious revival near Manchester, N.Y., in which all the sects of the neighborhood took part. The struggle was fierce for a monopoly of consciences. Joseph's mind was in a state of bewilderment, when he came across a passage in the Epistle of St. James: "If any one of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." He immediately sought out a solitary place in the woods to pray. He "began to offer up the desires of his heart unto God," when "such a thick darkness gathered round him that he felt doomed to destruction"; but, the moment he seemed sinking into despair, "a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun gradually descended on him, and delivered him from the power

of the enemy." He saw two personages. One said, "This is my beloved son: hear ye him." "No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personage who stood above me in the light which of all the sects was right (for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong), and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the personage who addressed me said 'that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; their professors are corrupt, drawing near me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me,'" etc. He spoke of this vision to a Methodist preacher, who treated it "not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil; that there were no such things as visions and revelations in these days; and that all such things had ceased with the Apostles. I soon found that my telling the story had excited a great deal of prejudice against me; and, though I was an obscure boy, only between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and my circumstances in life such as to make a boy of no consequence in the world, yet men of high standing would take notice sufficient to excite the public mind against me, and create a hot persecution; and this was common among all the sects, all united to persecute me. . . . However, it was no less a fact that I had seen a vision. I have thought since that I was much like Paul before Agrippa. Some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad, and he was ridiculed and reviled; but all this did not destroy the reality of his vision. I was hated and persecuted for saying I had seen a vision, but yet it was true. I knew it, and I knew that God knew it; and I could not deny it, neither did I dare deny it."

Three years elapsed before receiving his second vision, during which time he was persecuted, he says, by those who, if they thought him deluded, should have tried in an affectionate manner to reclaim him. He does not try to conceal his faults. "I fell into many errors, displayed the weakness of youth and the corruptions of human nature; and, in consequence of which things, I felt condemned, and betook myself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God for forgiveness for all my sins and follies, and also for a manifestation to me, that I might know of my state and standing before him." This time he was in his room, when a personage appeared by his bedside "in a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. Not only was the robe exceedingly white, but his whole person was glorious beyond description, and his countenance truly like lightning." This was the angel Moroni, "who told me that God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be known, for good and evil, among all nations, kindred, tongues, and people."

This story of the visions is rejected by the Christian, mainly, because there have been no visions since Bible times; and by the infidel, because there have been none at any time. But the more ancient anything connected with religion, the better its chance of being believed. "Distance lends enchantment to the view." Rémy, however, advances this idea: "The principal ideas which inaugurate or accompany Smith's vision, and which he presents as his own personal inspirations, are to be found in the celebrated reveries of Jane Leade. Yet, strange to say, Smith does not once speak of Jane Leade, in the whole course of his apostleship!" But, because her doctrine was known to the French Illuminati, is that any proof that it was known to Joseph Smith? And does it follow that, though she occupied a distinguished place among the learned theosophists of Germany and Great Britain, Joseph Smith

may not have had revelations as well as she? John Hyde, who apostatized from Mormonism in 1857 and wrote a book about it, speaks of "the ridiculous concomitants of the eye of faith and the coming of angels." But having said to the tempter, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" he goes straight away and embraces Swedenborgianism! Of Swedenborg, Emerson says, "His profound mind admitted the perilous opinion, too frequent in religious history, that he was an abnormal person to whom was granted the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits; and this ecstasy connected itself with just this office of explaining the moral import of the world." But it was not an "opinion" with Swedenborg, for the other world was as real to him as the present one. But if he conversed with spirits, and received commissions from them, or believed that he did, why may not others do the same? There is Andrew Jackson Davis, still living, whose experience of this kind has been as wonderful as that of any one who ever lived. And he, like Joseph Smith, was a poor and ignorant boy. *Nature's Divine Revelations* are worthy of the title. How does the world explain them? How is it possible for them to be written by a youth, who never had but a few months' schooling in his life, and could not read without stopping to spell? And it is a fact worthy of note that Mormonism and what is called modern Spiritualism made their appearance at nearly the same time and place, but that the visions of Joseph Smith preceded the date assigned as the birth of the latter.

I see little cause to wonder that Joseph Smith, born with such predispositions into an atmosphere of religious strife and fanaticism, and at the same time chancing to unearth golden plates from their hiding-place of centuries, should, amid this circle of strange coincidence, feel himself the subject of supernatural care and guidance, and should link together the dreams both of his waking and sleeping hours, and not only style them, but believe them to be, heavenly visions. Others have seen angels, so the world at least professes to believe, then why not he? A negative answer is justified according to the common belief, because there was nothing good or great in the man or his doctrine. But not so fast. That is a question that remains to be discussed. There are, I presume, some Spiritualists of standing, who will admit that Smith was a medium. Brigham Young said, "Joseph was a born seer." But my own theory is that neither Mormon nor Spiritualist nor Christian nor sceptic in this case takes due account of the principle of heredity, or of ancestral and contemporary traits and customs, in their influence on the thoughts and characters of men:—

"Born into life, man grows
Forth from his parents' stem,
And blends their blood as those
Of theirs are blent in them:
So each new man strikes root into a far foretime."

T. W. CURTIS.

THE ART OF QUESTIONING CHILDREN.

In the training and education of children, far too little attention is paid, commonly, to the great usefulness of questioning them. To instruct children by lecturing to them or by reading to them, undoubtedly has its place, but these methods are far less quickening than that of talking *with* them rather than *to* them; and in conversation of all kinds, whether with children or between equals in years and in knowledge, the art of questioning is a chief element. Its advantages with children are too obvious to be stated at length or argued, such as the strict demand on the attention, and consequently the cultivation of the faculty thereof,—

faculty so important that some have even thought great genius to be simply the faculty of prolonged, ardent attention. Questioning also incites to thought, rouses the mind to direct activity, calls it out of the mere receptive attitude into productive action; and this is a directly strengthening process by which the intelligence acquires capacity to cope with problems. Besides, the constant and judicious asking of questions actually accomplishes better what is often supposed to be the chief result of direct instruction by lecturing or reading,—namely, it fills and stores the memory; for we remember best our own discoveries, and to think out a truth for ourselves is to discover it originally, no matter how many times it has been discovered before.

These points are so obvious that probably the reason why parents and teachers so much neglect the art of questioning is that it is a difficult art. It requires study, not only as to its general principles, but as to its immediate application to the subject in hand at any moment. That is to say, the teacher who wishes to question well must consider the general principles of asking questions; but, even when these are mastered, he will never be able to apply them to any subject, for the instruction of the young, without as careful preparation beforehand as if he were about to deliver a critical lecture for adults. Like other very good things, the asking of questions as a means of instruction may be abused; that is, may be so ill-done, as to be worse than asking none at all, because questions, just as much as mere lecturing, may supply the place of thought instead of inciting thought.

The following are very obvious rules for good questioning. Questions ought to be asked:—

1. So as not to elicit merely a *yes* or a *no* for the answer;
2. So as not to indicate the answer by a direct leading question;
3. Yet so as to help toward the answer,—that is, to lead in its direction.
4. So as to open and develop the subject in an orderly and progressive manner, that one thought and one truth may grow out of another, and thus the child have a complete, well-arranged idea of the subject, so far as he is conducted in it.
5. So as not to supply the words, but to make it necessary for the child to use his own language in framing the answer. This, as producing a mental exercise, is perhaps as important as any rule.

It is a good plan to ask for definitions of common ideas or objects, and, when an answer is received, to probe and test it by facts. A definition of anything is really a theory of its nature, and is to be tested, like other theories, by as large an array of facts as possible, to determine whether the theory includes all the facts. When definitions are thus asked, very likely one will be given quickly if the object or thought be familiar, but almost certainly it will be deficient in some element necessary to the definition; and thus good questioning will lead from point to point, until all the needful elements are supplied by the child's answers.

These thoughts were suggested by a class exercise which I attended, during which a colloquy like the following occurred between teacher and pupils:

Teacher.—What is a falsehood?

Pupil.—Saying something that is not true.

T.—But suppose you make a mistake: are all mistakes falsehoods?

P.—No: mistakes are not falsehoods. A falsehood is *intentionally* saying something that is not true.

T.—Well, if one writes a story book, tells a fairy story, is that telling falsehoods?

P.—No: fairy stories are not falsehoods.

T.—But fairy stories are intentional statements of what is not true, which you have declared to be a falsehood.

P.—Well, a falsehood is saying what is not true with *intent to deceive*.

T.—But suppose I do not say a word, but only do some act with an intent to deceive. Is that a falsehood?

P.—Yes.

T.—Then how will you add that to the definition?

P.—A falsehood is either doing or saying something with intent to deceive.

T.—Well, suppose I put bait on a hook and hang it in the water to catch fish. Shall I call that a falsehood?

P.—No.

T.—But that is doing something with intent to deceive. Suppose, again, I am pursued by a furious animal, and I deceive him to get away. Is that a falsehood?

P.—No.

T.—Then what will you do with your definition?

P.—A falsehood is doing or saying something not true with intent to deceive a *human being*.

T.—But suppose that, instead of being pursued by a wild beast, I am pursued by an insane man, and I should make some pretence or play some trick to save myself: why would that be a falsehood, if it be not a falsehood to deceive a wild animal?

P.—That would not be what we mean by a falsehood.

T.—Try the definition again then.

P.—A falsehood is doing or saying something not true with intent to deceive a human being for a *selfish or bad purpose*.

The questioning went on further in a very interesting manner; but this will do for our illustration, for at this point the teacher had conducted his pupils by the exercise of their own minds to one object he had in view,—namely, such a definition of a falsehood as included the motive.

Let teachers study this art conscientiously, and they will be richly rewarded by the progress of the minds whose development they have in charge. Of course, the greatest exemplar of this useful art known in history was Socrates,—an illustration of it so great that, next to his high morality, it is his chief claim to renown.

J. V. BLAKE.

MATTER.

The majority of people think they know a great deal about matter. They name its so-called properties and qualities, never doubting that they are describing an external substance as it exists *per se*, instead of the different ways in which their consciousness is affected by a reality of whose ultimate nature they know nothing. They imagine that outward things are directly mirrored by the senses, and that they are exactly what they seem to be. Tell them that to us matter is a congeries of qualities,—weight, resistance, extension, etc.; that these words imply and describe our own conscious states, and the effects on us of an external reality rather than the reality itself,—and they are utterly unable to comprehend what you mean.

It is none the less true that mind and matter form a synthesis, and neither can be conceived without the other. We are compelled to think of mind in terms of matter, and matter in terms of mind. The hardness and softness (resistance), for example, which we ascribe to matter are sensations: the substantial form in which we are com-

pelled to represent mind is necessarily material. Every perception, every sensation, implies a sensitive organism and an external reality acting upon the organism; in other words, two factors, without either of which sensation is inconceivable. This is what Aristotle meant when he described sensation as "the common act of the feeling and the felt." Without the living organism, what are sound, color, fragrance, hardness, softness, light, and darkness, or any of the so-called secondary, not to speak here of the so-called primary, qualities of matter? Can there be sound without an ear to collect and transmit the aerial vibrations to the acoustic nerve where, to use a materialistic terminology, they can be assimilated and transformed by some mysterious process into sensation, or where they can be so modified that the motion in its *subjective* aspect becomes the sensation we call sound? Without an eye can there be luminous effect?

There must be both vibrations of the air and an acoustic nerve to have sound, undulations of ether and retinal sensibility to have light, emanations of particles and an olfactory nerve to have fragrance, and external objects and nervous sensibility to have hardness or softness. Vibrations of the air, undulations of ether, emanations of particles, and external objects may all exist in the absence of a living organism; but what are sound and luminousness, fragrance and hardness, but sensations? And, of the external factors mentioned, what do we know, except in connection with the subjective factor? We need not pursue these reflections far, to become convinced of the truth of Tyndall's remark, that "matter is essentially transcendental in its nature." By psychological analysis, our conceptions of matter are reducible to sensation, "the common act of the feeling and the felt"; and this is what Fénelon meant, when he said of matter, "It is a *je ne sais quoi*, which melts within my hands as soon as I press it."

Let no one imagine that these facts give any support to the theory that there is no objective reality and that everything resolves itself into the various states of the conscious subject. The doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, as Kant and Spencer have shown, leads logically to the conclusion, in accord with the universal reason and common sense of mankind, that there is something beyond consciousness that, in co-operation with the organism, produces the sensations of which we are conscious. What is the externality? What can be affirmed of it? We turn to the great philosopher Kant, and he tells us that knowledge of the object unmodified by the subject can never be known, since subject and object co-operate in every act of cognition; and that, "though the existence of an external world is a necessary postulate, its existence is only logically affirmed." "As well might the bird, when feeling the resistance of the air, wish that it were in *vacuo*, thinking that then it might fly with the greatest ease." And Spencer says, "The antithesis of subject and object, never to be transcended while consciousness lasts, renders impossible all knowledge of that Ultimate Reality in which subject and object unite." Mr. Fiske declares that we cannot identify it with mind, "since what we know as Mind is a series of phenomenal manifestations," nor with matter, "since what we know as Matter is a series of phenomenal manifestations. Thus is Materialism included in the same condemnation with Idealism." What is the Ultimate Reality that produces in us coexistent or sequent states of consciousness, that appears to us under the forms and appearances of space, matter, force, time, and motion? Who shall tell?

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

ALL subscribers of *The Index* who are in arrears on their subscriptions will confer a favor by sending the amounts due to this office with as little delay as possible.

A TORONTO despatch to a Boston paper says that a Frenchman named Paquet, a professed infidel, while denying in a discussion the doctrine of eternal punishment, "was stricken with paralysis the whole of one side from head to foot, including tongue, losing vitality." This is a case of which Joseph Cook can make effective use in support of his favorite doctrine, and one which seems to yield him a good deal of satisfaction,—the eternal punishment of unbelievers.

A LETTER from Whittier was read at a recent Woman Suffrage Convention, in which the poet expressed his views as follows:—

My interest in the cause is unabated, and every movement in the cause has my hearty sympathy. The signs of its ultimate success are increasing in all sections of the country, and I find very little of the bitter opposition to it which existed a few years ago. The active and persistent hostility of a few women in our State has given our legislators, who are indifferent or afraid of compromising themselves with their party, an excuse for fighting against it hitherto. But there are many indications that the question will soon be submitted to the people for decision, and that the people will sustain it.

THE *Presbyterian* conveys to its readers the impression that Dr. Davidson having praised *The Index*, this paper in return indulged in extravagant eulogy of Dr. Davidson. After quoting the words of the distinguished gentleman in regard to *The Index*, the *Presbyterian* adds: "Not to be beaten in the high art of eulogy, *The Index* takes its turn, describes Dr. Davidson as the 'most eminent Biblical scholar in England and the head and front of the Protestant scholars of the world.' Honors are easy." The *Presbyterian* made the above statement knowing that Dr. Davidson's reference to *The Index* and the mention of his high rank as a scholar were given as an extract from a letter, and without any editorial comment whatever. The *Presbyterian's* remark is a distortion of the truth.

IN one of our exchanges, we find the following story:—

A young Irishman visited Rome, and there met a friend and fellow-countryman, who was pursuing the avocation of butcher. The butcher acted as his guide; and this is a part of Pat's story of sight-seeing, as told to his sweetheart upon his return: "The most wonderful thing I saw in Rome was a shtone man." "A shtone man," ejaculated Mary. "Yes," replied Pat, "and they called him the Polly Belvedere. As we were looking at the shtone man, says the butcher to me, says he, 'Pat, you and the Polly Belvedere are very much aloike.' And be that we measured. I was broader than him in the fut, but he was higher than me in the inshtep. I was larger than him around the ankle, but he had me in the calf of the leg. My knee was larger than his, but he was better than me in the thigh. My belly was twice as large around as his, but his brist was twice as large around as mine. Then, again, my neck was much larger than his; but his head was much larger than mine. But, as the butcher said, on the general average, we were just about the same thing."

HERBERT SPENCER thus indicates how the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge necessitates the postulation of an unknowable Reality beyond consciousness:—

If, after finding that the same tepid water may feel warm to one hand and cold to another, it is inferred that warmth is relative to our nature and our own state, the inference is valid, only supposing the activity on which these different sensations are referred is an

activity out of ourselves, which has not been modified by our own activities. When we are taught that a piece of matter, regarded by us as existing externally, cannot be really known, but that we can know only certain impressions produced on us, we are yet by the relativity of our thought compelled to think of a positive cause. The notion of a real existence which generated these impressions becomes nascent. The momentum of thought inevitably carries us beyond conditioned existence to unconditioned existence; and this ever persists in us as the body of a thought to which we can give no shape. . . . At the same time that, by the laws of thought, we are rigorously prevented from forming a conception of absolute existence, we are by the laws of thought prevented from ridding ourselves of the consciousness of absolute existence, this consciousness being, as we see, the obverse of absolute existence.—*First Principles*.

THE only ground on which the restrictions on Sunday amusements can be defended must be that they are religiously wrong,—a motive of legislation which can never be too earnestly protested against. "*Deorum injuriæ Dîs curæ*." It remains to be proved that society or any of its officers holds a commission from on high to avenge any supposed offence to Omnipotence which is not also a wrong to our fellow-creatures. The notion that it is one man's duty that another should be religious was the foundation of all the religious persecution ever perpetrated, and, if admitted, would fully justify them. Though the feeling which breaks out in the repeated attempts to stop railway travelling on Sunday, in the resistance to the opening of museums and the like, has not the cruelty of the old persecutors, the state of mind indicated by it is fundamentally the same. It is a determination not to tolerate others in doing what is permitted by their religion, because it is not permitted by the persecutors' religion. It is a belief that God not only abominates the act of the misbeliever, but will not hold us guiltless if we leave him unmolested.—*John Stuart Mill*.

OUR comments in reply to the *Commonwealth's* ill-natured reference to the Free Religious Association and to some remarks in *The Index* relating to the views of Mr. John Fiske seem to have irritated the editor of that journal, who is in no philosophic mood these days. Worse still, he is a little arrogant where he is not well informed, and seeks to divert attention from the weakness of his own intellectual equipment by the disparagement of others, just as though the methods of philosophy were the methods of ordinary party politics, and as though such tactics could have influence among thinkers. The paragraph to which the *Commonwealth* originally took exception was one in which we pointed out the inconsistency of Mr. Fiske in claiming, as he does in *Cosmic Philosophy*, that we have no right to predicate of the Ultimate Reality morality, purpose, design, will, or intelligence,—which is also the position of Spencer,—and then, in his latest essay, arguing for immortality from the reasonableness and moral character of God. In reply to this, the *Commonwealth* can only deplore our ignorance of Spencer and Fiske, and quote from somebody to the effect that Mr. Fiske's theism has been pronounced from the time of his *Cosmic Philosophy*, etc., evidently not knowing that what Mr. Fiske calls "Cosmic Theism" in the work above named is identical with Spencer's agnosticism, the theory of an Unknowable Reality of which no intellectual or moral qualities can be affirmed. For applying the term "theism" to such a theory, Mr. Fiske has been criticised by some of the best thinkers among those who accept and among those who reject the theory. The *Commonwealth* says we "had better undergo a fresh course of Spencer and of Fiske before venturing to write anything more of either." A fresh course of any good thinker is always beneficial. If the editor of

the *Commonwealth* had ever read the philosophical works of either of these writers, the truth and fairness of our criticism which he made a pretext for a thrust at the Free Religious Association as well as *The Index* would have been obvious to him, as it was to every thinker whom we have heard express an opinion on the subject. His determination to withdraw from the discussion is, under the circumstances, the best thing he can do. Philosophical discussion is not his forte.

OUR free-thought friends across the water do not know what to make of the recent action of the National Liberal League. The editor of the London *Secular Review*, W. Stewart Ross, has this to say on the subject:—

It is a queer affair, this Yankee Liberal League, take it for all in all. It voted \$5,000 to defray its expenses for the year, when it really had no money at all to vote. What it really voted was permission to beg for \$5,000; and its principal, if not its only, work, besides giving a few Cat-and-Ladle lectures, seems to be to tout about and rave and rout for the dollars, two of the "liberal" journals having constituted themselves into alms-boxes for the mendicant friars of Secularism. . . . The "Liberals," too, are amusing, if they were not so bewildering. Their energetic and enthusiastic Secretary has to assure them that they are not, as a body, committed to sending filth through the post-office in spite of Anthony Comstock. But the Secretary is, of course, only the servant of his employers, and has no more power to say "filth" or "no filth" than we have. That power is in the hands of Congress assembled. But Congress assembled said, "Go ye out into all the earth, and beg for \$5,000"; and, beyond this, nobody seems to be quite sure what it said, and all is at sixes and sevens. Free thought, as we understand it, is never to be advanced in this way. A great and exceedingly wonderful people are the Americans: they have the biggest lakes in the world and the biggest—No, we shan't.

The League was never "committed to sending filth through the post-office," but only to a demand for the repeal of certain postal laws against the transmission of indecent literature through the mails. This demand was supported by men like O. B. Frothingham, Elizur Wright, and James Parton, and, as they believed, in the interests of liberty, not to encourage the circulation of filth. The same has been true, as we have always claimed, of the great majority of the adherents of the repeal policy. That this policy was a mistake has been virtually conceded by the leaders of the League. The secretary even announces that the League is no longer committed to it; but this is not true, since the resolutions pledging the League to that policy have never been rescinded. There was nothing wrong in voting to raise money for the work of State secularization, but the present leaders of the League are open to the severest criticism in announcing that the sole object is State secularization and calling upon Christians as well as non-Christians for contributions, and then using the money and machinery of the League for a crusade against Christianity. "A great and exceedingly wonderful people are the Americans," no doubt; but the most prominent leader of the League to-day is not an American, but an Englishman, and until very recently editor of the journal from which the above extract is taken.

CHARITY.

For *The Index*.

Gratitude, like the fragrance of a flower,
Upriseth in the forest of the soul,
When kindly dews benevolence doth shower
Fall lightly on it, in its hours of dole.

Who would not be the one to scatter down
Those tears of human love with lavish hand!
They shine like jewels from a royal crown,
And cause the buds of gladness to expand.

MELBORA CLARK.

MADISON, WIS., 1884.

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

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

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For The Index.

THE GLORIOUS GOD.

A Discourse given before the First Congregational Society at New Bedford, April 6, 1884.

BY WM. J. POTTER.

"God's glory is a wondrous thing,
Most strange in all its ways,
And, of all things on earth, least like
What men agree to praise."

This little verse was the seed-text from which this discourse grew; and I cannot, perhaps, better introduce my subject than by telling you just how the growth started. The verse is one of five which stand together in our Hymn Book; but those five are selected from a much larger number, and the hymn to which they belong was written by the devout Roman Catholic, Faber. Though the general sentiment of the hymn is one to which our hearts might respond, there are in it certain ways of explaining religious truths (I refer more especially to the whole hymn as Faber wrote it) which would hardly accord with the thought of those of us who are accustomed to join in these Sunday services here. And, in looking over the pages of our book to select hymns for our weekly services, I have sometimes passed by this fine hymn, which for its general sentiment I wanted to take, because this verse in particular seemed to be contrary to my customary teachings. We believe, do we not, in a rational, natural religion, immediately connected with the practical, intelligible, everyday duties and dispositions of mankind,—a religion chiefly synonymous with plain, simple goodness, with good aspirations and good efforts and good conduct, with knowledge of and obedience to the natural laws that are stamped upon, and the uplifting forces that are at work within, the world of matter and the world of man; and such obedience, such good dispositions and good deeds, which, in our way of thinking, are the best manifestation of divine power in humanity, it appears

to us that men in general do "agree to praise," when they clearly see and understand them. This verse, on the contrary, seems to inculcate the idea of religion as something strange and foreign to man's natural experience; as something to come by mysterious and special grace, which the natural reason cannot be expected to comprehend nor even to praise. Its key-thought, apparently, is that old conception of Orthodoxy that God's revelation of himself, not only in history, but to the individual soul, is miraculous,—an interposed visitation by the Holy Spirit for purposes of conversion, and in specially providential ways not to be understood nor judged by human reason. And, very likely, some such thought as this was in Faber's mind when he wrote the verse. But Faber was a true poet. And in every true poet, religious or other, there is a profounder meaning than can be translated by any prose rendering. It is for this reason that many of the old hymns and anthems, which conform verbally to a theology which we discard, may yet do service in the expression of a feeling that goes deeper than theology. And last Sunday, as I read this hymn to you to be sung, choosing it then as I had once or twice before with a silent protest against a portion of it, another possible meaning of this special verse came to me, and therewith the thought-kernel of this discourse,—which I bring you to-day,—over which I have ventured to write the words, "The Glorious God."

And yet, after writing the words there, I shrink from the theme. Shall any one venture to sound the depths of that mystery of infinite being in which we, and this universe and all things in it, live and move and have our being? Shall any finite mind have the audacity to attempt to portray the ways, the attributes, the aims of Infinite Mind? attempt to talk of an existence which, by the very fact that we call it *infinite*, we admit to be boundless, incapable of being described, incapable of being comprehended? Does not the old text meet us, to forbid the essay at the outset,—"*Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out*"? We can understand how the believer in a miraculous revelation of Deity, the believer in a scheme of theology which is alleged to contain a celestially illuminated chart of God's entire nature and dealings with mankind, should venture to speak of his power and glory as something which man can define and describe. But how can one to whose thought Deity is and must be, by the very necessity of the case, largely hidden, one to whom Infinite Being means literally and actually unbounded and illimitable being, and the unfathomable unknown must ever be more than the known,—how can such a one dare to attempt any expression of such a thought as the glory of God?

But, on the other hand, if we can retain, with the natural exercise of our faculty of reason, anything of the religious sentiment; if we are to define religion as anything more than or different from morality, then it is necessary that there should remain some such thought as this; and, if the thought, then also some possible way of giving it utterance. Words may not utter it fully,—this thought of the possible divine glory: music may often sound its depths deeper than words. Yet words may suggest the interpretation, even though not able to make it complete. And at this day, when positive knowledge is our boast and the tendency is so strong to confine thought to the limits of the world of phenomena; at this day, when we go to the scientists and the cyclopedias to explain all the mysteries of the world-forces, and the theologies in which we were bred are vanishing like the fairy stories of our childhood, and what we once read as history is turning into

uncertain tradition and legend and myth; at this day, when the archaeologists and biologists are following back the trail of unbroken evolution in the history of man and the history of the planet he occupies for vast ages back of the time where we used to put creation, and the words "heredity" and "law" and "force" are applied as labels to whole regions of life formerly thought to be under the direct control of a personal deity; at this day, too, when, on the other hand, what cannot be thus studied and explained, mapped and labelled as positive knowledge, is apt to be put aside as unworthy of consideration among practical men and women,—as a country not only unexplored, but *unexplorable*, not only unknown, but *unknowable*,—amid such tendencies of thought, there is some danger that not only much of the mystery, but much of the beauty, poetry, and power of uplifting sentiment, that have been associated with religious ideas, will also vanish. I think it very necessary, therefore, that those of us who accept the results of the new science and of the new methods of studying man's history on the earth should be ready to set forth, if we can, any truer and grander thought of Deity which may have come to us in lieu of the old theological conceptions which science has displaced.

And we may say, in the first place, that our thought of the divine power and glory meets the test of the verse that is our text in this,—that it is, of all things, "least like" what men in general, thinking of that power and glory, "agree to praise." What is the idea of God held by the vast majority of the people of Christendom? It is the idea of an Almighty Being seated in majesty and magnificence on a throne above the skies, after the pattern of a human sovereign, touched with paternal benignity, but ruling the world from that distant heavenly throne by a double system of laws and special providences. It is of a being who made this universe in the first place either out of his own nature, calling the very atoms of matter into existence, or out of material atoms existing co-eternally with himself; building it thence as a master mechanic fashions a machine, and who then impressed upon it the laws and forces necessary to keep it in operation and peopled it with living creatures, while he retired to his celestial abode to govern it henceforth by these general laws and by occasional startling interventions of supernatural power. It is of a being who, in primitive ages, visited the earth in the form of man, walked upon its surface, talked with its first inhabitants, commanded them what to do and from what to abstain. Aye, it is of a being who was once born on this earth of a human mother, and grew here from babyhood to manhood, and then lived for a brief time a devoted life of goodness, and was put to death on a cross, and ascended again to heaven, where he remains to judge the world of mankind as death shall summon them before him. This is the central conception of Deity believed in by the great majority of the Christian populations of the earth. And this, with its various accessories of creative and sovereign power, of monarchical magnificence, of arbitrary judgment mingled with paternal compassion, of almighty will and all-knowing wisdom, is what the mass of the people in Christian congregations "agree to praise" in their worship. Or go into other religions, the same anthropomorphic idea of God prevails. It is God a great and powerful ruler, a king, at best a sovereign father; God, too, who once lived on the earth in the form of man, or perhaps even lives there to-day, surrounded with power and arrayed in the habiliments of glory.

But the divine glory that we would seek is, of all things on earth, least like what these people

have in mind as God. We do not look for it in the god Jupiter, nor the god Jehovah, nor the god Osiris, nor the god Thor, nor the god Brahma, nor the god Jesus. All these were honest and sincere, but ineffectual attempts to express the inexpressible, to define the undefinable, to personify an existence and power which in its essence must forever remain above all human conceptions of personality. They served their historic time and purpose. They marked some aspect and direction of human thought in its effort to grapple with the problem of the ultimate cause of things. They were reaches after the Divine, approaches toward it, but none of them revealed the fulness of its glory. In all the religions, and in Christendom especially, people have been too much wont to glorify their own metaphysical speculations about Deity, their own mental conceptions of him, to take these as his revealings, and to pass by the actual revelations of divine power going on right around them. What a vast amount of religious energy and devotion, for instance, has been spent in setting forth the glory of the divine nature and work according to the purely metaphysical conception of the triune personality of the Godhead! The assertion may be safely risked that no person ever succeeded in getting a logical, rational idea of this doctrine. Indeed, the last resort of all argument upon it has always been that it is a doctrine not to be understood by reason, but to be accepted by faith. But the time has passed when any considerable number of thoughtful minds, awake to the thought of this new age in which we are living, can be content to look for the divine glory in these metaphysical creeds wherein men have put their own conceptions of Deity; or in any names, however sacred and ancient, which have survived from man's earnest but futile effort to define and personify the power in which and by which and amid which he felt that his own being was embosomed and kept in existence.

"The glorious God,"—where, then, shall man look for the living counterpart, if there be any, of this thought? Where but in the universe—this universe of nature and man—which is the only possible presentation of divine power that comes within our knowledge? This universe is itself the shining garment by which the divine power is made visible. While people have been looking away into the past and trying to keep hold of their belief in God by holding to the creeds and conceptions of him that were framed centuries ago, and saying to themselves and repeating in their churches, "What a glory was then revealed to the world!" lo, here is the same God, existing apparently as he has always existed, working as he has always worked, right in the familiar scenes of nature and human life, close around us every day. It is not that the divine glory is so far off that it is becoming dimmed, but that we miss seeing it because it is so near. Let us lift two or three of the curtains from these hiding-places among the every-day facts of our lives,—just lifting a little the drapery of these very phenomena with which science deals, and in the knowledge of which we have such an advantage over the ancients; and *because* of our knowledge of which it is sometimes boasted that we have no occasion for any God at all this side of that curtain of the absolutely unknowable which can never be lifted at all. If I mistake not, we shall find the glory, "wondrous" and "strange in all its ways," shining all around us, just behind and through the most known and familiar things.

Every year, before the winter has loosed its icy grip upon the earth, you begin to see the animal wonder of a new spring-time. Under sheltering fences or the sunny side of your houses, and close

up to the warm stones of your doorstep, which have been heated all day in the March sun, you may have seen the grass springing up and putting on its dress of living green. It was the first streaks of the dawn of that coming glory of life and color, of leaf and flower and fruit, which in a few months are spread over all this northern zone of earth. It comes so steadily and surely, and we have become so accustomed to its coming year after year, that we do not see the wondrousness of it as we should, were our eyes to behold it for the first time. Then, indeed, we should stand amazed, if not worshipful, before the spectacle of the awakening life and beauty. And you say, too, that you know the cause of it,—that the earth in its annual circuit round the sun turns at this season its northern hemisphere, by reason of the angle between its equator and the ecliptic, more directly to the sun's rays, and hence receives more of the sun's heat. But the process is none the less wonderful, though you may give its reason and even scientifically analyze all the details of it from beginning to end. It is, to begin with, a sufficiently stupendous fact that that luminary in the heavens, ninety-two millions of miles away, should be the yearly incubator of life on this planet. What is the secret power behind that glory? But the process of it, as science unfolds it, is a tale more wonderful than any legends of genii or deities that the old mythological religions taught or stories of fairy spirits that belong to nursery lore. How is that blade of grass at your doorstep linked with the sun? Mechanically, by a gossamer web, as it were, of ether, spread invisibly within our atmosphere and through all the interplanetary and interstellar spaces of the heavens, and acting as the conductor of both light and heat. Heat, you know, is a mode of motion. In the sun, it is the resultant of the constant motion of the sun's constituent matter. This motion is transmitted—transmitted as heat—to the contiguous atoms of the ether, which are set to vibrating, and these hand it to the atoms lying next, and these to the next, and so on, until, precisely as motion is communicated through a whole row of marbles which a boy strikes at one end, the heat of the sun is communicated through the ninety-two million miles of the vibratory waves of the gossamer web of ether, and strikes your doorstep, and touches the dead-looking grass-root in the crevice below it. And, when the sun's rays become sufficiently vertical to make this touch powerful enough, it starts that activity in the root which soon shows itself in the green blade above and harbingers the spring. It sets an energy to work in those rootlets by which they seize from the earth and air just the chemical particles needed to build that green leaf of grass; and these particles, then, are sent upward in the sap by the principle of a suction pump, to be digested and separated by the leaf itself.

And this is an epitome of what the sun is doing by its magic art at every spring-time over all the expanse of the meadows and in every forest, every shrub and tree and bud, all round the globe. Nay, the sun has been scientifically shown to be not only the annual renewer and preserver of the vegetable life of the earth, but the source of all life, animal as well as vegetable, and of all physical power and beauty that are anywhere manifest on this earth. It is Tyndall, remembering the law of the correlation of forces as well as this immediate effect of the sun's heat, who says: "The sun rears the whole vegetable world, and through it the animal; the lilies of the field are his workmanship, the verdure of the meadows, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. He forms the muscle, he urges the blood, he builds the brain. . . . He builds the forest and hews it down, the power which

raised the tree and which wields the axe being one and the same. The clover sprouts and blossoms, and the scythe of the mower swings, by the operation of the same force. The sun digs the ore from our mines; he rolls the iron; he rivets the plates; he boils the water; he draws the train. . . . There is not a hammer raised, a wheel turned, or a shuttle thrown, that is not raised and turned and thrown by the sun." Well may this enthusiastic devotee of science add: "Presented rightly to the mind, the discoveries and generalizations of modern science constitute a poem more sublime than has ever yet been addressed to the intellect and imagination of man. The natural philosopher of to-day may dwell amid conceptions which beggar those of Milton." And to this I may add that, though Milton's conceptions were theological and these are scientific, these are none the less concerned with the Divine. What is behind this glory of multitudinous life that marches over the earth with every spring? Have we reached its primal source in the sun? Nay: the sun is but the shadow of some power older and mightier still. The sun is but one of many millions of suns, each with its family of planets, which it warms and lights and peoples with life, and arms with power. We should have to lift the whole curtain of the starry heavens to behold the revelation of the inconceivable glory of which the sun is but one ray.

Let us lift another of these curtains of phenomenal facts in the domain of positive knowledge. Many of you, I hope, have read, some, perhaps, have heard, that incomparable sermon, by our friend William C. Gannett, on the "Treasures of the Snow,"—one of the four miracles of the year, he calls it. You who have heard it, or you who have read it, know with what exquisite poetic touch he unlocks the snow-flake, and tells what may there be seen under the powerful microscope, or is scientifically inferred from what the microscope discloses. Yet, exquisite in poetic feeling and expression as is his description, the poetry, beauty, and wonder are all in the simple facts themselves. The driest chronicles of science tell them all,—how every tiniest snow-flake is made up of crystals which are put together in upwards of a thousand different varieties of form: in prisms, three-sided and six-sided; in pyramids, and in prisms capped with pyramids; in star-shapes, the lines radiating from a centre of glory, star sometimes within star, and these within a third and a fourth; in prisms capped with stars at both ends; in fern shapes with all the varieties that are found among ferns in the forests. But, through all this mingling of different forms, there is no disorder, no misfit. The lines, the joints, the angles, are all drawn with mathematical precision. No deft fingers of the most skilled and patient workman in China can copy their exactness. And through all the variety there is identity, too. There is one mathematical law that pervades the whole structure. To quote now from my friend: "Snow-nature is bound by a law of sixes. The sides of every prism and pyramid meet at one angle,—that of sixty degrees or its multiples; the rays of every star diverge at that one angle; every vein upon those little fern leaves joins its stem at that one angle or its multiples. The snow stars are all six-rayed, or rarely twelve; the centres all hexagonal. Watch the flakes of a whole winter's storms, climb Chimborazo, go to the pole, or make your mimic snow-storm for yourself inside a chemist's bottle,—never will you find a finished star with five rays or with seven, or with that law of the angles broken. The rays themselves are broken, but never that creative law. Bruised, shattered, huddled together, the snow-flakes reach us; but through all bruise and shatter that law of sixes lies plain upon them.

By that they are born and live and die." Well may my friend add, "Is it not very impressive and full of awe even,—these mathematics carried down to the microscopic measurements,—the grand legislation of the universe laid thus upon its invisible atoms!" Surely, *some* power has its *shechinah*, not only in the majesty of the storm, but in this glory of every single snow-flake that falls at our feet or that melts away unseen in the air.

Shall we lift another curtain on a somewhat different scene? Look, then, at the cell from which comes all animal life. In its first original stage, there is nothing to distinguish whether bird or beast or man is to come from it. *What* shall come depends on some hidden formative principle in itself inherited from its ancestry and upon the environment to which it is to be subjected in its development. Suppose it is to become human. It then draws to itself in time, by a mechanism which man's inventive genius may wonder at, but cannot imitate, the materials for building that most consummate of all nature's structures, the human body. The animal, vegetable, and mineral worlds are drawn upon for tribute to build it. But, beyond all animal structures before it, this human body becomes a *thinker*. Its brain is not simply used instinctively to push its own fortunes in the struggle for a merely animal existence, but it becomes an instrument of conscious reflection upon the very work and purpose of nature itself in bringing it into being. It dares even to assert—this human brain—that it sees nature's aim, understands the intelligence that is impressed on the snow flake and planted in the seed and that struggles through all the graceful or uncouth forms of animal life; and it has the audacity—this human brain—to say further, "I can help complete this plan: I see that mathematics in the snow-flake means the law of justice in mankind; that order in the material universe means morality in human society; that the relation of mutual dependence and helpfulness evident between the forces of nature means brotherhood among men." And thus this human brain, whose pedigree thirty years before we could not distinguish in the cell nor whose future prophesy, becomes, under the laws and forces of its own existence, not only a thinker, but a doer of righteousness. Here it becomes a Plato, there a Washington, and there again a Jesus. And, in hosts of humbler men and women, it manifests itself in deeds of loving-kindness and tender mercies. It is a builder of states, a ruler of nations, a creator of the arts of civilization. It discovers the secrets of nature, learns the management of her forces, educates and transmits its own power, organizes philanthropy for the improvement and preservation of the race to which it belongs. The potent life-forces hidden in that tiny cell have unfolded into a power and glory that may well be called godlike in their character.

Let us draw aside yet another veil in the world of scientific fact, one behind which is promised a near view—almost, indeed, a veritable revelation—of the central mystery of life itself in its most elemental forces. A few years ago, the scientific journals were thrilling with fresh interest over a new discovery. It seemed as if, at last, human research, through the agency of the microscope, were to be rewarded with a sight of the primordial substance in which all organic life had begun, and which is the necessary substratum of all continued vitality. *Protoplasm* was the word coined to name this wonderful and unique form of matter, which appeared to carry in itself the "promise and potency" of all modes of terrestrial life. Let us look for a moment at its nature and habits through the eyes of a man of science. Putting under the lenses of a powerful microscope a section of the leaf of an

aquatic plant peculiarly adapted to disclose the protoplasmic life-current, and, supposing his readers to be gazing at it with him, a scientific professor says: "You behold a series of cells. But through the thin wall of any cell appears a flowing stream. . . . A very river it seems as it rushes on, wave after wave, up from the depths below, across the field of vision and down again, over and over or round and round, in ceaseless rotation. Now, the current catches in its course this little particle, now that, hurling each along, now up, now down, now over, now under, without weariness, without hindrance, hour after hour before us. And now, as the stream goes on so grandly, think, for a moment, what it is at which we gaze. We call it protoplasm; but it is the current of *life*, the 'physical basis of life,'—the common bond which binds in one the whole kingdom of organic things. Think, too, of the antiquity of that stream, of its lineage. The brook that 'goes on forever' is as nothing to it; for here the stream has come flowing down through ages which are to us as eternity ever since life began on earth. The mountains have been hoary with years, and have disappeared beneath the level of the all-producing sea; but this stream is older than they. Continents have grown old, worn out, and been renewed, rebuilt from the debris of this same stream, and life has again flooded those continents; but this stream is older than they. . . . [In the interminable past] the vast procession of life begins, rises before us, spreads away in variety, activity, in beauty, in wonderfulness, incomprehensible." Verily, this seems like lifting the veil in the Hebrew temple, behind which was conceived to be imaged the Eternal *I am*,—the Being that was, and is, and is to be, from everlasting to everlasting.

And so we might go on, lifting the curtains from this familiar life all about us, and of which we are ourselves a part; and on every side, from every nearest or remotest or obscurest corner, there would be revealed to us the same ineffable wonder of activity, of order, of arrangement, of beauty, of power, in the great and in the little. We need not go outside of the sensible universe for the demonstration of a divine glory beyond anything and everything that the theological creeds have ever been able to give us in their conceptions of Almighty Being.

But, though we thus keep within the limits of sensible demonstration, there is something within the revelation at every lifting of the curtain of phenomena which the phenomena themselves do not explain,—something which they suggest, manifest, but do not account for. There is always one secret unrevealed. We see into the glory, we are amazed and awed before it; but we see not the source of it. There is always one question unanswered. Touch nature where we will, follow Science up her roadways and byways in whatever direction we may, we shall find everywhere the wonder, the power, the glory; but behind all curtains that are drawn aside there remains one inner curtain that is never lifted. Science shows us the wondrous material atom containing within itself the potency for all forms of organization and life, but the secret of that *potency* she does not disclose. She takes us to "vital force" as the formative, guiding principle in every living organism; but whence and what the *vital force* she has not yet explained. Even if she prove it to be chemical force, that is but a step farther back. She carries us back to *Force* itself as a primordial element in the origin of things, to *Force* as eternal and imperishable, remaining one and the same amid all the changes and correlations of it in the manifold forces of the universe; but she has not told us how we are to conceive of this mighty

primal energy, in and of what it consists or what the philosophy of its existence. She points us to the infinitesimal nerve-cells of the human brain where this wondrous primal energy, after the civilizing discipline of millions of generations of organic existence, sets up housekeeping as a rational thinker and a doer of righteousness. But how the connection has been established between the nerve-cell and the thought, and whether, with the dissolution of the house, the *housekeeper* also ceases existence, are problems which Science has not solved. She bids us look at the protoplasmic current in its ceaseless flux and reflux, and almost promises there to unlock for us the final mystery of the secret of life. But whence the beginning, what the cause of the protoplasmic current, she has made no revelation. We may look in and see, as behind a glass case, how the work of life goes on; but we see not the secret power that starts it and sustains it. If we touch with a needle the wall of the current at which we have been gazing, thinking to investigate closer, instantly "the charm is broken, the mystic river ceases to flow, the tiny particles settle into unbroken peace." That cell, in fact, on which we gaze is then dead, while all the others remain alive; and so the curtain falls upon the secret unexplained. So, turn whichever way we will, back of the boundless glory that we behold lies the mystery of a power unrevealed.

Shall we say, then, that God is only in the *hidden mystery*? That he is not revealed at all, because the very paths which are lighted for us by the glory lead us finally to barriers beyond which we cannot pass nor see? That, because we cannot know him wholly, he is, therefore, wholly "the Unknowable"? That he is in the infinity beyond that barrier, but not in the finite beauty, order, power, majesty, goodness, love, whose source we have traced up to that line? Nay: by the very discovery brought to us by science, that all force or energy is one and self-persistent, however manifold its forms, our logical intellect may leap that barrier to unite the phenomenal glories on the hither side and the sovereign substance of being unrevealed beyond, in the inseparable links of one all-pervading power and life. Life infinite and life finite are but one life. As one force, one law, bind together and penetrate this common earth which we daily tread and the heavens into whose star-populated depths we gaze, but which we can never wholly fathom, so is this whole universe of our senses bound to and pervaded by the unfathomable sovereignty of being that escapes all tests which our senses can meet or our science devise.

And an added glory comes into the universe of phenomena, because of this very mystery of sovereign being in which it is embosomed. Our world—this little earth—takes on dignity and majesty from the infinity of things, unseen as well as seen, of which it is a part. Imagination, reason, conscience, are alike spurred to finer achievement by the problem of the world's relation to the unseen Infinite; while the heart may rest serenely upon the confidence, than which there can be none surer, that its destiny is linked with the forces which make the very integrity and stability of the universe itself. As to what is in the mystery behind him and in the mystery before him, man need have no fears. It is enough that this present circuit of life in which he shares, and which is flowing out of the mystery of the past toward the mystery of the future, is glorious with intelligence and measured by advances in moral benefit.

I have seen a child in its mother's lap gaze up with a sudden wonderment into the beaming benignity of the mother face and into the loving depths of the mother eyes, as if its infantile mind had just caught some new revelation there and was

trying to comprehend the fulness of its meaning,—perhaps stopping in the midst of a frolic or of pain and crying, with this wondering, searching, upward look, and seeming to be impressed with a sense of a power manifest there that understood all and could do all and was full of good will; then nestling down closer and in quiet into the mother's lap. So we are children still in the lap of our mother Nature. And sometimes we are hushed into a tender awe, it may be in the midst of our pains, or it may be in the midst of our pleasures or our work, as if a mysterious, mightful power were bending over and holding us. We lift our gaze upward to see that we are not only held in the embrace of Law, but that through Law shines the glory of Love; and, at that answer, our hearts are at rest.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"CREATION, EVOLUTION, AND MONAD- OLOGY."

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of Dec. 11, 1884, Thomas Davidson, says: We cannot accept evolution, because (1) "it is not an intelligible theory, and (2) because it is a theory which stultifies the intellect and paralyzes moral action"! When the Romish Church became the happy possessor of a language that was dead to the rest of the world, it became possessed of a power that, rightly wielded, would have blighted the earth and cursed mankind for long ages with the priestly thrall. But, fortunately for that same world, the popes and prelates were so busy in fighting one another or so sunk in debauchery that men got a chance to think; and so we are slowly emerging from the priest-made darkness of the long night that reigned from Hipparchus to Newton, from Pliny to Darwin. Once any religion can enwrap its forms and ceremonies in a strange language, it is safe from the vulgar horde, and is likely to be confined to a sacerdotal class. And so also has it been with science to a great extent. So ponderous have been its terms, so complicated its propositions, that the poor and the needy have been shut out from its sacred halls, till the "common people" have come to speak of "dry science" and to recoil from anything pertaining to science. But, thanks to Charles Darwin and his co-laborers, that is fast passing away; for the doctrine of evolution has done for us of this day what Copernicus, Bruno, Kepler, and Newton did for the long ago.

For more than a thousand years, the astronomical system of Ptolemy and the theology of St. Augustine had sat on the breast of Europe like some hideous nightmare; while the "Infidels" of Moslem faith nursed the homeless child, true science. Astronomy was almost impossible then to any but the chosen few, owing to the doctrine of a flat earth and a complex system of cycles and epicycles that were vainly used to account for planetary and stellar phenomena. But Copernicus dared to doubt; and from him came—crude indeed, but true—a system of astronomy that simplified the starry universe, and made it possible for the simplest of us to understand the position of our little world in the sea of the infinite, and shook the pillars of the priest-raised temple that claimed all mankind as slaves. What Copernicus did for astronomy Darwin did for biology, and not for biology only, but for every science under the sun; for the doctrine of evolution is a true one and a simple one, and applies to every branch of human thought, and has enabled us to reduce all existing phenomena to terms of matter and motion, and has placed it within the power of every honest man to become a student of science, and to know not only himself, not only the world he lives in, but also the worlds that circle around him and the flaming suns that twinkle in the remote depths of the death-cold space that enwraps that little planet on which we are flying on our ceaseless journey.

Too often, though, do we talk about evolution without having grasped its grand significance. And so, when men like Mr. Davidson introduce Greek phrases and German poetry into it, and talk about "spiritual entelechies,"—whatever that means,—we begin to feel that perhaps, after all, there must of

necessity be a sacerdotal class in Darwinism as in Calvinism or Romanism or any other ism; and, when the "conditioned" and the "unconditioned" are dragged in, then we recoil in horror from the unfathomable depths of German metaphysics. But when we find that "creation and evolution" are set down as "two pseudo concepts" that explain nothing, and only add to our darkness, then surely do we seem to have reached the lowest depth; but, when after that we find that "human souls are monads in a high state of evolution," then indeed do our souls yearn for the simple doctrines of the Trinity and the immaculate conception, which are as "milk for babes" compared with this "strong meat" that the good Thomas Davidson provides for us babes in science.

Such views of evolution would indeed produce fatalism, and such fatalism would certainly produce immorality. But, fortunately, evolution is *not* what Thomas Davidson would have us believe; for, to take a simple instance, it is the unfolding of life step by step, and the survival of that fittest form in the struggle for existence which is so real to us all.

Take that lowest form of life that floats in the warm seas to-day, the Sun Slime, almost invisible to the naked eye. It has life, it has sensation; but it has nothing else. It is organless, structureless, formless, yet it lives; and it has come to be, by the same law that causes quartz to crystallize in a hexagon and salt in a cube, that makes water run down hill and the moon to follow round the earth. It is, because it must be. This is Nature's first child, and the glory of watching the process fills the student's heart with joy. For the Power that works in it is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," "without variableness, either shadow of turning"; and so the slime speck works to-day as it did in the world's babyhood. In the long ages of life and death in the world of slime spots there came one spot that was harder than its fellows, that endured better; and each tendency to endurance was intensified in fast following generations, till the slime speck learned to build him a little house from the carbonate of lime in the sea. And these tiny builders made houses of wondrous beauty for themselves, and lived and died in such countless hosts that the sea floor for weary leagues was strewn with their casts, or shells; but so tiny were these little shells that D'Orbigny counted four hundred and forty thousand in forty-six grains Troy. And yet for so long a time have they toiled that the ocean bottom was covered thousands of feet in depth with their little shells. And when that which was ocean became dry land, and that which was dry land became ocean, in the changing cycles of the earth's history, of which Plato dreamed in his *Lost Atlantis*, then the compacted shells of the slime spots made solid rock; and the mountains and valleys bore witness to the long ages during which evolution had been selecting, by simple, natural process, those forms best fitted for survival. By the same process that works in every family to-day, where no two children are alike, and by this simple law of variation, there sprang from the slime spot form after form of wondrous beauty: shells as beautiful as the fairy palaces of our child literature; forms as hideous as the goblins with which pious monks wrestled in the long ago; forms far more strange than gorgon or centaur, dragon or satyr. And all these forms are watched by the patient student of to-day; for the old stone books have tongues, and the "revelations" of the rocks are far more wondrous than the "Revelation of St. John the Divine," and the story of Patmos is not nearly so wonderful as the story of the "Nummulitic limestone" of the slime spots. For, when the great Haussman built beautiful Paris, he built with the rocks that were born of the slime spots on the ocean's bottom; and, when in the gray dawn of the world's history the Egyptians reared the mighty Pyramids skyward, they, too, quarried the limestones that were built countless ages before by mother Nature in her first attempts at life. And these Pyramids were built in the time when God "walked in the garden in the cool of the evening"; in the time when Polaris was not our pole star; in the time when the gleaming Southern Cross was visible to the Indians of North America; in the days of the Pharaohs who preceded the ones who compelled Israelitish slaves to make "bricks without straw." And yet these far-off times were only as an hour ago to the history of these tiny builders from whom Nature selected more beautiful, larger, stronger forms to fill earth and sea.

The glory and poetry of all the old schools of earth

are as nothing to the glory that comes in following the track of life on this planet of ours. But, when we apply the same simple law to the stars about us, and see how the nebulous mist grows to a gaseous mass, and that to a flaming sun which gives birth to worlds that circle round it in reflected glory; when we see the suns in all stages of sun life and planets in all stages of planetary life,—some, like our own, all athrob with life; some, like our moon, dead and dry, airless, rainless, verdureless, soundless,—then, indeed, we realize in some faint way what a grand, what a simple, far-reaching law is the law of evolution. And we can join in the anthem that was sung as Charles Darwin was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, with the kings and queens and noble dead of that old country,—“His body hath been buried in peace, but his name liveth forevermore.”

PETER ANNET.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of November 27, a correspondent, in discussing "Protection vs. Free Trade," supposes a case which naturally suggests a comment or two not found in the communication. He assumes England to have free trade and France a "protective" tariff, and proceeds to show how the French manufacturer may find it to his advantage to sell goods in England for actually less than cost,—a proceeding which would ruin his competitor in the latter country. Your correspondent must of course have had in mind, though he did not formally express it, the fact that, as such a result could only be reached when one country already has a "protective" tariff, the case can be thought of as justifying "protection" only as retaliatory and not as a general system. But is there warrant for even this conclusion? He goes on to suppose this destructive process repeated with every line of goods, until England's industries are entirely ruined. But, in the mean time, what are the French merchants supposed to have been receiving in return for their goods? Nothing at all? Then, by the self-sacrifice of their rivals, have the Englishmen been enabled to live in idleness, with all their wants gratuitously supplied. Your correspondent does not, however, attribute quite so extreme generosity to the wicked Frenchmen, but assumes that they donate to their neighbors only a portion of the value of their products. The Englishmen, then, are still producing and exporting something,—a corollary which contradicts the original assumption that they are being undersold in all lines of goods. Indeed, these exports must have increased to pay for the extra importation; and thus, while some industries have been injured, others must have been proportionately stimulated. It seems to be very easy to lose sight of principles with which we are entirely familiar in ordinary business exchanges, when the application is transferred to international commerce. With reference to the former, no one needs to be reminded that trade can never be one-sided, but that, if we wish to sell, we must also consent to buy. And yet, when the parties to the transaction are States instead of individuals, we are prone to fancy that it will be profitable as well as possible to arrest importation while keeping up exportation. In the case in question, if France is "protected," England has no occasion to bother herself about putting up any mediæval bars: she will be sure to get her "protection" as gratuitously as her other luxuries from her rival across the Channel. More curious still, however, is the other assumption which has already been alluded to, and which underlies much of the "protectionist" reasoning; namely, that a nation inflicts a very serious commercial injury upon her rivals, when she insists upon selling them her products for less than their real value. The conclusion is unavoidable that their impoverishment will be complete when all their wants are supplied gratis.

HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

WHITEWATER, WIS., December, 1884.

A FRIEND in Ohio has sent us a copy of the statute of that State, referred to by Judge Brigham in his decision, mentioned in another column, as to the legality of legal advertisements in Sunday papers. It says (Revised Statutes of Ohio, 1830, Section 7033): "Whoever, being over fourteen years of age, engages in common labor on Sunday (work of necessity and charity excepted), shall, on complaint made ten days thereafter, be fined not more than \$5; but this sec-

tion does not extend to those who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. Nor shall it be construed so as to prevent families emigrating from travelling, watermen from landing their passengers, superintendents or keepers of toll bridges or toll gates from attending the same, or ferryman from conveying travellers over waters." This section has been passed upon by the Ohio Supreme Court in several instances. In *Bloom v. Richards*, 2 Ohio State Reports, p. 387, it is held that "by the phrase, 'common labor,' is meant ordinary manual labor, as contradistinguished from intellectual labor." In *McGatrick v. Wason*, 4 Ohio State Reports, p. 566, it is held that "works of necessity, within the meaning of the act, are not limited to labor for the preservation of life, health, or property from impending danger. The necessity may grow out of, or indeed be incident to, the general course of trade or business, or even be an exigency of a particular trade or business, and yet be within the exception of the act." In this latter holding, Hon. Allen G. Thurman, then the Chief Justice of the court, said, among other things: "We must always keep in mind that it is no part of the object of the act [Sect. 7033, above quoted] to enforce the observance of a religious duty. The act does not to any extent rest upon the ground that it is immoral or irreligious to labor on the Sabbath any more than upon any other day. It simply prescribes a day of rest from motives of public policy, and is a civil regulation; and, as a prohibition, it is founded on principles of policy. Upon the same principles, certain exceptions are made, among which are works of necessity and charity. In saying this, I do not mean to intimate that religion prohibits works of necessity and charity on the Sabbath, but merely to say that the principles upon which our statute rests are wholly secular, and that they are none the less so because they may happen to concur with the dictates of religion. The day of rest prescribed by the statute is the Christian Sabbath; yet so entirely does the act rest upon the ground of public policy that, as was said in *Bloom v. Richards* [cited above], it would be equally constitutional and obligatory, did it name any other day. And it derives none of its force and effect from the fact that the day of rest is Sunday; for, as was said in that case, no power whatever is possessed by the legislature over things spiritual, but only over things temporal; no power whatever to enforce the performance of religious duties simply because they are religious, but only, within the limits of the Constitution, to maintain justice and promote the public welfare." Our Ohio friend adds, "While this view of the law is in fact a futile effort to wring out of it the religious duty which the legislature undoubtedly intended to enjoin, yet it shows the strong liberal bias of our judiciary toward bringing to bear on such questions the dry light (*siccum lumen*) of common sense."

BOOK NOTICES.

LIFE OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT. Famous Women Series. By Elizabeth Robins Pennell. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884. Price \$1.00.

This is probably the most complete life of a greatly misunderstood woman that has ever yet been written; for though Mrs. Pennell fails to bring forward anything essentially new in the history of this pioneer of Women's Rights, yet she has brought together in compact shape and orderly sequence all the available records which have hitherto appeared in scattered fragments, penned by different writers. The fact that such a biography is in demand nearly a century after the death of its subject is in itself strong testimony to the strength of the impression she made upon her own generation, although she died in her thirty-ninth year.

This biography is as intensely interesting as a romance, of which indeed it has all the dramatic accessories. It is the story of an undisciplined, generous, trusting, high-souled, pure-minded, imprudent, sincere dreamer of dreams which would not come true, though she tried her best to make them do so, and succeeded only in thereby sullying her own fair fame, and in making more worldly-wise people mis-doubt and misjudge all her aims and motives.

Mrs. Pennell, though writing from an entirely sympathetic point of view, has succeeded admirably in drawing, by means of quotations from Mary's own

writings in conjunction with the events of her history, a remarkably just and faithful portraiture of her heroine, showing wherein she was at fault, as well as how hard the lines drawn by fate were for so impulsive a nature as hers. It is a wonderfully courageous, independent, yet warm-hearted character that is shown in this history. The story of her connection with the American, Gilbert Imlay, who so basely deceived and betrayed her, yet whose name would be sunk into the obscurity which it deserves but for its association with hers, is here given with much particularity. It is a story with a very apparent moral; and its obvious lesson is that not the sincerest idealist in the world can afford to defy the garnered wisdom of the world, as shown in its laws built up from ages of experience, by trying to make ideal laws, born of individual longing, work as effectively for happiness. Mary thought herself strong enough in heart and will thus to set at naught those laws whose deeper import she did not understand, and which she despised as being mere forms, not necessary for the ideal manhood and womanhood she believed in; but, sincerely as she believed in that ideal and brave as was the spirit in which she undertook to prove it a possible reality, she found at the last that both sincerity and courage were of no avail pitted against the weaknesses of common humanity. She came out of the unequal combat terribly worsted. And yet her later union with Godwin shows that her faith in man was not quite extinguished by her hard experience. Mrs. Pennell evidently wishes to make herself believe that in this marriage the sorely tried Mary at last found real companionship, and her ideal union realized; but the reader of the strange conjugal correspondence here given must be forgiven a doubt on this subject. A marriage under such singular and unique conditions could not long have continued without disaster of some sort. As it happened, death ended the unusual experiment.

Mary Wollstonecraft's history is particularly interesting as that of an original thinker in regard to the position and possibilities of her sex. She was as ardent in friendship as passionate in love. Her own home experience had been hard, and the woes of her sisters and her friends were felt as deeply as her own. In addition, her experience among the so-called educated classes of women, gained while a governess, opened her eyes to their deficiencies and set her to thinking. Her first impulse in seeing need of any sort was to supply that need. Hence, her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which set the literary world of her day in an uproar of protest against her theories. This, more than any of her more elaborate writings, makes her known to-day. Mrs. Pennell gives a full and interesting account of her literary work, which was considerable for a time when women rarely engaged in such work. In that, too, she may be considered as a pioneer of the enlargement of woman's sphere.

S. A. U.

OUT OF THE WRECK; or, Was it a Victory? By Amanda M. Douglas. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1885. Price \$1.50.

One or two often unconsidered phases of the woman question are strikingly illustrated in this story, which is that of a gentlewoman by birth and position married to a handsome, selfish, unprincipled, and indolent man, who, in the face of misfortune, seeks solace in dissipation, and sinks into such brutal habits that for the sake of her children she leaves him in his poverty and drunkenness, and launching into business for herself becomes a fashionable and successful milliner in the very midst of the society where she had once queened it as a belle. She educates and cares for her three children, until by a sudden stroke of luck the worthless husband and father becomes possessed of a fortune, when, instead of repairing the evil he had done, he takes from the mother, by process of law, the youngest child and only son, at an age when the mother's guiding hand and head are most needed to enforce a higher moral education than she fears his wealthy and lax-principled father can give. The many-sided views taken by different people upon this case, showing how really unjust yet apparently right seeming inferences can be taken by people of differing experience and varying breadth of moral outlook, are very finely shown in the course of the story, which in a minor way involves two or three love stories as well. There is much that is pathetic and sad as well as romantic in the book; and, fortunately for the feelings of the

reader, death relieves the heroine from her quandary, and the weak, unprincipled hero dies at peace with all, and in a half-hearted sort of way, not out of keeping with his character, repents of his wicked unmanliness just before that event occurs.

S. A. U.

SKETCHING RAMBLES IN HOLLAND. By George H. Boughton, A.R.A. With illustrations by the author and E. A. Abbey.

Little needs to be said of this handsome volume, the contents of which, both text and pictures, have appeared in *Harper's Monthly*, and there been admired and read by the half-million readers of that magazine. Certainly, the pictures gain considerable from being printed on a heavier and finer paper, and even the text is better reading in the larger type. It is Mr. Boughton's first essay in literature, and he gives a very amusing account in his preface of how it devolved upon him. He affirms that it will be his last; but so Benedick affirmed that he would die an old bachelor, not expecting to live till he was married. He has been too successful to be permitted to relapse into a silence so absolute as that from which he emerged. His pictures are a clear case in illustration of the proverbial saying, "The Dutch have taken Holland." His affinity for a low, flat landscape and for the homely Dutch attire has long been strongly marked. The Dutchmen of New Amsterdam have had for him a great attraction. Some of his full-page single figures are in his happiest vein, and the engraving and printing of those on Japanese paper are marvels of the beautiful art of wood-cutting. Mr. Abbey's method is very different from Mr. Boughton's. Each is enjoyable through his difference with the other; but Mr. Abbey's idealism renders his report less trustworthy than Mr. Boughton's. The picture in the book is neither Boughton's nor Abbey's, but Johnson's engraving from a portrait by Rembrandt.

LAST FAIRY TALES. By Edouard Laboulaye. Authorized translation by Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This compilation contains all the fairy tales written by Laboulaye, the statesman story-teller, from the publication of his *Fairy Book*, ten or twelve years ago, until his death last year. Nothing which the book contains begins to be so interesting as the fact that it was written by a statesman, deeply engrossed in the affairs of France at a period of great anxiety and important changes in the government,—an empire toppling down, a republic adding strength to strength. What a happy fortune that enabled the statesman to rest himself from graver cares with such delightful play, not ending in the moment of its birth, but having a continuous life and power of blessing little children and even children of a larger growth! This collection of about thirty stories proves that the genius of Laboulaye did not exhaust itself in its first brilliant venture into this field of art. He is an excellent borrower. He is at no pains to make his stories original or to keep them free from the admixture of his own fancy. The science of Fairy Lore he leaves to others. His object is to tell a number of stories that "shall keep children from their play and old men from the chimney corner." He is a master of the art; and his translator, Miss Booth, has seconded his intentions with consummate skill. The illustrations are exactly in the spirit of the text, and we could give to them no higher praise than this.

HANDBOOK OF BLUNDERS: Designed to Prevent 1,000 Common Blunders in Writing and Speaking. By Harlan H. Ballard, A.M., Principal of Lenox Academy, Lenox, Mass. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price 50 cents.

The compiler of this convenient and useful little book says in his preface that it is not meant to be an exhaustive catalogue of common mistakes in the use of the English language, but is designed "simply to give, in a form convenient for reference, a number of such hints and suggestions as have been found useful in the experience of the school-room. . . . It includes most of those inelegancies and inaccuracies of speech that jar our ears with daily iteration." To all those who desire to correct themselves of such blunders in grammar or rhetoric, this handbook will be of value, giving, as it does, in the fewest possible words clear explanations of the reasons for its corrections, each doubtful word or phrase being easily found under its proper alphabetical arrangement.

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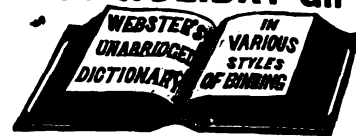
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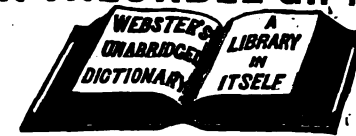
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BY B. F. U.

ENCKE's comet, the periodicity of which is now fully established, is slowly brightening as it approaches its perihelion, to which, according to recent observations and calculations, it will return on March 7. It is sixty years since the astronomer

REFERRING to the fact that every day a score of trampled wives refuse to testify to the ruffianly brutalities they receive from husbands under the influence of liquor, the New York *Tribune* cites the case of a poor woman whose eyes were deliberately put out by her husband, and who would not have informed against him, but for the action of her neighbors. The *Tribune* adds: "And what a flood of light is thrown on the lives of a whole class of women by the remark of one of these neighbors, that she did not interfere before, because she thought McCarron 'was only giving his wife an ordinary beating'! Every policeman and justice

THERE is an institution at Denver, Col., called "The Tabernacle of God," which is a home for foundlings. Its managers have relied wholly upon prayer for the cure of the sick. Recently, a child died without medical treatment, which, in the opinion of physicians, would have saved its life. The fanatical keeper of the place, in a communication to a Denver paper, says: "Our home has taken no children but what it has carefully informed all beforehand that our custom was to trust entirely in God. The Dunkards are a class of Christians who believe only in anointing their sick with oil, and committing the result to God. No physicians are employed for the sick. Have we not the same right as they to trust wholly in God? Herbs are not complete ministers of life. They are good supplies of food, but there is a remaining force or power of life which must be supplied directly from God. Why not go to him first, and not leave him to the last, in the knowledge of all things in which he has part?" Undoubtedly, the method here recommended is "according to the Scriptures"; but, in these days, the teachings of the Scriptures are generally disregarded in practical matters, when they are in conflict with common sense. Commenting on this case, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* judiciously observes: "If men and women of mature minds, capable of entertaining views of their own, see fit to put their trust in supernatural agencies, rejecting material aid, that is their business. But for them to make children the victims of a faith that cannot be defined, and of abstract propositions that cannot be demonstrated, defying the wisdom of experience and repudiating the service of expert skill, amounts to a crime that no religious convictions can excuse, and which no State charter should protect." "The Tabernacle of God" is likely to be closed, and its keeper sent to a lunatic asylum.

THE WORLD'S PROPHETS AND THEIR TEACHING.

A "subscriber," writing very pleasantly of our article on "Christmas," inquires, "In what respect are the teachings of Christ better than or different from those of other incarnate deities that were supposed to have lived before him?" and adds that he would like to hear from us an additional word on this point.

The Christmas article, as we suppose, made it clear that we do not regard Jesus as having any other kind of authority in his teaching than that possessed by other so-called "incarnate deities" or messengers believed to have been sent from heaven. All of them were human and finite, and, therefore, fallible. No one of them could have any monopoly of intellectual or of moral truth; and no one of them can be adjudged as perfect, according to the highest ideal standards of human character. Yet as persons having merely natural relations to their own times and to the race to which they have respectively belonged, and possessing only the authority derived from their superior mental wisdom or remarkable moral insight and power, they have held positions of immense importance in the historical development of mankind; and their characters and teachings are still important, as illustrative of the highest personal influences that have helped to shape the thought and destiny of great masses of human beings. Of course, in Christendom, Jesus has held this position to a greater extent than any other of the world's great teachers, not only because of the common Christian theory of his being a miraculously endowed personage, but because he is the only one of whom, in Christendom generally, there has been much of anything known. But, in latter years, a more hospitable spirit and interest has been developed, at least in certain sections of Christendom, toward other religions; and even the Christian Church is beginning to see that it may learn something of value from and justly render honor to others of the world's prophets besides Jesus. Whatever question there may be concerning the benefit of Christian missions to the pagan peoples whom they have attempted to convert, there can be no doubt that Christian missionaries, if they have been broad-minded and scholarly men, have benefited Christendom by the knowledge they have brought back concerning these pagan peoples' prophets and their teachings.

When, however, these great teachers, who have stood along the ages on the heights of moral illumination, are thus placed together in the line of natural humanity, any comparison of them with one another, as to the amount of good they have done in the world or as to the height of the special pinnacle, intellectual or moral, on which they stood, becomes a matter of minor importance. Such questions may have an interest to the historical artist and to the student of individual psychological development in the various races and faiths of mankind: minute analysis of character always has an interest of this sort. But the practical ethical value for the world to-day of these past prophets does not depend upon this comparative analysis of their work and teachings. As naturally endowed leaders, however high they may have risen in respect to moral insight above the mass of mankind in their own age, they will now be resorted to, not for authoritative moral precepts nor even for examples of conduct to be always followed, but for the stimulus and inspiration which may be found in their general moral clear-sightedness and heroic fidelity to a moral ideal. To use the phrase which Matthew Arnold applied to Emerson, they are now "aiders to those who

would live in the spirit." But exactly to determine their relative rank in this high office is an invidious task, which results in little practical benefit. The local Unitarian Conference which a few years ago thought to save its Christian repute by passing a resolution to the effect that Jesus was the greatest religious teacher and the best man the world has ever known, only drew a broad smile from the Orthodox circles to whose creed it made this vigorously feeble concession.

The truth is, these founders and prophets of the great religions of mankind, though standing together on this high tableland of natural moral superiority, differ widely among themselves in points of character, temperament, and career. One of them may excel on one point, another on another point, and still another may be stronger than both of these on a third point. Which of them excelled all others in the most particulars might be difficult to say. No one of them is complete on every side. Better is it, therefore, to take them for what they each specially represent, and so get the more completely rounded ideal of humanity from them all than it is possible to see in any one of them alone. Could we imagine them to come together in one company, they would certainly find such ample ground for noble intercourse in their common sympathies and aims that we cannot conceive of their falling into disputes concerning their relative rank in the hierarchy of great men. Jesus, the peasant prophet; Buddha, the prophet prince; Confucius, the statesman; Aurelius, the emperor; Socrates, the philosopher; Moses, the political organizer; Zoroaster, the dimly seen but pure ethical teacher,—all proved themselves to possess royal souls, in that, in their very different circumstances and careers, they achieved greatness through the all-mastering sovereignty within them of the moral nature.

WM. J. POTTER.

CARLYLE THE PEASANT.

In all the criticism which has been passed on Carlyle in regard to his conduct toward his wife, there is one point which has not been sufficiently insisted on,—the fact that by ancestry, birth, and education he was a peasant; and this explains all his apparent inconsistencies. Not that the peasant character is inconsistent in itself: it is, on the contrary, remarkably harmonious; but Carlyle, the peasant, was out of his environment. Only those who have resided many years among European people can fully comprehend what a tremendous force on the latent character of the individual the early training and environment exercise.

The devotion to family which so strongly characterizes English, Scotch, Irish, and Continental people, even where the members of the same hate each other and cannot abide together in peace under the same roof, is proof of the truth of this fact. It is an inherited instinct among the peasantry. Down-trodden and wronged in the past, struggling for bread, if families had not clung together, they would have been entirely annihilated: in their union alone was strength. A peasant can hold no long conversation with any one without introducing the topic of his own family, and saying what wonderful people his father, mother, brothers, and sisters are. But his wife,—she is not of his people. He has no inherited instinct to praise her. His feeling, on the contrary, would rather incline to make light of "wife's kin." The peasant is also debarred by caste from comparing himself with many people. Peasant families live more or less to themselves, are suspicious and self-centred, and do not, therefore, acquire the just estimate of themselves which people in the higher classes almost invariably attain to after mixing with the

world. The least evidence of either mental or moral superiority is always exaggerated among them and made more of than the occasion warrants. Carlyle's treatment of his wife is explicable only in the light of his peasant instinct to exalt his own people and cling to them. Jane Welsh was not Jane Carlyle. Her intellect, her capacity, her devotion, or the intellect and capacity of any one else, was not a credit to the Carlyle family: therefore, it was neither his duty nor pleasure to give it much attention. Even his grand intellect was not superior to inherited instinct, and in his character this peasant trait was developed to a remarkable degree. He had no money to spare for his wife's comfort, but could always find some for the use of his own family. If he had had children of his own, this tendency would have been used for their benefit; but the wife's right is always the last one to be considered among the lower classes in Europe. Carlyle would have asked his mother or sisters to oversee the work of the house and, if need were, to bake and scrub: he could see no impropriety in exacting that his wife should do the same. A man must have been educated by his previous surroundings, to live with a high-bred woman, with any comfort, as far as she herself is concerned.

After all, the enigma of the whole matter is not how Carlyle came to treat his wife as he did, but how Jane Welsh could have made up her mind to marry Carlyle. How could a woman born and bred in the old country, keen-witted, high-spirited, and high-bred, marry into the Carlyle family? If she had seen him alone in London, fêted and flattered, it were easy to say; but his own words warned her. She visited his people, she knew his good old peasant mother, his rough brothers, their simple and unceremonious manner of life. Above all, she must have obtained some insight into their limited vision. Yet this brilliant woman was willing to throw in her fate with these people for it was impossible to remain any length of time with Carlyle and his family, and not know for a certainty that their fate was his also. She tempted Providence, and Providence will not be tempted with impunity. In the many years which followed, how could Mrs. Carlyle cope with her peasant husband? Not that he was vulgar, but their point of view was so different. If, when he displeased her, she could have told him so in the concise, forcible English which his mother or sisters would have used, it would have been better for both of them; but the subtlety of language and evenness of manner which a well-bred woman acquires deceived Carlyle. He failed to perceive what Jeffrey, accustomed to associate with gentle-born women, at once was alarmed at,—Mrs. Carlyle's failing health.

Carlyle's so-called repentance only took place when he had arrived at a certain stage of development by associating with people in London. Here, he came in contact with many ladies. He had known Lady Ashburton well for some years, and it had gradually dawned upon his mind that all women were not of the same hardy calibre as his mother was; that it was not possible for all of them to scrub and bake; that what constitutes luxury to one woman is but the bare necessary of life to another; that some of them must be tenderly cared for and lovingly treated, or they will suffer.

Poor Jane Carlyle paid for her "generous mistake" by her life-long unhappiness.

Carlyle's failings and faults toward his wife were those of a peasant; and, in view of the well-known peasant character, it is surprising that he ever awoke to the tragedy in which he was one of the principal actors, and it certainly speaks won-

ders for the nobility of his nature that he repented so bitterly of the part he played in it.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

THE NEW RELIGION.

Modern scientific thought has utterly undermined Christian theology. This it has done, not by showing historical inaccuracies in the Bible, or by exposing errors in the logic of its creeds, or by attacks upon it of any such nature, but by establishing the fact of the universality of the reign of law, the inevitableness of the sequences of phenomena. By so doing, science has eliminated the miraculous and the supernatural, so far as they may be defined as the wilful interventions of any being. It has done away with the personality of God as a possible conception; with free will, when conceived of as making man a creative first cause; with sin defined as a desire repugnant to a personal God; or as anything more than a wish whose execution is forbidden by the moral law which man has voluntarily or involuntarily established. And it has taken from us the future life as a fact supernaturally revealed. This fact of the general dissolution of Christian theology has been accepted by many of the thoughtful. Not a few among those who have so accepted it lived in the Christian faith, and enjoyed its promises and its consolations before they found that faith inconsistent with the conclusions which were forced upon them by positive thought. For them, the transition to the state of mind in which the rejection of Christian dogma and the acceptance of antagonistic scientific truths became necessary has been full of pain, and has led often to despondency. From those passing through this time of sorrow and despair, we have prophecies of the coming of a moral or immoral interregnum, should the truths destructive to the reigning theology be generally accepted; and pitious demands that those who have made foolish their old faith should supply them with a new. Are these prophecies reasonable, and are these demands just?

Religious faith has long been regarded as a mental condition or a mental attitude, in which the mind accepts as true that which is supported mainly by the evidence of the intuitions or by the testimony of consciousness. When engaged in an act of faith, the mind is supposed to be free from limitations, or to rise above the limitations which are imposed on it by the laws of logic and the rules of evidence, when it is engaged in an act of belief; and it is further assumed that the mind finds within itself a reason for the conception to which it rises, and a justification for the acceptance by which it holds. This view of faith has been complicated and strengthened by the elements of wonder, reverence, and love, always associated with it. Faith, religious faith, appears to most men as something quite distinct from belief; as importing a mental attitude in which an assumed spiritual sense is brought into action, and peculiar truths are seen, and peculiar sentiments aroused. For instance, the devotional spirit is awakened—such seems the accepted opinion—only in one who holds certain ideas, not as matters of belief, but as matters of faith. And worship, in the same opinion, is only possible when its object is a being, the fact of whose existence and the character of whose attributes are conceptions beyond the domain of what, in contradistinction to faith, is called positive thought.

From the first stages of its development, religion has been a factor in morality. Religious faith has had for one of its elements a conviction that certain results follow certain conduct; the results being pleasant or unpleasant, rewards or punish-

ments, as the conduct conforms or fails to conform to certain religio-moral precepts. In this way, it has always had an influence on the moral life by its appeal to man on his self-regarding side. In its higher forms, by involving as one of its elements the conception of a God, who is but a magnified man, playing the part of a universal benefactor and an ever-present helper, it has naturally enough aroused the desire to please by the proper conduct a being so full of kindness and love. This desire has come rather from man's sympathetic or altruistic than from his selfish or egoistic side, and from it we have the higher moral incentive of love.

The belief in a future life has been closely associated with other conceptions and inspirations said to be given us by faith, and the hope and expectation of immortality do partake largely of the nature of ideas called religious. They rest on slender evidence, are conceptions which greatly arouse the emotions, and which depend much for their acceptance on our proneness to believe what we wish to believe. As a result of this long continued connection of the dogmas of religion with the hope of a future life, it has become difficult to conceive of an adequate reason for belief in immortality outside the sphere of religion. We are told that we can attain the assumedly higher vision, which alone can give us a convincing view of God's being and our immortality, only by yielding ourselves up to the religious feeling, and availing ourselves of its peculiar spiritual insights and supernatural revelations.

Worship with its accompanying emotions of reverence, devotion, and love, the inspirations to morality, or the ground and reason of right conduct and the hope of a future life, have, then, all been associated closely, seemingly of necessity, with religious faith. And this religious faith, in the general conception of it, is a something beyond and above belief. In the Christian theology, it requires, or assumes to require, a certain surrender of the individual will, in order to its acceptance. By its acceptance there comes in a peculiar spiritual exaltation, a clearer spiritual vision, with consequent joy, peace, and moral yearning. Small wonder, then, that to most of those who have been nurtured in the conceptions that the dominant religious faith brings with it, those grand conceptions,—the assurance of immortality, the lofty conception of a loving, personal God, ethical incentives, and inward peace,—small wonder that to those there should come with the rejection of that faith a feeling as if something had gone out of life, as if the hope and end of existence were wanting.

But what is this faith? Is it an attitude of mind different from that of belief, or does it necessitate an attitude of mind different from that which belief necessitates? Is it not possible to gain from our intellectual convictions, has not man always gained from them, comfort, peace, hope, inspiration, ethical impulses, and an aim for existence?

From its very origin, religion has had ever associated with it the element of mystery. In wonder and fear were its beginnings. That a power like the human power, that a will like the human will, that a mind and a personality like the dimly apprehended human mind and personality, were behind all manifestations of force, were the conceptions on which it was founded. They were conceptions depending largely for their origin and acceptance on the fact that there seemed to be no evidence against them, and that they corresponded with the demands of minds not yet cognizant of their own nature. They depended little on the evidence in their favor. Yet to the minds of those

accepting them there was always sufficient evidence for that acceptance. We have no reason to suppose that any occult, non-natural influence from without, or that any non-natural, non-caused influence from within, imposed on man his first religious conceptions or gave him an exalted vision wherewith to see them. From what he saw and from what he felt, he gained certain ideas of the constitution of the world,—ideas not less naturally obtained than his conviction of the warmth of the sunshine, but ideas so little understood, so connected with the mysterious, the powerful, and the sublime, and so related to the acts and needs of his daily life, that they could not but influence his conduct. These elements of mystery, power, and sublimity, have clung always to man's religious conceptions; and to them have been added other elements pertaining to man's emotional side. Thus, as has been said, these have been so engrafted on to religion as now to be considered inseparable from it and incapable of existence except in it,—the devotional spirit, the love of God, and the hope of immortality, with the lofty moral inspirations coming therefrom. Thus, then, it has happened that facts coming within the sphere of religion have been accepted by a certain psychical process called faith; while facts coming within the sphere of positive knowledge have been accepted by the same psychical process under another name, belief. This difference in the terms applied to the same process has been continued; and the consequent confusion of thought has been increased by the fact that religious ideas are concerned mainly with the emotions, and from their origin have been thought to be peculiar dogmas, necessarily joined to the mysterious. But, when examined carefully, these religious ideas are all seen to be founded on simple intellectual convictions. Though the evidence for religious truths may be slight, evidence there has been and evidence there must be, in order to their acceptance. Often, it happens, no doubt, that the apparent lack of opposing evidence and the desire of the believing mind have much to do with the decision to accept this or that creed. But the positive evidence is always present. With the young and the ignorant, it may consist only in the testimony of their friends and spiritual advisers; but to them that is as sufficient proof of the existence of a loving personal God and of his revelation of immortality and of moral law as it is of the simplest historical fact.

Faith is but belief, confused, it is true, with verbal adjuncts and distinctions, but simple belief, plain acceptance, of a seemingly verified fact, nevertheless; and the inspiration of one possessed of this much vaunted and, when lost, much lamented faith comes from what is simply a pure intellectual conception, as truly such as is our belief in the existence of the sun. In making this statement, no account need be taken of any necessary datum of consciousness as to God which the exalted believer may have; for that he shares with all men, and from it can gain no mental or spiritual vision peculiar to himself. The Christian believer accepts, on what is to him sufficient evidence, certain premises, as the personality of God, the fall of man, the Bible's inspiration, the deity of Christ, and other dogmas of like nature. As logical deductions from these dogmas, accepted as facts, come the beliefs and the emotions which we call religious. The feeling of love, for instance, together with the desire to satisfy it by the proper conduct, arises, naturally and of necessity, in the mind of one who is assured that the object of his love is exercising an ever-watchful care over him, and has made the greatest sacrifices for him.

If this be true, that the religious emotions and

the religious conceptions have their origin in simple beliefs, as do all other emotions and all other conceptions, the sad prophecies of those whose faith has left them have little reason, and their complaints that the destroyers of their old religion have given them nothing in its place have little justice. They tell us that, without faith, the world to them is nothing. The answer is that, without belief, the world is nothing to any man. They are to be reminded that they cannot have rejected finally the convictions they formerly held, and are still tormented by the thought of their possible truth, or that they have not accepted finally the convictions making their former ones untenable, and, holding fast to nothing, are tossed on the sea of universal doubt. The New Religion they should demand needs not any element of wonder other than that which the simplest of nature's works inspires; nor any element of faith as distinct from belief in a scientific truth; nor any element of love other than that we must feel for the power behind all things, when we rightly consider man's present and man's past. It need give no moral inspiration except that arising from the conviction of the value to the race of the elevation of the individual, and it need give no higher aim for our existence than that conviction gives. It need supply us with no stronger hope in immortality than that which is grounded on established facts as to our nature, our origin, and our place in the universe.

A group of facts, borne in upon us and made a part of our nature by our unhesitating acceptance of them, gives us all that religion can give, and, in truth, is as much a religion as the superstitions of the savage or the formulated creeds of the civilized. These latter are nought but congeries of statements, more or less reasonable, accepted as true by the believers in the religion which they compose.

What group of facts, it will be asked, will give us the comforts, hopes, and inspirations which it has been thought a religion of mysterious supernaturalism could alone supply? Those facts which, when properly formulated, constitute the doctrine of evolution, will so do.

Let one apprehend the grand order of events of which man is, on this earth, the last best product; let him realize the glorious possibilities lying before us, and the aid even his feeble efforts can give in attaining them, and he can but take up life with the loftiest fervor as a grand religious duty. More than this, an unwavering acceptance of the doctrine of evolution will elevate his character by giving him a new view of the human race and of the individual. His rejection of the dogma that human desires are uncaused, or have their first cause in the heart of the individual, will free his mind from the grievous conception of sin, and will give him a more than Christian—though not a more than Christlike—charity. His belief in our better future will give him hope. His knowledge of the vast progress man has already made will give him joy that he lives in this day and in this hour. And his beliefs as to our nature and origin will give the sublime promise of immortality.

But it may be said that the acceptance of this doctrine gives to many no such thoughts and no such inspirations. Then would I borrow a phrase from the old religion, and say that such are but "almost persuaded," that they do not "fully believe." As with the old religion, so with the new: it gives nothing, if it be not fully accepted. It is in all things so. Our friends even are nothing to us, until we know them to be true; and our knowledge of their truth must not be attempered with suspicions, however faint, would we gain the delights of perfect confidence. How then can he

who distrusts all his convictions hope to gain from any of them either comfort or inspiration? It is a sad mental condition which leads us to say that, our idols once shattered, we have no heart to seek elsewhere that truth which was hid within them.

Let the mourners of a lost faith search their minds, and see if they need not first new knowledge and new wisdom before they can come into new hopes and new aspirations, and can enjoy the religious exaltation which unwavering convictions always bring.

JOHN COTTON DANA.

THE DISABILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF SEX.

When the system of co-education was first proposed, the wise in their own conceit said, It cannot succeed: the girls will necessarily fall behind their classes. The experiment proved the reverse. Then it was said, The girls may compete with the boys in the rudimental branches; but in philosophy, the languages, the higher mathematics, they must fail. The girls, however, by taking the prizes in these higher branches, soon proved their equal capacity. Compelled to admit the facts, it was then said, If the girls pursue this course of collegiate study, it must be at the risk of a lamentable physical depletion, not only for themselves, but their descendants.

When, however, it was proven that the girls in colleges, with regular employment and intellectual ambition, were more healthy than those in society, and that a larger proportionate number of young men fell behind their classes on account of ill health, then these wise ones, driven from all their supposed strongholds, betook themselves to the realm of speculation, and declaimed on the general "disabilities and limitations" of the feminine element in humanity.

The possibility of any limitations of power in the opposite sex never seems to occur to any one. The sphere of that half of the race is supposed to be boundless, and its capacity illimitable. Those who declaim on the inequalities of sex show themselves as ignorant of the first principles of life as would that philosopher who should undertake to show the comparative power of the positive as against the negative electricity, of the centrifugal as against the centripetal force, of the attraction of the north as against the south end of the magnet.

These great natural forces must be exactly balanced, or the material world would relapse into chaos. Just so the masculine and feminine elements must be exactly balanced, to redeem the moral and social world from the chaos that surrounds us. One might as well talk of separate spheres for the two ends of the magnet as for man and woman: their true place is together everywhere. Having different duties in the same sphere, neither can succeed without the presence and influence of the other. To restore the equilibrium of sex is the first step in social, religious, and political progress. The tendency in past ages has been to exalt the masculine portion of humanity, because, in the infancy of the race, superior physical strength made man more valuable in supplying material resources and in doing the rough work of the world. Hence, those who could fight with wild beasts, hew down mighty forests and rocky mountains, build pyramids and guide the enginery of war, did not appreciate the more refined work of mother, wife, sister, daughter, nor the gentler influences continually flowing out from these, softening the asperities and mitigating the miseries of life.

The tendency of the masculine element is centrifugal, to boundless exploration, to endless change,

to the nomad life. The feminine is the centripetal force, that has made the family, the tribe, the community possible. This element is not necessarily in the form of woman: it predominates as well in the most refined, spiritual, scholarly men; it is the repository of the religious sentiment, the conscience of the race. Its voice sweet and clear has been heard in all ages, above turmoil, conquest, and persecution; but its protests against violence and injustice have been too often unheeded and forgotten.

All the talk we hear about the "limitations of sex" is outside the realm of science and philosophy; but, as women themselves believe in these oft-repeated assertions of their "disabilities," it is well to consider the data on which they rest.

"You must admit," said quite a well-informed woman to me not long since, "that we are handicapped by Nature,—that we have many disabilities, and are very circumscribed in our limitations." "True," I replied, "all living things have their limitations. The fish cannot fly in the air, the bird cannot swim in the river. Sick men and women are alike handicapped by disease and suffering. But every living creature in its normal condition can fulfil its destiny. The healthy, well-developed woman has no 'disabilities.'" "Her dress is certainly one," said a slender being, buried in a velvet-cushioned chair, absorbed in a piece of flimsy embroidery. "Her dress!" I replied. "A woman is not born with petticoats, high heels, lapped ribs, and a dozen hairpins stuck into her scalp. Such disabilities are of her own choosing: they have nothing to do with the normal woman in freedom. Our judges in the Supreme Court of the United States, and our priests and bishops in gown and surplice, could not in such attire run a race, play base ball or cricket, or do any grand and lofty tumbling in a gymnasium, but who would reckon these robes of state as 'the disabilities' of these professions?" "But," said another, "granting what you say on this point, you must admit that motherhood is a disability." "Do you call it a disability," I replied, "to give life to an immortal being?"

The "Magnificat" has been chanted for centuries round the globe. A prominent place is given to this hymn in the vespers of our Churches, both Protestant and Catholic. This song of praise by the Virgin Mother in thankfulness for the Incarnation, and uttered while she was yet the tabernacle of the Son of Righteousness, proclaims motherhood to be woman's chief honor and glory; and yet, in direct contradiction to this dogma of our faith, motherhood is regarded as a "disability," and spoken of as such, perchance, by the very lips that join in the "Magnificat" every Sunday in our temples of worship.

There would be more propriety in enlarging on the "limitations" of the male sex, because man cannot be a mother, than of the sex that possesses that capacity. Surely, maternity, which calls forth some of the most tender sentiments of the human heart and quickens into life all the dormant forces of woman's being, is an added power and development, and not a "limitation."

"But it unfits her," says another pertinacious reasoner, "for much of the world's work." "Yes," I replied; "and it also fits her pre-eminently for much of the world's work. A large share of human legislation would be better done by her because of this deep experience. Every special calling has its special advantages and disadvantages."

The student, the author, and the statesman, have all their limitations. As their profession does not develop the muscular system, they are not fitted to dig for gold and coal in the bowels of the earth, to dive to the ocean depths for lost treasure, or to guide balloons above the clouds. They can-

not rig a vessel, go to mast-head in a storm, make a steam engine, or run up and down a fire escape to save trembling women and children in the hour of danger. They cannot cook their food, mend their clothes, nor with their own hands make a comfortable shelter. Behold their "disabilities and limitations"! Neither could the cook, the tailor, the aeronaut, the fireman, the miner, the diver, fill the position of the student, the author, the statesman. It is only in very exceptional cases that these classes interchange employments. Women have shown themselves capable in emergencies of doing everything that man has ever done in all the higher departments of intellectual achievement in which they have had training, as well as in those employments where physical strength is needed. With proper drill and a dress adapted to the work, there is nothing required of a human being that woman cannot do. The two things that Horace Greeley declared impossible for a woman were to pilot a ship across the sea and sing bass in the choir, yet she has in several instances accomplished both these feats.

In choosing our employments, we must all alike accept the limitations necessarily involved; but there is no reason why custom and public sentiment should handicap its victims with an indefinite number of artificial disabilities that have no foundation in nature. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which civilization has been blocked in all ages by the repression and persecution of the feminine element in humanity.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

A MERITED HONOR.

The veteran abolitionist, Oliver Johnson, was seventy-five years old at the beginning of the New Year. The event was celebrated by a reception in his honor at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Mann, 969 Lexington Avenue, New York City, on the evening of January 6. Many friends of Mr. Johnson were present. Others, as Whittier, Beecher, Curtis, Thomas Stone, Higginson, and many more, sent letters of congratulation and hearty appreciation of the great services of Mr. Johnson in the anti-slavery cause. He was the youngest, and is about the last, of the Garrisonian band. His work has been chiefly with his pen. He was the writer of the abolitionists. But *Index* readers generally must be familiar with his career and his literary work, and there is only need to mention here what concerns the celebration of his seventy-fifth year. The company which assembled on the occasion was composed mainly of Mr. Johnson's personal friends. It was a houseful. Probably another houseful could be gathered together in Philadelphia and Boston. A man does not live seventy-five years of unselfish devotion to a good cause, even in this gilded age, for nothing. The years tell. At first, they seem not to; but, at last, honor and appreciation come in a full flood. Mr. Johnson is reaping the harvest he prepared, that he sowed when the ground was almost unbroken and the sowers few and considered the enemies of mankind. Mr. J. H. Morse was master of the brief ceremonies on the evening of the 6th. He first read portions of eight letters from as many absent friends. He then introduced Mr. J. W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, who made an address to Mr. Johnson. Following him, Robert Collyer had something to say. Mr. Johnson replied in a speech full of feeling, an admirable expression of his principles and experiences, and delivered in a clear, strong voice, with no sign of age or intellectual decay in it. "I have never," said he, "done so much for the anti-slavery cause as it has done for me." Alluding to the remark of one of the previous speakers regarding the sacrifices made by the early aboli-

tionists, Mr. Johnson said that he was never conscious of having made any sacrifices.

After the speaking, Mr. Johnson received the warm and affectionate greetings of every one present. A.

THE RESTRAINING INFLUENCE OF SUPERSTITION.

A convict in the penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., "a red-headed, ugly-looking convict named Mike Flannery," feigned insanity in order to get to the asylum, and make therefrom his escape. His apparently crazy pranks caused him to be sent to the hospital. Being a Catholic, he was put in a side cell with a convalescent convict of the same faith, who, it was thought, might quiet him. But he soon had his companion in a vise-like embrace, with a knife to his throat. The guard, which was called to the cell, ordered Flannery to get up; but he refused, and threatened that, the moment any one attempted to open the cell door, he would cut his companion's throat from ear to ear. Meanwhile, Flannery had cunningly got behind his companion, so that the officers could not shoot him without shooting both. The persuasive power of the warden had no effect. But Flannery had been to confession a few days previously, and the idea of sending for the priest occurred to the authorities. "This," says the report, "was done; and the priest had the savage on his knees before him praying like a saint." A medical examination proved that the convict was entirely sane, and that his evident object was as stated above.

This is a case such as not only Catholics, but Protestants are accustomed to cite as proof of the moral influence of the Catholic clergy over the ignorant people of their faith. Every such case is to us evidence of the bad influence of priestly teachings. If this man had been imbued with a fear of doing wrong equal to his fear of the priest, if the labor devoted to improving his character and guiding his conduct had been equal to that devoted to indoctrinating him in superstition and making him a credulous devotee, the probability is that he would never have become a convict.

The Catholic Church attaches more importance to belief in theological dogmas and in submission to the priest than to the virtues the practice of which is indispensable to character and all-important in conduct. Flannery is but one of a multitude of criminals, who, although they can deliberately commit any act in the black catalogue of crimes, and are ready to escape, if possible, by any kind of deception or brutality, even murder itself, yet tremble at the sight of a priest, and are afraid not to submit to his word of command. During a riot or a revolt in a prison, the priest is of course efficient in dealing with such men; but it is because *they are, morally and religiously, largely the creatures of the priest* and of demoralizing ecclesiastical dogmas and methods. If the Catholic Church laid as much stress on morality as it does on faith, and did as much to make men intelligent, temperate, and just as it does to make them unquestioning adherents of Catholicism, there would be less fear of the priest and less need of such fear.

We do not say that the Catholic Church is indifferent to morality; but it makes morality secondary, while it gives primary importance to faith. The natural consequence is that its adherents who are criminally disposed are restrained from criminal acts, if at all, chiefly by superstitious fears, not from high moral considerations; and since in the teachings and requirements of the Church faith and reverence for the priest are of first importance, being indispensable to the forgiveness of any and all crimes committed or vices indulged in, we do not find faith any criterion of moral worth or

reverence for the priest any evidence of reverence for the laws of the land or the acknowledged principles and precepts of morality.

As a military officer, we had years ago the command of men some of whom would get drunk, lie, steal, and commit almost every immorality, and yet refuse to eat meat on Friday. This is probably true of the Joliet convict. Superstition, having by a distortion and suppression of the truth furnished the motives of moral conduct, which should have a rational basis, has to be called upon in emergencies to restrain its victims, who know no higher authority than the word of the priest.

If, in an age of rapid transition, men and communities outgrow this superstition faster than they can grow into the new truth, and temporary moral and social disorder results, superficial minds are ready to ascribe the disorder to the "heresy" or "infidelity," as the new truth is sure to be called, not seeing that the moral and social disturbance is due mainly to the mistake of making the dogmas of theology, which are continually changing, the foundation of morality, which has its true basis in the enduring relations of men and in the eternal nature of things. Not the new truth, but the old error, which has led men to believe that morality is dependent upon beliefs which must necessarily lose their force with increasing intelligence, is responsible for the moral disorders such as followed the teachings of Luther and others during the Reformation, marked the French Revolution, and are seen to-day, where the decay of faith is more rapid than the progress of knowledge and the assimilation of the scientific and philosophic thought which is replacing theological teachings.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

COL. HIGGINSON has commenced a series of papers on "Women and Men" in *Harper's Bazar*.

A SUBSCRIPTION has been started in this country to aid in the erection in Rome of a bronze statue of the Italian philosopher and martyred free thinker, Giordano Bruno. European Liberals are forwarding their contributions. To this movement, the object of which is to honor the memory of one of the world's great thinkers and brave benefactors, who for his convictions suffered torture and death by fire, American Liberals cannot be indifferent. Mr. T. B. Wakeman, 93 Nassau Street, New York, announces that he will take charge of any sums sent to him for this statue, see that they are acknowledged in the liberal papers, and sent with the names of the donors to the proper committee in Rome, whose receipt will also be published.

THE pretensions and performances of the Salvationists would be amusing only, if they did not sometimes lead to serious consequences. The parade of the Salvation Army at Dover, N.H., frightened horses, and caused one runaway, which resulted in injury to several persons. The owner of the team notified the mayor that he should look to the city for damages. The mayor immediately ordered the city marshal to prevent the Army from marching on the streets any longer with music playing. The captain of the Army, on receiving the order, replied that he took his orders from Heaven, and would not allow any earthly power to dictate to him. He telegraphed to Saco for some of the Army to come up at once to swell the parade that evening. And the Salvationists did parade that evening, and beyond the usual hour, under police protection. The city solicitor had, during the day, given to the mayor the opinion that the city was not liable for damage done by the Army to citizens' property.

A PETITION signed by eight hundred Harvard undergraduates has been sent to the President and Fellows, Board of Overseers, and Faculty of Harvard University, asking that attendance at the morning prayers be made voluntary for all students over twenty-one years of age, and optional with the parents or guardians of students under that age. "This petition is based upon the broad ground that compulsory attendance upon prayers is a religious test imposed upon citizens as a condition precedent to being permitted to enjoy the advantages of an essentially public institution which they are under the practical necessity of resorting to for themselves or their sons, in order to obtain suitable instruction and educational aid in matters of secular learning; that such compulsion is a remnant of ancient encroachments upon civil liberty, and would not now be tolerated in connection with any other kind of public institution within a free republic; and that the youth of the persons whom it immediately affects does not make it any the less tyrannical and unjust."

MR. E. P. POWELL, in exposure of the popular superstition—favored, it seems, by Mr. G. B. Stebbins—that "hazel, currant, or other twigs serve to connect psychic and physical phenomena, or, in plainer English, to help us determine where watersprings are," writes thus to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*: "Any person well acquainted with land (and water), or any farmer or horticulturist, can inform Mr. Stebbins that the sections of country are rare where water cannot be found by digging in one spot as well as another. I am certain that by digging in my fourteen acres at any point designated, without divining sticks or with them, to find water at a depth of about fifteen feet. This is true of miles square along this range of hills and in the valley below. The true test for the divining rods would be to find a spot where water could not be found. Such spots probably exist. If any one with this magnetic gift will visit me and point out such a spot, I will have the well dug at my expense, if he be correct, provided he will bear the expense if I do get a supply of water by going down twenty feet."

PROF. J. B. TURNER, of Jacksonville, Ill., was given a reception December 8, on the seventy-ninth anniversary of his birthday. Among the letters read from absent friends was one from Dr. Edward Beecher to Prof. Turner's daughter, in which he wrote: "Assure your father that I recall with deep interest the scenes in which we have acted together, and his bold and earnest testimony for all that is good and true, and his labor in the great cause of social and political welfare. Your father and Dr. Sturtevant, and Dr. Post and myself, still survive of the original teachers of the College. If I were present, I would gladly speak on the toast proposed,—'The Old College Campus and the Faculty of Illinois College in its Infancy'; but I must leave it in the regions of imagination." If we mistake not, Prof. Turner succeeded Dr. Beecher as President of the Illinois College; but he is better known in his State as an able writer on subjects pertaining to the development of the country,—agriculture, horticulture, the improvement of stock, industrial reform, education, etc. He is a man profoundly respected for his strong intellect, moral intrepidity, and public spirit. The writer has passed many pleasant and profitable hours with Prof. Turner, and adds his congratulations to those of his numerous other friends, with the hope that his useful life may be prolonged to a hundred years.

PROF. TURNER, who is author of a rather heterodox work presenting his views on religion, has a very high estimate of Jesus as a teacher; but church creeds, and the Bible writers generally, he

does not accept as authority. "When," he writes in an article in the *Jacksonville Daily Journal* of Dec. 28, 1884, "Jewish ecclesiastics conspired to crucify that teacher [Jesus], it was indeed a dark and doleful day. But the hope that, in accord with his own specific and most careful provision, his words would survive him, was a bow of promise, spanning all the lands and all the seas. When Roman ecclesiastics conspired to reduce those words of light and life to the Dead Sea level of some sixty-three Hebrew writers, none of whom ever claimed for himself such pre-eminence, or (with possibly two or three exceptions) ever comprehended either him or his kingdom, or were fitted either by nature, culture, character, or grace to comprehend it, then, indeed, darkness began to close over the earth, and gross darkness over its peoples, till the 'dark ages' left earth no single bow of promise in the skies; and never again to have one till these identical words should be restored to their true place, *sovereign* and *supreme* over all other possible words."

AN intelligent boy sixteen years old, the son of Leland Stanford, a California millionaire, died lately in San Francisco. At the funeral, Grace Church was crowded. The floral decorations cost \$20,000. Programmes of the requiem exercises, richly engraved, were handed by boys to those who passed the church two hours before the services began. Rev. J. P. Newman, of New York, delivered the funeral sermon, which cost \$10,000, and which in its lavish praise of the young man was in keeping with the general display. "Think of him," said the reverend gentleman, referring to the deceased,— "think of him as a rapt listener to the mature conversations of such men as Sir Joseph Hooker, Sir William Jenner, Baron Rothschild, Dr. Schliemann, and Gen. di Cesnola, etc., asking or answering questions. It was the reproduction of Christ among the doctors at the age of twelve. Our youth should read his biography, which will be more fascinating than romance and more edifying than the creations of the imagination. The public school scholar and the college student would be entranced by the epic of his life; and the life of Leland Stanford, Jr., would become as familiar as Fénelon's *Telemachus* or Richmond's *Dairymen's Daughter*. His tomb will be a shrine to which our youth will go on a sacred pilgrimage, and from it they will gather grasses and flowers as mementoes of what he was to them."

THE *Christian Statesman*, in mentioning the Convention of the Free Religious Association, recently held at Florence, Mass., says, "These people who are so zealous for 'freedom' in religion will not admit that a nation is free to believe and obey the teachings of religion." "These people" admit that the adherents of every religion should be free to believe it and to obey its teachings, and that others should be equally free to avow their disbelief in any or all religions; that the government, without disturbing or favoring any religion, should protect equally the believers in and the dissenters from all in their worship or the advocacy of their views, requiring from all obedience only to laws based upon the principles and precepts of natural morality. "These people" do not believe that, because the majority of the people of a country are Catholics, the government has a right to make Catholicism the established religion; nor do they believe that the Christianity of the *Christian Statesman*, with its nonsense about Jesus Christ being the ruler of nations, can, consistently with religious freedom, be recognized by the government of this country as the religion of the State. "These people" believe that all support of theological systems should be voluntary, and that every remaining vestige of the union of Church and State—such as

the exemption of church property from taxation, the judicial oath, legal disabilities on account of religious disbelief, theological teaching in our public schools, laws based upon the idea of the peculiar sacredness of one day over another—should be abolished.

JOHN BRIGHT, in reply to a recent invitation to attend a conference in favor of closing all post-offices and stopping the delivery of letters on Sunday, wrote: "To close all our post-offices on Sundays would, in my view, be, not only an intolerable inconvenience, but a great evil. To continue at least one delivery of letters in the day seems to me needful for the public service, and not unduly interfering with the labor and service of the letter carriers. The post-office is our great means, not only of commercial, but of family communication; and it is with reference to the family that I am most strongly opposed to your views. There are scores of thousands of young men and women in this country who are away from their homes and parents, engaged in cities and towns in the various occupations by which they live. To these, Sunday is to a large extent a day of rest. It is a day on which their thoughts naturally turn to the homes they have left. It is the day on which the letter from the loving but absent father or mother is most frequently received, and it is the day on which the absent son or daughter has the greatest leisure to write to the home circle. I have no fear that you can succeed. If you obtain a momentary success, it must be followed by failure. The one round of the postman in the day is not a heavy burden, not heavier than that borne by great numbers in almost every class in life. It is a great public service, an honorable labor; and it must be compensated for as other services are. There is not a word in the New Testament leaning to your views, so far as they are influenced by religious considerations. The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

For The Index.

THE SHAME OF THE TIMES.

'Tis said, "The world has moved: the other day,
In galling chains, the slave his master served,
His spirit, like his body, bound; the sway
Of rulers of the realm, so long preserved
Through blood, held on,—in what a cruel way!
Victims of taunts that had her mate unnerved,
Fared woman! while what multitudes of young,
Left orphans, starved, the wealthy crowd among!"

But what are these base words we hear to-day,
When evils great as those assert their sway:
From countless lips, the paltry "Will it pay?"
The coward cry of those who talk and pray
In due church-form, yet who, let sin array
Herself before fair Zion's gates, away
With cunning low, and boast, as who should say,
"Behold the evils we cured yesterday!"

WESTERLY, R.I.

EDWIN R. CHAMPLIN.

For The Index.

EVOLUTION.

Be thyself! 'Tis Nature's mandate
Borne abroad on every breeze!
Be thyself! 'Tis the infinite chorus
Ringing forth brave words like these:
"Soul is all! Oh, dare to trust it!
Work its will and sing its song!
Fearlessly in love obey it,
As thy life-bark floats along!
Nature's purpose is unfoldment,
Law the perfect and entire:
Evolution means but selfhood,
Evolution saith, 'Aspire!'"

WOONSOCKET, R.I., Jan. 8, 1885.

H. H. BROWN.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A STUDY OF HEGEL.

BY MRS. ELLEN M. MITCHELL.

With a full knowledge of my inability to treat the subject adequately, I hope to give in the following paper some faint reflection of Hegel's significance in the world of thought. But why study philosophy, I hear some one ask, when the world of to-day is full of practical problems waiting for solution? Why seek to penetrate that realm of mystery which transcends the finite, which it is impossible for the eye to see, for the ear to hear, for the imagination to conceive? Why, except that man is forced to think as well as live and enjoy, that there comes a time when he inquires why he and the world are here, whence they come, whither they go? He demands explanation; and the sciences come to his aid,—astronomy answering his questions regarding the stars, chemistry and physics solving other problems, and so on,—yet all alike pausing on the threshold of what is called the Unknowable, the *why*, the *whence*, the *whither*. Is it impossible, then, for human thought to transcend the objects which exist in space and time? Are we to renounce the study of speculative philosophy, renounce all those inquiries which have occupied the attention of great thinkers in all ages, disregarding their fundamental agreement in essentials, which of itself is one of the strongest proofs that they have read aright the "secret of the universe"? "Whatever is real is rational," says Dr. Caird, "and with all that is rational philosophy claims to deal." What is scientific progress except the discovery of rational laws in the world of matter? What is it but a seeking of intelligence in nature, to which the intelligence in man responds? Reason is the eternal centre and root of things,—reason, thought, or self-consciousness, to use Hegel's explanation. Apply this key to nature, and you behold an evolution in its forms and

processes, from the inorganic up to the organic, and then again up and up to man. "All is explained only when it is converted into thought, only when it is converted into ourselves, only when it is converted into consciousness." We communicate with the outward world through the organs of sense; but the impressions received by this means are confused and unrelated, and do not of themselves constitute knowledge, until they have been referred to the unifying power of thought, the self-conscious ego, presupposed in all experience. For instance, what is it that enables me to apply the common name of rose to this flower, that of heliotrope to another, etc.? So far as regards the report of the senses, the rose I have to-day differs in many respects from the rose I had yesterday. What is it that enables me to compare the separate impressions produced yesterday and to-day, discovering an identity underneath differences which justifies the common name of rose? What is it but thought, the thinking ego, something not given by sense, which remains steady amid the flux of impressions, identifying, relating, and combining them into objects of knowledge? The common name of rose is itself an abstraction, an unreality. There is no rose which is not a particular rose, no plant which is not a particular plant, no man who is not an individual man,—John or James or Henry. Rose, plant, man, are abstractions without any correspondent reality capable of manifesting itself to the senses. The farther we carry this process of generalization, the more abstract our thought becomes. The common name of flower includes both rose and heliotrope; that of plant, flower and vegetable; that of organic being, plant and animal; and, finally, we reach the ultimate abstraction, being, without predicates and without significance, equivalent to nothing. This is the famous paradox at the beginning of Hegel's logic. The two conceptions, Being and Nothing, absolutely identical and absolutely opposed, disappear the one in the other, constituting the Becoming. To illustrate what is meant, take the verb corresponding to Being, remembering that neither verb nor noun is synonymous with Exist and Existence. What do we say, when we say simply *is*? Might we not as well say *is not*? The rose *is*. *Is* what,—existing or non-existing, fragrant or odorless, white or red? Until I say what the rose *is*, I say nothing. More than this, in order to have a clear conception of the rose as a living organism, I must know both what it is and what it is not. Its notion includes negation as well as affirmation. At every stage of its growth, the plant not only is this, that, or the other, but is constantly developing new phases and appearances, putting forth fresh leaves and blossoms or shedding the old ones,—changing, passing away from life to death, from death to life, from affirmation to negation, from negation to affirmation. The seed must lose its individual life in the life of the plant. Leaves must wither and blossoms fade, to sustain the growth of the organism, whose idea can never be reached by abstraction and generalization, by separating the particular parts, disregarding their differences, and observing what they have in common. Abstract the differences of the individual members, and you abstract the life of the organism, which can only realize itself through their diversity and harmony. Thought must rise to a deeper universality than that of abstract generalization, in order to comprehend the ideal unity of the plant, which is a continuous process of affirmation and negation, annulling the previous stage of its history,—as, for instance, the seed, in order to absorb and reaffirm it in leaf and blossom and fruit, and again in seed.

The organic life of reason may be compared to that of the plant. Matter and mind, the world without and the world within, are parts of one harmonious whole, related in their very essence each to the other. Were there no intelligence in nature, no law or order in its processes, no reason corresponding to the reason in man, no relation between matter and mind, how would it be possible to bridge the gulf between the two,—to institute scientific investigation or know anything at all of an object shut up in rigid self-inclusion? Nature is not the antithesis, but the reflection of mind: this is the explanation of the problem. "To him who looks upon the world rationally, the world in its turn presents a rational aspect." But the mind must not isolate itself independently, setting up as truth its individual thoughts and opinions. On the contrary, these must be renounced, in order to attain scientific knowledge. Participation and renunciation are the laws of spiritual being,—participation in the life and consciousness which is universal, renunciation of all that is limiting and particular to the individual. Man cannot separate his single self from the selves of other men, his fellow-beings in the world, any more than he can live a life distinct from the universal life of nature. The individual human being presupposes the family and the state, just as the leaves presuppose the plant. The universal is first, not last, the idea of the organism, explaining, but not explained by its particular members. Isolated from all other human spirits, the individual man is a pure abstraction, an absolute non-entity. I must renounce the thoughts and fancies special to myself as this particular human being, before I can enter the domain of scientific truth. I must lose this single, separate self of mine in the larger self of the family, of the state, of the race, in order to attain spiritual growth and development. The social institutions that surround me, instead of limiting my freedom, enable me to transcend all that is narrow and selfish, to identify myself with other human beings and make their life my own. True, they impose upon me certain duties and obligations, they require me to renounce my private interest for the general good, they demand pain and self-denial; but apart from them, apart from the civil and political organization to which I belong and of which I am a part, this self of mine has no reality, the pulse of my spiritual life ceases to beat.

Renunciation and participation are the principles embodied in human institutions, realized more and more as individual members are penetrated more and more with their divine significance. For it is not enough that I give up my private wishes to benefit others, that I fulfil my social and political obligations, unless I do so freely, spontaneously, converting the external restraint into an inward inclination. This is the supreme spiritual law, the law of love, the self-sacrifice or negation which is the highest spiritual affirmation. It is the soul of Hegel's system, vivifying the abstract reasoning of the *Logic*; explaining the phenomena of nature and its progressive ascent from the lifeless dust of the field through mineral, plant, and animal to man; finding the truth of matter in mind, conscious reason capable of abstracting itself from anything else, of separating the outward objective world from the inner subjective self, of absorbing in its development all that seems to limit its activity, and of winning at last true freedom by the spiritual abnegation of selfish desires and volitions, by absolute surrender to that Universal Reason or Self-consciousness, which is not mine nor yours, but in which all alike have their being. Hegel proves that thought, self-consciousness, is the highest principle in the

world; that it cannot be evolved from material forces, since it is itself their presupposition, tacitly assumed at the outset of scientific investigation. You cannot eliminate the thinking self from your experience and observation of nature or make it a function of matter without making it a function of itself, because matter, force, etc., are abstractions which have no independent existence outside of mind. "Intelligence and will triumph in the struggle for existence," said Dr. Harris, in one of his Concord lectures, "and prove themselves the goal toward which all creation moves."

Nature, according to Hegel, passes through the different stages of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal world, before the spirit within it reaches complete self-emancipation. The stone, or mineral, is entirely dependent on external conditions, and shows the first trace of subjectivity, or spirit, in the attraction of gravity,—an ideal point of unity. The plant possesses a higher degree of freedom and individuality: it can react on its environment, absorbing a portion of it in the process of nutrition, converting it into vegetable cells through its own self-activity. This is the beginning of life and of spirit in its higher manifestations, compelling the mind to pass from the conception of mechanical force to that of self-causation, self-development; revealing a unity which maintains itself amid continual differences,—the unity of the species, not of the individual. From seed to leaf and flower and fruit and again to seed, this is the process of vegetable life, unexplainable by any theory of physical causation, since here is a cause which lives in its effects, and effects which exist to perpetuate the cause. The animal reaches a higher stage of self-activity than the plant. It has feeling, and is capable of locomotion. It cannot only react on its environment in the process of nutrition, but can reproduce in feeling, or sense-perception, the impression made by that environment upon its soul. But the animal is not the highest term in the series of nature: to feeling and locomotion is added reason, which constitutes the peculiarity of the human soul. The spirit that works through nature first attains true freedom, conscious individuality in man. This is a result which it is impossible for materialistic theories to explain, a transition even more wonderful than that from the inorganic to the organic world. "If thought can in any sense be said to be evolved from organization," says Dr. Caird, "it can only be because the animal organization contains in it implicitly something more than animal, higher than organic relations,—namely, the germ of that perfect return upon itself, which mind in its self-consciousness for the first time explicitly reveals; and so, if you insist on seeing in matter the cause of mind, it is because you have already conceived of matter as more than matter, as containing in it virtually all that mind is."

"But a materialism which starts from a matter which is virtually mental or spiritual ceases to be materialism in anything but the name. What it really means is, not that matter, conceived of as something independent, is the cause of mind, but that mind in the germ is that from which mind springs, that intelligence has its origin in that which is implicitly intelligent. But this is a view of the world which spiritualizes matter rather than materializes mind; for in the whole realm of being, down to the lowest existence in outward nature, it leaves nothing absolutely foreign and heterogeneous to thought, nothing which, either actually or virtually, thought cannot claim as its own." The awakening of the consciousness of self is the emancipation of mind from nature, but mind itself must pass through a process of development before it reaches what Hegel calls

universal or rational self-consciousness. Theoretical mind, or intelligence, the spirit that knows, must pass into practical mind, or will, the spirit that acts. Thought and will are really one: thought is potentially will, will is thought in act. But the will at first as it rises out of nature is little more than an instinct: that which it wills is the satisfaction of animal appetites and desires. Even here, reason asserts itself. Though man may pass, like the animal, from one sensuous gratification to another, he soon compares them mentally, and chooses those which produce most enjoyment. Reflection begins; and reflection, once begun, can only end in reason. But it is the distinctive characteristic of reason to claim a satisfaction antagonistic to that demanded by the appetites and desires of our lower nature. Hence, the inner warfare between what Hegel calls the universal reason and these particular tendencies of the animal nature, both locked up in the human being. This self of mine is the self that yields to passion and condemns passion, that yields to the lower impulses and condemns the lower impulses. The spontaneous appetites and desires of nature are without moral significance. But the spontaneity dies the moment it is made an object of thought, and innocent gratification becomes conscious self-indulgence at the bar of reason. "To have a habit is one thing," says Dr. Stirling, "but to *know* I have a habit is quite another thing." The natural tendencies lose their moral neutrality when related to a self that consciously wills their satisfaction or denial.

Man, like the other animals, receives from nature a variety of desires; but he is able to control and transform them into a rational system, *objectify* them in law, morals, and the state.

This is one of Hegel's distinctions between abstract subjectivity and objectivity. That which is merely mine in my thinking and doing is subjective,—is transient and particular, belonging to me as a perishable natural being. That in which all can share, which all can appropriate, is objective, is permanent and universal, belonging to me as a spiritual being. What is mine subjectively sunders me from my fellow-men, sets me apart as a distinct individual, a nonentity. What is mine objectively unites me to my fellow-men, elevates me to the consciousness of freedom and personality. "Hegel ascends to a standpoint," says Dr. Harris, "wherein are united the two antitheses which lead, respectively, the ancient and the modern worlds of thought,—the antithesis of subjective *vs.* objective, and the other antithesis of the universal *vs.* particular. The constitution of the mind is in reality both subjective and objective."

Man is free, according to Hegel, not because he can do what he likes, but because he must obey the higher principle of his nature, the universal self-consciousness in which his own is rooted. "The perpetually recurring misapprehension of freedom," he says, "consists in regarding that term only in its formal, subjective sense, abstracted from its essential objects and aims. Thus, a constraint placed upon impulse, desire, passion,—pertaining to the particular individual as such,—a limitation of caprice and self-will, is regarded as a fettering of freedom. We should, on the contrary, look upon such limitation as the indispensable proviso of emancipation. Society and the state are the only conditions in which freedom is realized." The state is the absolute might in all judicial and ethical relations, the peculiar work of freedom of mind wherein it deals with its own creations. Above it are placed the spheres of art, philosophy, and religion, which in their essence must be left free, though capable of external culture and encouragement. A state founded merely

upon abstract right was a horror to Hegel, though he recognized its historical justification with the Romans, to whom we owe the development of the abstract freedom of personality, which constitutes the basis of positive law. Abstract right is simply directed to the free will as free will, the abstract person. It includes the idea of property: I have the right to convert this physical object, this acre of ground, into an embodiment of free will, and make it mine. But my right is limited by the rights of others, which I am compelled to respect: our separate wills must be merged into one, and here enters the possibility of conflict between the individual and the universal will. Hence, crimes and trespasses and punishment. "A Crusoe upon a lonely island can live very morally," says Dr. Karl Rosenkranz, in his exposition of Hegel's doctrine; "but right exists for him only potentially, and cannot develop itself actively unless one other person live with him, because only with this other would a recognition of his willing and acting become possible. He might indeed be immoral toward himself, intemperate, unchaste, etc.; but a crime or trespass he could not commit."

The stand-point of abstract right is different from that of morality. Obey the law, says one, whether you agree with it or not, whatever may be your motive: obey the law, says the other, because in obeying it you are obeying the conscience within you, your own highest self. Observance of law may be simply external. It is possible for me to fulfil every legal enactment, and yet be guilty of immorality. Nevertheless, right and morality are essentially one; and we see their interdependence clearly in the relation of crime and its consequences. To punish the criminal is to endow him with free will and consequent moral responsibility. We do not impute blame to or punish the elements for earthquakes, tornadoes, and similar disasters: we recognize the physical necessity by which they are bound, the laws of nature which they are forced to obey. They had nothing to do with making these laws: they are true slaves of matter. Man, too, is a creature of nature, subject to her laws, and so far finite and perishable; but man is likewise spirit. He can convert material forces into instruments of his own intelligence, and can rise into a realm of freedom, realizing objectively in legal ordinances and social institutions the deepest principle of his own inner being,—reason, thought. This is true freedom, rational self-consciousness. The history of the world is the development of this idea. To the Roman conception of abstract right, Christianity added that of subjective morality, chastening the heart and guiding the soul to obedience through inner righteousness and the law of love. If space permitted, I would like to show how Hegel develops his doctrine in the *Philosophy of History*, finding in man as in nature a progressive revelation of the divine spirit, from the first rude sense-perception of the savage to the enlightened insight of the Christian thinker, proving that the human being is free and immortal, with the power of self-determination, the power to annul all that is finite and to realize the infinite within him, imperfectly, it is true, as regards temporal existence, but victoriously as regards the life which is eternal. The subject has been treated in a series of lectures,—unpublished, I believe,—by Dr. William T. Harris, of Concord, to whom I with many others am largely indebted for any knowledge I possess of Hegelian philosophy.

It is strange that Hegel's attitude toward Christianity should ever be mistaken, after his emphatic utterances in the *Philosophy of History, of Art, and of Religion*. He makes Christianity the principle of modern history, and shows how the

Oriental and the classic forms of civilization prepared the way for its appearance. Rome is the iron fate that compels abstract personality to display its nothingness, and reveals to man the discord within his own inner nature. This abstract ego, this self of mine, fixed in its private right, is a contradiction, and must suffer the misery of separation from that universal divine self, in union with which it alone possesses true being. Existence for self simply is separation from God. If I hold to my abstract freedom, I adopt the stand-point of evil. Sin is the discerning of good and evil as separation,—separation of the finite from the infinite self. The recognition of the separation brings with it the power to heal the hurt. Infinite loss becomes infinite gain. The words, "to lose the whole world and gain one's own soul," acquire fresh significance. "The distinction between religion and the world," says Hegel, "is this: that religion is reason in the soul and heart, a temple in which truth and freedom in God are presented to the conceptive faculty. The state, on the other hand, regulated by the selfsame reason, is a temple of human freedom concerned with the perception and volition of a reality, whose purport may itself be called divine. This freedom for the state is preserved and established by religion, since moral rectitude is only the carrying out of that which constitutes the fundamental principle of religion. The process displayed in history is only the manifestation of religion as human reason,—the production of the religious principle which dwells in the heart of man under the form of secular freedom. Thus, the discord between the inner life of the heart and the actual world is removed." Modern civilization, pervaded by the principle of Christianity, differs essentially from that of the Oriental, Greek, and Roman world. Its development is simply a struggle to realize greater freedom and independence for the individual through the mediation of institutions; to elevate all men into a spiritual equality, based not on mere natural distinctions, but on their participation in the common heritage of humanity. Art, like history, is treated by Hegel as a manifestation of divine reason, presented to man through his senses as the beautiful. After realizing in Greek sculpture perfect harmony between spirit and matter, "the unalterable serenity of the immortal gods," it aspires in Christian art toward a higher ideal, which it is unable to express sensuously. Christianity emphasizes the infinite importance of the individual soul, and is a deepening of its internal life. Christian art is therefore a reaction against all that is material and external.

Art is a manifestation of the divine addressed to the senses: religion is a revelation of the divine addressed to the heart. In the very essence of man's nature as a spiritual being there is that which forces him to rise above the finite and transitory, to seek the infinite and unchanging, and to express and realize the latent consciousness of an absolute Being and Life underlying his own temporal existence. This is the true key to the outward history of religion: man's religious experience is an endeavor to renounce all finite ends, and make himself one with the Infinite Spirit which his own presupposes. "It is not what the world is, but what it is *not*," says Dr. Caird, "that first stimulates the mind to feel after a reality above and beyond it." "Our life is but a vapor, that appeareth for a little and then vanishes away." These words express a feeling old as the history of man,—a feeling that compels the mind to seek some abiding rock on which to plant itself amid the changing current. This sense of the transitoriness, the nothingness of the finite,

is a negative that could only present itself to a mind containing implicitly a positive, the conception of something real and permanent underlying these changing appearances. God is identified at first with the life of nature; but, as religious consciousness advances, an attempt is made to transcend this idea, expressed by the Brahmanic thinker in words like these: "A wise man must annihilate all objects of sense, and contemplate continually only the one existence which is like space. Brahma is without dimensions, quality, character, or distinction." Indian thought declares that God is the substance of all things: "I am the light in the sun and moon; I am the brilliancy in flame, the radiance in all shining things, the light in all lights, the sound in air, the fragrance in earth, the eternal seed of all things that exist, the life in all; I am the goodness of the good; I am the beginning, middle, end, the eternal in time, the birth and death of all." But Indian thought affirms also that this world is an empty illusion, an unreality: "There is but One Being, no second."

Christianity, like Brahmanism, sees God in all things, but not in all alike: it is able to distinguish the false from the true, the apparent from the real. The Christian God is not an abstract Infinite like Brahma, but an Infinite, reflected in finite existences, an Infinite revealing to man his own possibilities as a spiritual being. In Christianity, we reach the culminating point of Hegel's system of thought,—Absolute Personality, a Self-conscious and Self-revealing God, who manifests the treasures of his wisdom and goodness in the world of nature, and, creating man in his own image, offers him emancipation from the finite and its contradictions through the mediation of love and self-sacrifice.

For The Index.

AN IMAGINARY CONVERSATION Between George Sand and Frederic Chopin.

George Sand.—There is an existing culte, more powerful and all-pervading than any other because it exists in the nature of man, of which I wonder that more is not thought and spoken: this is the worship of and desire for happiness in and of itself,—a holy happiness, if you will, springing from noblest impulses and purest desires and an equal love for our neighbor with ourselves. To what end do we exist? Does not history seem to show us that we live and struggle and hope, that centuries hence may be born a race of men more richly endowed, more brave, more happy? It is difficult to draw the line between so-called animate and inanimate life. Take the flower world, for instance: it yields us intense delight, it shows us most beautifully the divine in nature, and might teach us that asceticism finds no prototype there. Peace has often been regarded as an attribute of the soul, entirely independent of the well-being of the body; but, from measuring experiences, we know it to be a delightful sensation, only attainable when the whole being is in harmony, when health is in all the members, and the mind is refreshed and invigorated by memories of noble deeds. A condition of happiness for the greatest number seems to require for its fulfilment, on the part of each one, faith, trust, hope, self-abnegation; in fact, every virtue which is the outgrowth of improving conditions for humanity. Whenever we admit to ourselves belief in or love for those who help us or for nature or for the arts, we are strengthened in the degree with which we allow the feeling of admiration to dwell with us,—not checking the rising emotion, but allowing it to increase until we turn as naturally to an object of beauty as a flower to the sun.

Our help in this pursuit is that quality of instinct, ignored by so many, which is ignorantly placed below reason, when we forget that it is reason, and that it would lead us toward that which is right and congenial and away from that which is wrong, would we but listen to its promptings. It may be conscience, that high faculty undermined at times by superstition, which banishes instinct. At all events, it is too

often banished; and conscience, as a baneful adviser, is admitted in its stead. In your music, you find the solace of unlimited expressions of your convictions, of your inmost thoughts, your loves and grievances, which I, of all your friends assembled around the piano this evening, feel that in some mysterious way I have divined. I feel, indeed, almost as if I had committed a theft; for I have learned some things which I feel sure you would hardly have wished to confide in me. I have learned that, although you received us here this evening with your usual hospitality and brightness, there is lurking beneath an unrest which you would gladly banish, and which has found vent only in those weird passages of the mazourka you just now played us; and even there the melancholy was veiled in joyful sounds. Shall I tell you the feeling I detected? Yes? It was a longing for home. Am I not right?

Chopin.—You are quite right, indeed. Yet it was more that, in your freedom from the trammels that fetter most women in your talk with me earlier this evening, you reminded me of my early home and of my mother and of my poor, afflicted country. Of my home, you reminded me in this way,—that you gave a home-like feeling to the little company gathered here; of my mother, you made me feel that many of her ills would have vanished, could she have thought as you do; and of my country, because a very little suggestion can set in motion memories and longings for what I wish for that dear land. But, truly, I am not wishing to be away. Now, my home is here; and I am quite content. It is at times only that I seem to be adrift,—when a great despondency comes over me, my friends seem far away, and the memory of some of those pure days in Poland comes back to contrast with the present and make me ill at ease. Sometimes, too, I feel that, if my early education had been different, I would be freer now.

George Sand.—I believe I can understand your conflicts, your struggles with grief, "that terrible reality which art must strive to reconcile with heaven"; and it is with sorrow I see that one source from which you strive to draw consolation yields a fruitless harvest. Although it may often appear otherwise, our inner lives must, of necessity, be consecutive. Certain acts that seem to stand out by themselves, astonishing us by their apparent irrelevancy, have their roots in some such trivial circumstances as to be passed at the time unnoticed. These trifling acts, which may lead in time to more telling events, may be prompted by motives called forth by customs which are prevalent in our country, and against which, did we allow our reasons full play, we would struggle with all the force of our natures. But this point, of so little moment as to ask for no decision, passes by us in consequence of our defective vision. This custom, to whose power we have submitted ourselves, leads us to a crisis where reason rebels, although powerless, without the most persistent study, to discover where was hidden the seed productive of such mighty results. It is so natural to follow the line of the least resistance. But,—when I find that I am travelling carelessly over the beaten track where it is considered highly estimable to see, and to be seen, when I seat myself by the way to reflect why the throng are hurrying by me and find that the goal they wish to reach is unworthy,—then, with new impulse, I rush into the nearest by-path, attracted by the fragrance of the rich, strong wild flowers, finding a thousand charms and novelties where the high-road yielded only one. What is more, I find, in a close contact with nature, a strength that a communion with men cannot give me. Often, it would have been wiser to have acquainted myself with the laws governing society in other countries: in this way, I might have avoided certain errors into which, struggling by myself, I was led, as well as by my contempt for unworthy limitations. Whenever such a disappointment comes to me as to be forced to believe in human weakness, I seek new strength and hope from the lesson taught by nature.

Chopin.—One secret of life, it seems to me, is that those who would cannot and those who can would not, with the few remarkable exceptions of being; we would wish to make our friends. But Heine and Nourrit are coming toward us, and we must defer this talk until a future time.

C. A. OLCOTT.

ONLY in a world of sincere men is unity possible, and there, in the long run, it is as good as certain. — Carlyle.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY."

Editors of The Index:—

When the gentle Buddha Gautama walked the earth,—so say the ancient books,—he taught the people how vain it was to pray, and that

"'Twere better far to ease one beast of pain
Than sit in caves with priests who pray."

And his life was devoted to showing how little good comes from prayer and sacrifice, as commonly understood, and of how little service it was to cry to the gods; for, said he, "Perchance the gods have need of help themselves, being so feeble that when sad lips cry they cannot save." Yet this great and good teacher had scarcely left this earth before his followers had erected altars to him and were bringing sweet floral offerings to his temples. Then soon the prayerless Buddhism became transformed, and scarce exists on the earth to-day in the form instituted by the master.

Judging from the article by your esteemed correspondent, Mr. Henry W. Holland, in last week's *Index*, the same thing will happen to Herbert Spencer; for already, even before he has departed this life, he is called an "idealist." Surely, that is "the most unkindest cut of all." We are used to hear him called an "atheist," "a materialist," "a destroyer of religion," etc.; but to call him an "idealist," and to assert that "the last few months have done not a little to exhibit Mr. Spencer's philosophy in a new light" and that his "views approach much nearer to positive Christianity than to their [Spencer's followers'] own negative philosophy" is surely very startling!

Mr. Spencer has been accused of saying many strange things during the last few months; yet, as he is neither dead nor sleeping, he has been able to defend himself, nor is any man living so well able to do it. Though, as he himself says, "It is a wearisome and profitless business, this of continually going back on the record, now to show that the ideas ascribed to me are not the ideas I expressed, and now to show that the statements my opponent defends are not the statements he originally made." *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1885, p. 322.

Still, Mr. Spencer is anxious that he shall be clear from these accusations of idealism and dickerings with Christianity; and it seems strange that scholarly men should be found to make such baseless charges.

Mr. Spencer teaches, as clearly as words can teach, that the simplest phenomena, in their ultimate essence, are unknowable. Though, perchance, only the student fully realizes the limits of his own knowledge in this direction, and the man who knows least is under the impression that he knows most; but to such men as Mr. H. W. Holland there comes a loyal recognition of the limits of our knowledge, for I perceive that he is a student, therefore he knows that we know but little. Now, Mr. Spencer has dwelt on this fully, and has gone out boldly to explore the depths of the unknown area that is forever widening with the student's increasing knowledge, and, seeing how futile is the attempt to deal with ultimates, has wisely confined himself to the facts of science; for these ultimates he has demonstrated to be unknowable by the very form of our intelligence. (*First Principles*, Chap. iv., Part 1.) And he has dealt with them boldly and fearlessly; but, as we must speak of the ultimate in the terms of speech we have and must think of it in the terms of thought we have, we are compelled to use terms that have become associated with crude ideas and hideous superstitions; but, for this, Mr. Spencer is not responsible, and he takes more pains than any teacher we ever had to make clear his views concerning those "infinite and eternal" mysteries. He says: "We are obliged to be conscious of a reality behind appearance, and yet can neither bring this consciousness of reality into any shape, nor can bring into any shape its connection with appearance. The forms of our thought, moulded on experiences of phenomena, as well as the connotations of our words formed to express the relations of phenomena, involve us in contradictions when we try to think of that which is beyond phenomena; and yet the existence of that which is beyond phenomena is a necessary datum alike of our thoughts and our words. We have no choice but to accept

a formless consciousness of the inscrutable." *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1885, p. 319.

It would seem as though the English language were incapable of expressing scholarly views clearly enough for all to understand; for, if any man has taken pains to make his position clear, as regards religion and materialism, that man is Herbert Spencer. Nevertheless, every day some one rises to accuse him of saying what he never said or of meaning what he never meant; and the words of the critic are read where Spencer is never seen. And so the idle Athenians condemn Spencer for what his captious critics have made him say, and accept the interpretations of John Fiske and others less able for the utterances of the man himself; and so, instead of reading Spencer, we read about Spencer. And, when men like Frederic Harrison attack Spencer, they seem to be sound and logical; but when the "old man eloquent" opens out on them, as he best knows how, then do we see the truth like a flash of lightning gleam athwart the creed-cursed atmosphere, and we realize that Spencer is the very opposite of an idealist, as his last article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for January, 1885, should convince every fair-minded man. For Frederic Harrison has formulated the doctrine enunciated by Mr. Holland, and has blankly charged Mr. Spencer with being the founder of the religion of evolution. But Mr. Spencer's reply should forever set at rest all such groundless charges. And I can only ask your correspondent to point out any passages in all Spencer's works that point to a "spiritualistic interpretation of the universe" or to any conception of the cosmos that would bring him into harmony with the churches or creeds of the day? Let me quote Mr. Spencer's closing words to Frederic Harrison, in the current number of the *Popular Science Monthly*: "Instead of assaults on those propositions to which alone I am committed, there have been assaults on various propositions gratuitously attached to them; and then the incongruities evolved have been represented as incongruities for which I am responsible."

"I end by pointing out, as I have pointed out before, that, while the things I have said have not been disproved, the things which have been disproved are things I have not said."

PETER ANNET.

LEGISLATION AND PRAYER.

Editors of The Index:—

The paragraph you copy from the Springfield *Republican* hardly does justice to my proposal to abolish the office of chaplain, and substitute for his hired and perfunctory performances the voluntary prayers of praying legislators themselves, of course without cost to the State. The abolition of chaplaincies, as a measure standing by itself, seems utterly impossible at present, partly, if not mainly, because it is supposed to imply a surrender to the demands of infidelity and to cast opprobrium upon prayer of every sort and kind. My proposition is that those members of our legislatures who sincerely believe in prayer should agree to do their own praying instead of putting it out as a job to be done by a hired official, and paid for out of the public treasury. It strikes me that this would be a reasonable arrangement, infringing no one's conscience and casting no reproach upon religion. It would compromise no principle that I can see to allow such members of a legislative body as sincerely believe in the efficacy of prayer an opportunity to meet in the legislative hall for devotional purposes for half an hour before the daily session. Those members who did not wish to take part in such an exercise would of course be free to absent themselves, and I cannot imagine that they would fear any harm to themselves or the State on this account. There would be no responsible recognition of religion in any form on the part of the State, but only a friendly and wholly uninjurious concession to men of strong religious conviction, or prejudice, if you will. I have no disposition to scoff at such men or their devotions. As a general rule, I believe they are profoundly sincere, and therefore worthy of respect; and, this being so, I think the spectacle of a legislative prayer-meeting under the conditions supposed would be morally healthful. Hypocrites might indeed sometimes seek a covert for knavery in such meetings, but that is no argument against them. How is it possible for any association to prevent the approach of the hypocrite?

For my own part, familiar as I am with the current

arguments against prayer, I am far from being convinced that the exercise is not as wholesome as it is natural. If I were a member of a legislative body, I would vote every time to abolish the office of chaplain; but I should love to attend such a prayer-meeting as that which I have proposed.

Yours respectfully,

OLIVER JOHNSON.

AN APPEAL FOR TRUTH.

Editors of The Index:—

Will you please inform a subscriber concerning the operations of the prohibitory laws in Massachusetts, Maine, and other States, where these laws have been tried to any great extent? I have heard so many contradictory statements about the effect and influence of these laws that I want to know the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about them. We are likely to have during the year 1885 great contests over the whiskey question in the State of Georgia. Two-thirds of the counties of the State prohibit the sale of liquors in their borders. This whiskey question is one that must be decided by experiment, and the object of this short card is to find out the truth of this matter in those States where prohibition has obtained. If any reader of *The Index* can send me any facts concerning this subject, I will be so thankful for the information. Does prohibition prohibit? Has it done so in Maine, in portions of Massachusetts where prohibition laws operate, in Kansas, in Iowa? Do these laws diminish crime in those States where the experiment has been made? Will *The Index* refer me to any book or any pamphlet or any true statistics (or will any reader of *The Index* who sees this card do the same) where I can get the information I desire? Any paper that will assist me in this inquiry, by copying this card, will have my sincere gratitude.

My whole object in trying to arrive at these facts is philanthropic. I want to do the world all the good I can, while I live in it. I want to know exactly which side of this prohibition question has the actual facts to support it, and also what those facts are. I know all the speculations and the theories. I want the great unanswerable facts,—the "legal tenders." I want them from Massachusetts, Maine, Kansas, Iowa, and every State in which the experiment of prohibition has been made, so that they may be as bodyguards for the truth, which I shall sustain when I arrive at it. I hope and trust that these few lines, as appeals for truth, will not be in vain.

Earnestly yours,

W. T. CHENEY.

ROME, GA., Dec. 24, 1884.

UNIFORMED PIETY.

Editors of The Index:—

It would be more consistent for modern monastics to assume vows of perpetual modesty, in conjunction with those of "celibacy," "poverty," and "obedience" "to church orders"; for one of the chief characteristics of such individuals is this desire or willingness to be marked among their fellow-men by some distinctive dress or badge, which calls attention to their alleged holiness and great charity.

All this is not in accord with their own avowed standard in their religions, surely. The reason why such distinctive marks are undesirable (looking at it in a wholly sentimental way) is that more or less complete protection from assault or insult is thereby afforded the wearers; and if they, as followers of the Christ written of in the modern Bible, seek such immunity from worldly suffering, they are not to be praised or imitated, since they should be ready to suffer everything bad for the sake of a possible bestowal of good on other human beings, needing it at their hands unreservedly.

There seems to be something Pharisee like in this setting one's self apart as better or kinder than others publicly,—and this, too, not at all to decry what of real good such individuals have done; but why cannot they be just as full of good works, dressed as and acting like the every-day people in the lands they may be living in?

This is the mystery attaching to all the salvation armies, priesthoods, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods, etc., in all sects and races, which, to an outsider like the writer, seems so very needless and suggestive of hypocrisy.

JOHN DIXWELL.

Boston, Jan. 5, 1885.

SOME weeks ago, in response to a request of the Secretary of the National Liberal League that we would notice the new programme of that organization as announced in a printed circular which was sent to us, we indicated the inconsistency of calling upon all, Christians as well as non-Christians, for support, with the statement that State secularization was the sole aim and object, and at the same time making the League an antichristian and secularistic organization. The leading League papers, without giving their readers the least idea of our criticism, have referred to it as though it were unreasonable and captious. But now some of those who have been until very recently prominently identified with the League are pointing out the same inconsistency to which we called attention. The following is copied from *Zucifer*, published at Valley Falls, Kansas, and is by "W.," one of the editors of that paper. Will not the *Investigator*, whose motto is "Hear all Sides," copy this, and show wherein it is unfair or unjust: "Mr. S. P. Putnam, speaking for himself and Mr. Watts, refused to accept the challenge of George Chainey for a discussion between the latter and Mr. Watts upon the relative merits of Spiritualism and Materialism. And this after Mr. Watts had frequently taunted Mr. Chainey with an asserted lack of courage to debate. Mr. Putnam gave as his chief reason for refusing to accept Mr. Chainey's challenge the fact that he and Mr. Watts are officers of the League. Mr. Putnam said that they were in the employ of the League, were paid out of its treasury, and hence had no right to use their time in any other work than that of secularization, pure and simple. He said that the League had nothing to do with Spiritualism, with Materialism, or with Christianity, *per se*, that it was devoted to the separation of Church and State, and its officers should do nothing to antagonize any possible adherents to the secularization movement,—therefore, Mr. Watts must not debate with Mr. Chainey. This was a very fair programme, had it been acted upon in good faith. But it has not been. Mr. Watts is eager to discuss with the clergy; and, wherever he goes, the ministers are challenged to debate with him,—to debate with him not merely upon the Church and State issue, but upon subjects at issue between the infidel and agnostic or atheist and the Christian and theist. According to his and Mr. Putnam's theory, he has no right to use time for which he is paid by the League in discussing subjects upon which the League has no opinion; and fair play and common sense confirm Mr. Putnam's statement, that the League has not and should not have any opinion concerning the divinity of the Bible, the existence of a God, or the immortality or mortality of the soul. In the light of their subsequent actions, it is plain that the reason given by Mr. Putnam and Mr. Watts for their refusal to debate with Mr. Chainey was but a pretext. As a staunch Materialist, I must confess that I am not proud of the courage and straightforwardness displayed by these champions of the philosophy which I accept."

BOOK NOTICES.

FARNELL'S FOLLY. By J. T. Trowbridge. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1885. Price \$1.50.

A new story by Mr. Trowbridge is always welcomed by his many admiring readers. These will find in *Farnell's Folly* continued evidence of his well-known ability to depict in a natural, lively, and graphic manner the differing phases of New England home-life and the characteristics of New England people. That some of the characters in this story are drawn with evident exaggeration does not detract from the general interest of it. If, however, some are superlatively good, none are superlatively bad. There is nothing especially new in the plot, which is that of the financial ruin of many men and women through the wily fraud of a dashing speculator in petroleum and other stocks, as well as the moral ruin wrought by the same personage in the lives and hearts of others. In common with all the stories of Mr. Trowbridge, this work is moral in tendency and pure in tone.

THE BIBLE FOR BEGINNERS. Compiled and arranged by John Page Hopps. The Old Testament. London: Williams & Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1884.

To those who wish to get the real gist of the sacred book of the Hebrews, free from the long gene-

alogical and chronological chapters, this work of Rev. Mr. Hopps will be found quite a convenience. In the preface, he remarks: "For a long time, I have felt the need of some book that would give, in a shortened form, the actual contents of the Bible,—not edifying extracts merely, but closely connected selections that would fully set forth the letter and the spirit of each separate book. I did not want a book of explanations or moral lessons or inferences or criticisms or the story of the Bible told in some modern person's words. I wanted the Bible itself, in an abbreviated form, but with a few necessary words of explanation, from stage to stage. . . . This book is the result; and, if other parents and teachers feel as I have felt and want what I have wanted, I may hope that it may be useful to others, as I believe it will be to me." In a second volume, the New Testament is to be given in the same abridged form.

WITHIN THE SHADOW. By Dorothy Holroyd. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1884. Price \$1.25.

This is a well-told and deeply interesting story of highest moral tone, which deals mainly with some lovely phases of girl friendship, as exhibited during times of special and cruel trial, such as came into the life of Cecil Chester, the heroine of this story. Of the three leading characters, the chief heroine is one whose years until womanhood were passed in a happy home, with wealthy and cultured parents and surroundings, when the death of the former and consequent loss of the latter bring her into positions where she is suspected of theft and imprisoned. Another is a cultivated girl in poor circumstances, whom a hard fate sends to Japan as a missionary and teacher. The third is the daughter of the prison warden, who makes use of her opportunities to do good among the prisoners in a self-forgetful and unostentatious way. The warmth and sincerity of the friendship of these three are subjected to severe tests during the ordeal undergone by the first. The love stories of the friends play a necessary but subordinate part in the volume.

The January number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is filled with able and interesting articles. In "A Glance at the Jury System," C. H. Stephens makes the defects of the system very evident, and shows by a sketch of its history that it was not established as a bulwark of popular liberty. In "Agnostic Metaphysics," by Frederic Harrison, and "Last Words about Agnosticism," by Herbert Spencer, the religious discussion by these thinkers may be said to be closed; for Mr. Spencer states that he shall say no more. "Influences determining Sex" is an interesting statement by Prof. W. K. Brooks of the results of a curious scientific research. The story of Tyndall's student life, told by himself, under the title "My Schools and Schoolmasters," will be eagerly read. F. A. Fernald contributes an illustrated article on the "Gladiators of the Sea," in which he describes the sword-fish, the saw-fish, and the narwhal. "Studying in Germany," by Horace M. Kennedy, contains valuable information for American students. Sir Auberon Herbert's article on "State Usurpation of Parental Functions" is profitable reading for those who put their trust in reform by act of legislature. J. H. Pooley, M.D., describes that curious affection, "Bloody Sweat"; W. Mattien Williams writes on "Condiments" and "The Cookery of Wine." And "Protective Mimicry in Marine Life," by Dr. W. Breitenbach; "The Advantages of Limited Museums," by O. W. Collet; "The Architecture of Town-houses," by R. W. Edis, F.S.A.; and "Mountain Observatories,"—are all valuable articles. The subject of the portrait and sketch is that eminent chemist, Sir Henry Roscoe. The editor writes on "Harrison and Spencer on Religion," "A Healthy Materialism," and "Politics and Science." The "Miscellany" and "Notes" contain the usual pleasing variety. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

The *Art Amateur* for January, 1885, is very rich in bright and sparkling criticism as well as in practical instruction to artists and amateurs, especially in decorative art. A subscription to this periodical would be an excellent New Year's gift for any young person interested in the decorative arts; for one could not fail, by reading it from month to month and studying the illustrations given, to improve the taste. An interesting account is given of the work of the so-called Associated Artists in New York. This is

rather an ambitious title for the work of a few individuals; but this firm has done a great deal to develop the taste for decorative art, and to improve the manufactures of the country by the demand for rich and beautiful stuffs. It is a great encouragement to women to see how Mrs. Wheeler and her gifted daughter have worked out their own ideas, and made a place for themselves in the great industrial world; and, in so doing, they have opened the way for others whom they have employed. Miss Emmet's designs in this number show great ability. There is now no excuse for poor drawing or slovenly work. We have excellent drawing-schools, where eye and hand may be thoroughly trained; and this training will appear in every design, however seemingly free and careless. The "Art Hints" are very good. They always take a high view of art, and, if read and pondered, will help to disabuse the young student of many foolish notions. We heartily congratulate the publishers of the *Art Amateur* on the constant improvement in their work, and cordially recommend its perusal to our readers as one of the pleasures of the New Year. E. D. C.

The *Atlantic* for January contains the opening chapters of three serial stories: Charles Egbert Craddock's "Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," Sarah Orne Jewett's "A Marsh Island," and Mrs. Oliphant's "A Country Gentleman." Oliver Wendell Holmes begins a series of papers, entitled "A New Portfolio"; and the first number is full of the old-time charm, wit, pathos, and other delightful qualities of the genial autocrat. Articles of literary interest are a study of "Childhood in Greek and Roman Literature," by Horace E. Scudder; "Madame Mohl, her Salon and her Friends," by Kathleen O'Meara; and a paper of curious interest by Richard Grant White on "The H Malady in England." Two pictures of New England life—"A Salem Dame-school" and "Winter Days," being selections from Thoreau's *Journal*—are of interest; and these, with a short story by Frank R. Stockton, critiques on Vedder's drawings to Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát*, Vernon Lee's "Euphorion," and other notable books, poetry of a Christmas character, and the usual Contributors' Club, complete a number replete with good things. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

No. 20, Vol. V., of the *Modern Review* is, like most of the numbers of this periodical, of solid worth. The contents are: "Ezekiel," by Prof. Kuenen; "The Argument from Design in the Organic World," by Dr. W. B. Carpenter; "Modern Quakerism," by Alexander Gordon, M.A.; "Converts to Rome," by R. Rodolph Suffield; "Liberal or Socialist," by Richard A. Armstrong, B.A.; "Prof. Newman's Christianity in its Cradle," by Francis H. Jones, B.A.; "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles: Postscript," by Alexander Gordon, M.A. The "Reviews and Book Notices" are unusually good.

The January number of *St. Nicholas* contains portions of continued stories by Louisa M. Alcott, J. T. Trowbridge, and Hjalmar H. Boyesen; a thought-inspiring poem, entitled "The Child and the Year," by Celia Thaxter; the beginning of a series of "Historic Girls," "Elizabeth of Tudor," by Elbridge S. Brooks, with many other tales, poems, and articles by good writers, in addition to its always sumptuous supply of beautiful illustrations thereof by the best artists. For sale by Cupples & Upham, Old Corner Bookstore.

An interesting feature in the New Orleans Exhibition is the Prang Exhibit, which contains all former prize cards and the frames, with consecutive proofs of a reproduction, which was at the Mechanics' Fair in Boston, and has been sent to the Massachusetts Department at New Orleans by special invitation of the State Commission. The collection of prize designs recently exhibited in New York and Boston by Mr. L. Prang is now, by special invitation, shown in the Art Institute in Chicago; and, in response to a similar request made by the managers of the Museum of Fine Arts at St. Louis, this collection of paintings will be sent to that city later on. Mr. Gaugengig's design in the Prang Prize Exhibition is remarkable for the purity of its tones and the exquisite nicety of finish, reminding of Meissonier's best efforts in this direction. It has, we are informed, met with little appreciation by the critics as to its fitness as a Christmas gift card.

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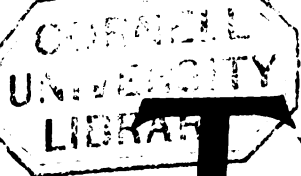
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THE INDEX

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1885.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE present agitation in several of the States to secure legislation requiring that physiological instruction in temperance principles shall be given in the public schools is a laudable effort to get hold of the alcohol problem at the right end.

REFERRING to those who refrain from exchanging conventional civilities with strangers through a morbid fear that their "position" or "standing" may in some way be lowered by speaking with those who lack the accepted social standards, the *Boston Herald* sensibly says: "The true lady or gentleman, the person of really 'good family,' is never in fear of being compromised or contaminated by speaking to anybody. Sure, without the least consciousness, of their position, they never think that it depends in the least upon whom they speak to or by whom they are addressed. That proud patrician, Wendell Phillips, with his great heart full of all kindness, knew that he could live anywhere, and so chose his residence in most 'unfashionable,' but very convenient, quarters. It is only the shoddyite, social or financial, who seeks to increase his importance by affectations in manners and a show of wealth. A common type of the snob can be put down by snubbing. Those who are beyond this may be left to the untender mercies of the snobs who are above them, and whose recognition they live to seek."

IN a speech recently made in England in behalf of a hospital for the paralyzed and epileptic, Dr. Crichton Browne said: "In the history of civilization, we have had a stone age, a bronze age, and an iron age; and, parallel with these in the history of human development, we have had a bone age, a muscle age, and a nerve age. With the application of iron to the manufacture of machin-

ery and the substitution of steam power for brute strength, the strain of existence was transferred from the muscles to the nerves. The sons of Adam eat bread now, not in the sweat of their faces, but in the fever of their brains; and thews and sinews are of small account in comparison with nimble nerve fibres." The mortality from nervous diseases appears to be advancing rapidly. Apoplexy, neuro-cephalus, and paralysis are, according to Dr. Crichton Browne, carrying off a larger number of victims year by year. They caused 105,189 deaths in the period of five years 1861-65, and 145,503 deaths in the five years 1876-80. Those who deny the existence of over-pressure should at least consider these figures.

THE enterprise of the New York *Herald* produces a special despatch from Rome concerning the doings of the late Plenary Council of the Catholic Church in Baltimore, of which the Springfield *Republican* says: "It contains nothing but what was guessed or rumored on this side the water, as the proceedings are simply under consideration by a committee, and not promulgated by the pope. But there is no doubt the statements are substantially true: that a fixed rule for the regulation of mixed marriages has been adopted; that parochial schools are to be established all over the United States; that a great ecclesiastical university is to be formed; that a national catechism has been drawn up, which shall be obligatory upon all Roman Catholics; that there are to be ecclesiastical tribunals governed by 'civil and canonical' law, in each diocese, for the trial of priests; that priests cannot be removed at the caprice of their bishops, etc. The effect of the determination of the council of course is expected to be the solidifying the power of the Church and the sharper separation of Roman Catholics from their fellow-citizens."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Montreal *Herald* quotes from the *Gazette* of that city that "it is probable that the easy-going, inoffensive, tolerant disposition of the vast mass of Canadians has permitted the skirmishers to establish outposts in the Dominion much more rapidly than in European countries, the United States, or the other colonies," and comments as follows: "Is it an act of very great condescension to 'tolerate' the Salvation Army? Do we not 'tolerate,' sometimes welcome and defend, bank plunderers and other refugees from justice from the other side of the line? Don't we 'tolerate,' and many of us welcome, prize-fighters, who come amongst us to edify and help to educate the criminal classes? Don't we 'tolerate' indecent ten-cent shows, ministering to the depravity of the juveniles, and allow our dead walls and places of prominence in the city to be defiled with beastly illustrations? Don't we 'tolerate' houses of ill-fame and gambling and drinking resorts of every kind? When we consider these, and a host of other similar facts, it must strike many of us as strange that there are any in Montreal, or in Canada, to turn up their noses at the Salvation Army, and to speak of 'tol-

erating' these people, as if it were an act of grace and a wonderful kindness on our part."

IN regard to the faith-cure, the Springfield *Republican* has this to say: "Some of the instances of success strain outside credulity to the vanishing point, in the straightening of limbs crooked from birth, the restoration of a withered arm, and the cure of cancer. Many cures of cancer have been published when the disease cured had no such character in reality, and some in which the seeming cure proved a deceit, and the cancer returned with increased and irresistible virulence, killing its victim without a second respite. This is one class of cases in which no one who knows the nature of a cancer can possibly credit the faith-cure. In rheumatism, neuralgia, dyspepsia, and many other ailments which result from a certain class of causes, and in which hypochondria invariably results and reinforces, these cures are the most frequent. The stories which are sometimes told recall even more than the faith itself the records of the days of the Catacombs, when not only such lesser things were remedied, but even those were restored to life whose heads had been cut off, the head being placed upon the severed trunk, and the prayer of the faithful shortly knitting the two together, so that the Christian victim arose and glorified God. This anastasis has not yet been copied by the faith-curiers, though experiments as desperate have been tried in sundry places, with the result of dreadful failure."

LAST week, the organization of the American Society for Psychical Research was completed at a meeting held in this city, at the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The officers of the society were elected as follows: president, Prof. Simon Newcomb, of Washington; vice-presidents, Prof. G. Stanley Hall of Baltimore, Prof. G. S. Fullerton of Philadelphia, Prof. E. C. Pickering, Dr. H. P. Bowditch, and Dr. C. S. Minot, all of Harvard University; secretary, Mr. N. D. C. Hodges, of Cambridge, Mass.; treasurer, Prof. William Watson. From a report of the proceedings, the following is taken: "In view of the dangers to which the new society is exposed in the systematic investigation of the little known psychical phenomena, great care has been taken to exclude from active control all elements which might turn the energy of the society into a help-mate of any of the vague, unsettled, and sometimes fraudulent enterprises of Spiritualists. A scientific research must be free from all taint of crankiness. Hence, the decision that all persons elected to the society become associates; from among the associates, one hundred members to be elected, who alone have the right to vote. Out of the members again are elected a council of twenty-one, including the officers above named. The remaining members of the present council are: Dr. William James, Prof. George F. Barker, Mr. S. H. Scudder, Dr. C. C. Everett, Mr. Moorfield Storey, Prof. John Trowbridge, Prof. A. Hyatt, Prof. J. M. Peirce, Mr. Coleman Sellers, Major Woodhull, Messrs. C. C. Jackson, T. W. Higginson, and W. H. Pickering."

THE SUN AS A SYMBOL OF DEITY.

An article on the sun's productive energy in the *Century* for December closes thus: "Whoever finds the way to make industrially useful the vast sun-power, now wasted on the deserts of North Africa or the shores of the Red Sea, will effect a greater change in men's affairs than any conqueror in history has done; for he will once more people those waste places with the life that swarmed there in the best days of Carthage and of old Egypt, but under another civilization, where man shall no longer worship the sun as a god, but shall have learned to make it his servant."

These sentences are very suggestive. They are the summing up of certain inferences which the author has been drawing from well attested facts: namely, that the coal-beds of the earth, now the chief supply of mankind for heat used as a mechanical power, will, in a calculable number of years, be exhausted; that solar heat, taken directly from the sun, is already being made available for moving engines of moderate power, and may, with those mechanical improvements which may be reasonably expected, become available where power is wanted on a much larger scale; that it can, in any event, be put to use for the pumping of water from beneath the sand of deserts, so that those vast uninhabitable regions of the earth may be irrigated and in time covered with vegetation, and become the seat of commerce and manufactures and of powerful populations.

Already, it seems as if the sleeping heart of Africa were beginning to wake, or at least as if the wide-awake people of other lands had been made aware of the fact that that dark, mysterious continent is not sunk in so deathly a sleep but that it may hear a resurrection summons from the bugle blast of this nineteenth century civilization. The "Congo Conference," sitting in the capital of the German Empire, is one of the signs of this new order of things. It is not so very long ago that "Congo" was only known in connection with the infamous slave-trade, which its native savage chiefs carried on with the more wicked white agents of the savage side of modern civilization. Now, "Congo" possibly marks the opening in the hitherto impenetrable side of African barbarism, through which the really civilized elements of modern civilization are to be taken up into the interior of that great continent. What may happen in that hemisphere in the next two hundred years, when civilization shall fairly get it in its grasp, none of us can predict. It may be none too bold to conjecture that the old prophecy, under the inspirations of science and art, will be literally fulfilled; that "the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water"; that "the wilderness and the solitary place shall be made glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose"; that, in fine, these countries, which now are a waste desert because of the intensity of the solar heat, will then, by reason of that same heat, become fertile lands, the centre of the world's industrial activities, and the seat of its political empire.

But the train of reflections which the passage above quoted set in motion in our mind was not chiefly with reference to the possible wonderful future of the African continent. It was the last part of the passage that specially set our thoughts to wandering, and wandering not so much to the possible Africa of coming centuries as to peoples of many centuries ago with their strange religious faiths; and thence to the vast revolution in religious faiths which has been and is still going on with the advance of civilization, and which must continue to go on as civilization

continues to progress toward goals to which we can now set no limit and concerning which the wildest dreams of conjecture may be nearer the truth than any calculations which prudent reason may venture to make. Picturing Africa's coming era, the *Century* writer spoke of it as that "civilization where man no longer shall worship the sun as a god, but shall have learned to make it his servant." In these words, even more probably than he was himself aware, he struck the whole range of difference between the superstitious faiths which have ruled mankind in the past, and have by no means yet passed away, and the rational faith which is beginning to dawn, and whose light, we may hope, shall yet irradiate the darkest places of earth.

The sentence brings first to mind the whole realm of nature worship,—that joyous and poetic period of the childhood of religion, when it was the most natural thought which the human mind could have that all the great objects and forces of nature were immediately possessed and animated by a personal spirit akin to the conscious intelligence and will of a human being; a personal spirit that was near to man, close to his earthly wants, that could be entreated, that was pleased and displeased, but in the main was sympathizing and helpful toward human weakness. That the sun, as the most powerful and glorious of nature's objects, should thus have become the centre of great systems of faith and worship was no irrational nor very harmful idolatry. And thence our thought moved forward to the more reflecting but dreary period of anthropomorphic theism, when the personal power that moved the world was pictured as a mighty monarch seated in august grandeur in the skies, of the type of a human sovereign, but raised to infinite power; a being to be approached with awe and trembling, pleased with the praise of words and the ceremonies of worship, capable of being softened by the adulation of worshippers, but capable, too, of fierce wrathfulness, denying all approach save through a celestial intercessor.

But, again, the sentence happily suggested that this conception of Deity, though still we suppose the prevailing conception even in the civilized countries of Christendom, is gradually waning away. In its place is growing that new conception of the productive, sustaining power of the universe which is coming in with science, wherein, though the phrases "personality," "conscious intelligence," "parental oversight" are hardly ventured to be lisped, so careful is science not to generalize beyond the line of all the observed facts, yet supreme emphasis is laid on these facts: that, whatever the eternal, world-vitalizing, and world-impelling energy may be in its own hidden nature, it is a power that is omnipresent; that is intimately near to man; that works in every finite force and form which anywhere exists; that throbs in every living atom, produces and sustains the myriads of living organisms, pulsates in every human heart, gives to the human brain the capacity to think and to see and keep the true and right; and that, therefore, it is a power that is ever and everywhere *spending itself in service*.

It is sometimes complained that science is taking away from man his Deity. It is taking away his false conceptions of Deity. But, though science no longer allows man to regard Deity as a personal monarch seated in sovereign majesty on a throne in the heavens, or even as a personal creator of the world, and though it may not permit the conception of him as a prayer-hearing and praise-loving being in the skies, it is, nevertheless, in this idea of a power eternally exerting itself in service, bringing a grander conception than any it is tak-

ing away. Man may say to-day that he actually *knows* that power which he has been wont to call Deity as a serving power. He knows it as that which appears in him as the very forces and elements of life; as that which is the law and force by which the crystal forms and the stars move and carry their planets; as that which serves to the flower its grace and perfume and to the tree its strength; as that which everywhere, in sun and earth, in atom, beast, and man, is working to make this universe what it is and what it is to be; as that which reaches, for our world, its highest consummation in personal character, forming itself by the law of righteousness and striving to shape human society by a moral ideal. And in the possibilities of this idea is there not ample compensation for all that is gone or is going from the religious creeds of mankind? Which is the nobler and more ennobling conception,—a God enthroned in the heavens to be worshipped or a God that is everywhere serving the earth and the heavens and man and all beings?

The sun has, indeed, been deposed from its throne as a god, but it is none the less supreme power in our solar system. It reigns by serving.

WM. J. POTTER.

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL ARISTOCRACY IN AMERICA.

It is said that Mr. Wasson has been for some years engaged in the preparation of a work on some topic in political philosophy. I therefore read his recent careful articles in *The Index* with the more interest, thinking they might afford, perhaps, some glimpse of his line of thought. Certainly there is no New England thinker with a more peculiarly delicate intuitive-analytical genius, nor any whose opinions command more unfeigned respect in philosophical circles.

There is probably no modern word that contains a richer connotation than "Democracy." It stands for the social trend or tendency of entire groups of nations, in Europe and the two Americas, as well as in Australia and New Zealand. One regrets, therefore, to find Mr. Wasson narrowing the concept to a political sense only. Democracy is surely, first of all, a *social* doctrine and condition. It is an idea born in the hearts of groaning humanity, and dirged with sighs of slave and outcast. Bedded in the past, its purports arching into the infinite future, it is more than a dream and an aspiration: it is a predictable and inevitable phase of human society. Government by count of heads—political equality—is not democracy in the deeper sense, whatever our wretched dictionaries may say. Political democracy is only the index, the expression of social democracy; it is only the surface symptom of a profound organic, secular change. By democracy in this deeper sense, I mean the as yet imperfectly voiced yearning and demand of the human heart for equality of privilege and the abolition of arbitrary social and political distinctions,—the sentiment of the native worth of a human being. It was with this meaning that I used the word when applying it to Sir Walter Scott. The only other existing word, that I know of, which partly covers the idea is "socialism." It is to be hoped that this word may finally be rescued from the use of wild and foolish doctrinaires and appropriated by scholars to express the world-idea of democratic brotherhood.

Socialism, or social democracy, it is superfluous to say, is of quite recent origin. Can Mr. Wasson's fine scholarship enable him to see no difference between the treatment of the humble classes in classical and mediæval times and their treatment by the great humanitarian novelists and historians

of modern times,—Balzac, Scott, Dickens, and Hawthorne, Carlyle and Green?

Contrast the relative prominence and honor given by Homer to his Achilles and Odysseus, on the one hand, and Thersites and Eumæus, on the other, with the relative importance bestowed by Scott on his Waverleys and Wardours, and his Dominie Sampsons and Edie Ochiltrees. In Homer's case, the representatives of the lower class are treated as hinds, slaves with a certain abject and dog-like faithfulness, while the lords are clothed with splendor and glory. But Scott puts his gaberlunzies and poor tutors and gypsies into the very foreground of his stage, and centres nearly all the interest in their lives and fortunes. Scott, then, as contrasted with Homer, Dante, Virgil, Corneille, I call democratic. Ancient authors did introduce humble characters into their works for artistic reasons simply; but modern authors do so from humanitarian sympathy and fellow-feeling and genuine respect. The whole history of aristocracy and democracy is graphically told in the following significant lists of words:—

NOBILITY.—Birth, high descent, gentility, high life, *élite*, fashionable world, peer, lord, grandee, high-dalgo, aristocrat, swell, gentleman, king, prince, baron, title, medal, livery, *scutcheon*.

DEMOCRACY.—Lower classes, common herd, peasantry, great unwashed, mob, rabble, *canaille*, scum, dregs, swinish multitude, *ignoble vulgus*, vermin, riff-raff, tag-rag and bobtail, churl, boor, villain, clodhopper, bog-trotter, bumpkin, lout, underling, menial, groundling (and about twice as many more).

Now, in contrast, note an astonishing fact: for the phrase "middle classes" there exists not a single synonyme in the English language, so recent is the origin of that class. And yet, as I said, our greatest modern writers recognize the existence and reflect in their writings the daily life of the common people. In short, they tacitly acknowledge the rise of a new idea, that of human brotherhood. The idea had its far origin in the brain of Jesus Christ. Crushed for centuries by the pride and haughtiness of feudalism and the papacy, it is only to-day beginning to take root and flourish as a goodly tree: real ethical Christianity is just beginning to be. In the non-political sense, I affirm, with Mr. Wasson, that Carlyle and Burns were the noblest and sincerest of democrats. They were fierce scorers of artificial social distinctions. They were members of the new middle class.

It is to be noted that moderns who lean toward aristocracy are either persons of secluded life, cultured and fastidious scholars, and especially students of classical antiquity,—saturated as that is with the caste feeling and aristocratic arrogance,—or they are persons possessed of wealth. Among those with leanings toward intellectual aristocracy, I would set down such men as Goethe, Landor, Emerson, George Ticknor, Dr. F. H. Hedge, and many New England Transcendentalists. Transcendentalism is sublime egoism. It is spiritual aristocracy.

Verily, there is something in New England Brahminism to be shunned. It is devoid of healthy coarseness of fibre; it is not broadly humanitarian; it smacks of atavism, of the study, of intellectual pride. The measure of a man's greatness, in my estimation, is the breadth of his sympathy. To have a broad and wholesome sympathy with and knowledge of the toiling classes, one must have had a wide range of experience with them; must have suffered, and toiled shoulder to shoulder with them; nay, must still and always correct the megrims and narrowness begotten of solitude by constant and genial association with drivers, grocers, choppers, farmers, common laborers, engineers, clerks. Contempt is generally born of

ignorance. The longer I live, the more I realize the noble sentiment of Browning, that there is no great nor small in human society. The literary solitaire despises the man of action, and the man of action despises the solitaire. But one is about as useful in the scheme of things as the other: if anything, the man of action is a little more so.

As for social aristocracy, I had not realized how portentous its growth had become here in America until I recently read an article in the *Contemporary Review*, by an English lady, who shows, by a comparative study of American fiction, how absorbing an interest centres here around position, wealth, dress, family, and the like. Everybody's observation can furnish plenty of instances of the growth of aristocratic snobbishness among us. I do not know of a single city in the country not dominated by a plutocratic standard. In a few college towns only is there any approach to the democratic ideal,—social standing determined by merit.

Coming now to Mr. Wasson's field proper, that branch of socialism, brotherhood, or social democracy, which deals with government, or organized national activity, I find myself in complete accord with him. It is rather odd that I of all persons should have been singled out as one immersed and drowned in the idea of political democracy,—I who through study of home politics, as well as the works of Carlyle and Ruskin, had sometimes almost come to despair of that system of government.

I hope one may be allowed to see some intellectual and moral worth in some men, and a good deal of intellectual and moral worth in many men, and more of promise in both, and to believe in the abolition of odious arbitrary distinctions, and trust in the (moderately) educative power of the ballot, and yet not be such an unheard-of donkey as to hold to the equality of all men in all things. From an intellectual point of view, it is undeniable that an alarming number of our fellow-beings are simple fools, as we say. Abstractly considered, can anything be more ludicrously absurd than our present system of selecting our rulers? Virginia in 1774, with limited, or freehold, suffrage, could send to the first American Congress her seven best men, including Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. Could New York or Chicago do the same to-day?

Can anything be more absurd than universal suffrage? Universal fools, universal curly-haired Cuffee, universal short-haired Patrick, universal dude and idiot! And yet Cuffee and Pat, when they are thoroughly aroused and fully informed, somehow prove their moral value and discernment by voting almost always for the moralest of two men. And if in most elections, other than Presidential, they allow rings to be put in their noses by other human "Rings" and "Machines," it is only because of their indolence and ignorance, and not from any lack of conscience.

During a recent trip South from Washington to New Orleans, I saw the finest product of representative government that democracy can produce in the shape of the Lower House of Congress: my faith in the future success of our political institutions thereupon received a severe shock. And, when I saw along the railroads the negroes and "white trash" of the Southern States, I laughed. I did not shudder, because I have possessed myself of late of a sort of cheerful apathetic optimism, which assures me of the sanity of nature and the attainment of final success through however many retrogressions and reversions. They told me in the South that the negroes vote like flocks of sheep, and I saw by their faces that it must be so; yet I did not despair of democracy. I observed

the rotten political-moral fibre of Washington City and the vulgarity of the "dirty politician," yet I held to my faith in democracy. I think we shall suffer shipwreck once, twice, and perhaps thrice. But the rule of the people can never be abrogated until it gives place, millenniums hence, to the final ideal state of no rule at all, but only national co-operation. It is because democracy is the nearest possible approach to the ideal state that we are bound to support it, notwithstanding its errors. Perhaps indiscriminate suffrage was inevitable. Nature has a wild, rough way to her ends. It seems to me, however, as if the wiser way would have been to restrict suffrage; to have made the standard or qualification that of intelligence; to have appointed local committees of examination (like those of the civil service, composed of honorable representatives of all political parties), who should examine each man who aspired to vote by a set of simple printed questions on the topics at issue in the election. If totally ignorant, let him be denied the ballot until he learn his political A, B, C. Corruption might attend such a scheme, but so it does all our political administration.

Is there any inconsistency in what has been written? I think not. If there seems to be such, it is because the distinction has not been clearly made between the writer's admiration of the moral and social worth of the masses and his non-admiration of their intellectual power and their manners. To be an enthusiastic social democrat is a different thing from being an enthusiastic political one.

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE.

Is it Solvable?

I.

"If a man die, shall he live again?" This question of an ancient and anonymous writer has been mooted conventionally by every generation of mankind; not, however, in the overt subjunctive sense of its syntax, but with the broader esoteric import of its Scriptural context. According to the more obvious gist of its dual acceptation, it has been answered for all ages beyond controversy. No: never has a living thing been known to die and then come to life again. If sentient beings die as sentient beings, that must be the end of their conscious existence. "There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again," but not of a tree whose stump is quite dead. The universal issue of death is decay. To die is to perish forever. But *do human beings die?* What is death to mankind? Is it anything more than a physiological phenomenon? It is cessation of life and sense in the fleshly tabernacle of a person who coincidentally disappears; and this is all that we know thereabout, or that can be known by mere observation. But *there is no evidence that personality ever dies.* Is there any evidence that it survives the dissolution of the only house it has lived in prior to this event, that its egress from its native habitat concurs with its ingress to an eligible state of conscious existence? Is it possible to ascertain whether or not, as many intelligent doubters surmise, physical death is the phenomenal aspect of spiritual birth?

These questions and others of like bearing upon human destiny are answerable only as corollaries from the problem of existence, by the solution of which it is proposed to account for the world of human experience. But that is commonly regarded as an enigma, and held by the majority of thinkers to be inscrutable. If so, then what a pity! for nothing else but its rational solution will set the human heart to rest. Have not the wisest of mankind, of all that have lived for three

thousand years or more, treated it as a problem rather than as a mystery, and so plied their wits to its study? Just so; but who has mastered it? And what is the implication of this item of history, if not that the problem of existence is insolvable?

This implication is merely apparent. It disappears, when the personal failure here adverted to is rationally accounted for. It is also opposed to certain valid reasons for believing that the problem is solvable. The first of these is negative. There is no evidence of its insolubility (apart from the supposititious implication just noted). This is germane to the postulate of "the Unknowable," which itself is unscientific, inasmuch as it is assumed in advance of experience. For no man has lived long enough to have tried all possible means of investigation, nor is any earthly pupil of experience wise enough as yet to discern the terminus of human progress. If Herbert Spencer or any other agnostic would posit the assumption of "the Unknowable" in the region of intuition anterior to experience, then I would deny its legitimacy as being incompatible with certain indubitable elements of instinctive belief, whereby that of his allegation is indefensibly impugned. These will appear in my next argument, which is positive. It is also scientific, being a deduction from universal experience.

My second reason for believing that the problem of existence is solvable is that *all sensible people desire to foreknow the issue of life on earth*. This species of knowledge is not the least of natural wants. There is no example in the domain of Nature of a natural want whose object is either unreal or unattainable, unless this be the only exception. Besides, I cherish an instinctive sense of *right* to know what so intimately concerns, not me alone, but the prospective personal welfare of all mankind,—a right characterized and emphasized by the issues of sympathy as well as self-love, according to the maxim, "*Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto*." Conceptions of the weal of adult manhood, in a clime befitting soulful aspirations, fill the gaze of sublunary hope as the posthumous compensation for human experience in this world of general disappointment; and the longing to verify their objective reality, and thus confute the vulgar taunt upon life's victims,—"*Sic vos non vobis*,"—is sincere and rational and just. My craving for this most available intelligence is thus backed by reason, by conscience, by benevolence,—by all the aspiring aptitudes and ennobling impulses of human nature.

Finally, what is the use of this instinctive longing, to what purpose is it inspired by the Author of our being, unless it be to prompt endeavor to learn (whose sole reward is attainment of the knowledge which we seek), that our education may be consummated, or at least promoted, by the soul-strengthening assurance of immortality? Is it not, therefore, reasonable to think the problem of existence is solvable?

I know the agnostic idea is not that any truth is unknowable *per se*, but that the problem of existence involves what is unknowable to *man* in this world, assuming his possible relation to another world. But the postulate is gratuitous and unwarrantable, even in this restricted sense. To know ourselves immortal is a sublunary want, one to be realized by earthly lovers. I crave this information *now*: I am unwilling to wait for it until I *possibly* reach the world of hope. The implication hereof is that the problem of existence is solvable by those whose wish to solve it is adequately earnest and persistent. The wish to know is the natural gauge of intellectual capacity; and wish is the germ of will, whose fruit is the object of want.

"When this most soulful want is realized,
Life in this world will be more highly prized;
And we shall say, instead of Pope's sad jest,
Man always *is*, since *all are to be*, blest."

I admit the doctrine of "the Unknowable," so far as pertains to the finitude of human cognition. Inasmuch as we know only what we learn by experience, we are unable to *conceive* what we have never *perceived*, and can *perceive* only what is presented to our intellective faculties. For this reason, we ignore the essence of body as well as of spirit, and know as little of the core of selfhood as of the pith of matter. But we instinctively assume the reality of both, as the nucleus respectively of a cluster of attributes which cannot obtain *per se*, either singly or collectively. In like manner, we discover the reality of the Infinite Mind by inference from conscious selfhood as the offspring thereof. We are as ignorant of *how we exist* as of how the Author of our existence *sempersists*. But neither this nor that is what we instinctively care to comprehend. The hungry eater enjoys his dinner without thinking of the process of digestion or of the chemical constituents of food. So we wish to be assured of life after death, with no heartfelt curiosity as to how we are to live and know each other as disembodied spirits. It is not what is inconceivable that we yearn to conceive. It is the *character* of that "Power" whereon depends the fruition of hope that we would know to be *responsible*, as no insentient thing can be,—as that can be only with personal attributes conceived as Wisdom, Benevolence, Constancy, and *voluntary* Power adequate to the functions of our Supernal Parent. It would not make us practically wiser to puncture the ultimate mystery of Being. But to foreknow our destiny as children of God is, of all species of intelligence, the most auspicious, the most available.

To solve the problem of existence is to rend the veil of futurity; to banish the fear of death; to check the sway of priestcraft; to squelch bigotry; to supplant idolatry; to supersede praying for remission of sins, with hungering and thirsting after righteousness; to dissuade religious worshippers from their vain endeavors to propitiate the capricious temper of an arbitrary deity, and inaugurate devotion to reason and conscience, the personal monitors of truth and right, which prompt us to self-government as the only passport to peace here and heaven hereafter.

Think of the annual aggregate of hard-earned money paid to priestly arrogance for the farce of absolution, which would be saved to the worldly weal of every Catholic laborer for a living, who should perchance penetrate his illusion. Nay, think of the more grievous penances which devotees of the cloister would escape by dispelling that religious mystery which purports more of equivocal good or evil than life itself seems worth to them. Think also of the costly ordinances of even Protestant ecclesiasticism; the sectarian dissensions and wrangling controversies of diverse doctors of divinity; the humiliating rites of neophyte soldiers of the cross; the disquieting doubts of old believers in personal predestination or vicarious atonement; their despondent recoils from the prospect of contingency in the purchase of saving grace; the artificial scruples of conscience, constraints of reason, and consequent sacrifices of secular but harmless gratifications to which the votaries of even reformed Christianity are addicted, all for lack of ability to forecast the issues of the life that now is; and say, for humanity's sake, should not the question which so engages the head and heart of human nature be answerable? Should man be left to *guess* about his title to "mansions in the skies," with no permission to *read* it? By

those who heartfully wish to solve the problem of existence *ought* it not to be solvable?

GEORGE STEARNS.

A LITTLE LAW ABOUT RELIGION ON THE WITNESS STAND.

MASS. PUB. ST., c. 169, §§ 17, 18.—"No person of sufficient understanding . . . shall be excluded from giving evidence" [with certain exceptions not material here]; but "the evidence of such person's disbelief in the existence of God may be received to affect his credibility as a witness."

There is a general belief that there is some connection between the use of the oath in court and Christianity, and that, if the appeal to God is discarded, our faith will have received a shock. The historical fact, however, is just the other way. The practice of judicial oaths goes far back of any historical records to the earliest days of the Greeks and Romans, before they had emerged from barbarism. When Christianity appeared, its followers—acting, as they believed, under the direct instructions of Christ—refused to take the oath, and accordingly were allowed to use a more moderate form containing no reference to future punishment, somewhat as the Quakers have been allowed to do in modern times. As civilization decayed and the Roman law was neglected, the oath became more important again, until the appeal to God sometimes usurped the place of evidence altogether. The Church of Rome took especial charge of it, and lent all her weight to making the supernatural reference impressive and final. In lay proceedings, the earliest form of jury was nothing but a group of neighbors, who, without hearing any testimony, decided from what they knew of the parties whether their oaths were to be accepted. The parties brought in their friends and retainers sometimes by the score, not to give any evidence, but simply to swear that they were right; and their oaths settled it. And thus the jury trial, like the ordeal by fire, etc., was essentially an appeal to Heaven. As civilization revived, this method naturally fell into disrepute, and the witnesses were asked for proof of the facts; but the old forms were retained when the old methods were abandoned. Less and less attention, however, was paid to the form, until now both its pagan origin and its character as an appeal to a supernatural arbiter have been forgotten by all but antiquarians; and it is even defended, as if it were a Christian regulation of our modern judicial procedure.

Like a good many other venerable formalities, it has sometimes been a great impediment to justice, by using its religious test to keep facts from the jury: and many States have tried to make it harmless by depriving it of this dangerous power. Twenty-six States and Territories have forbidden the exclusion of evidence on account of religious belief, as follows: Arizona, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, Texas, Utah, Vermont. It will be observed that this list includes all the new Northwestern States and nearly all of those in which codification has recently been attempted.

The list of States which retain the old restriction is shorter: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Dakota, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming. The four Territories embraced in it will, in all probability, leave it as soon as their legislation takes shape. If we disregard them, the remainder are all Middle or Southern

The Index.

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

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

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

BOSTON THEATRE was packed from floor to ceiling last Sunday evening with an audience to hear Col. Ingersoll.

SUPERSTITION still holds its place in some sections of Christendom with great tenacity. Speaking of the earthquakes in the Spanish peninsula, the *Christian Statesman* says:—

Faith holds that these, like all natural calamities, are part of the moral government of the world, and have their connection with moral as well as with physical law. They are punitive or retributive, having respect to the sins of those who suffer by them. They are warnings to other communities whose guilt is equal or greater, according to our Saviour's words: "Think ye that those eighteen on whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them were sinners above all the Galileans? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." They are prophetic tokens of the near approach of great crises in the moral history of the world, and are more frequent at such junctures than at other times.

If earthquakes specially singled out the sinners for destruction, we should have more respect for the *Statesman's* doctrine. But they seem to be a very impartial kind of "government," engulfing saint and sinner, Christian and infidel, together.

MRS. BLACKWELL has, we understand, spent much time and money in the preparation of the paper from her pen which appears in *The Index* this week. She haunted the Astor Library till there was some fear the clerks might tire of hunting up musty old volumes rarely called for, then the same at the Mercantile and Cooper's Institute and at the libraries in sister cities. Her studies for some years past upon Heredity and kindred subjects have succeeded in gathering to her own bookcases many valuable books upon this subject. United States statistics had to be thoroughly studied, and some books from the Washington library. She has hunted the world pretty fairly over in four or five languages, and culled what seemed to be the best and most fair to both

sides of this longevity question. We are all equally concerned in establishing facts, and their bearings can hardly be overstated. The result has been so much more clear and decisive than in the beginning she had dared to hope that she is exceedingly gratified. The fourth table holds immense numbers,—over seven hundred and thirty millions of people tabulated,—literally balanced by sex! We commend her elaborate paper to all students of sociology.

REV. JOSEPH COOK recently preached in the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans. His sermon called out a letter from Rev. Charles A. Allen, Unitarian, from which the following is an extract:—

You say that Ralph Waldo Emerson's influence is "malarious,"—a man of whom the devout Methodist Father Taylor said that he was the most Christ-like man he ever knew. Emerson's sweet, saintly spirit, and noble Christian spirit, has done more than any other single influence to purify and uplift our American civilization, literature, and social life. His books inspire the best preaching of the age in every denomination, and are eagerly read by the wisest and most influential minds. You say of Emerson that "he grew toward heaven at the end," meaning apparently that he became more like you in creed before he died. But you know perfectly well that this statement, when you made it in Boston, was publicly and emphatically contradicted by Emerson's family and friends, who intimated that the venerable saint had less and less respect for you in his last years. One is reminded of the Methodist Father Taylor's retort, that he would rather go to hell with Emerson than have the company anywhere of certain modern Pharisees. You group Unitarians with free-lovers, and insinuate that they are no better. But you know perfectly well that no people in the North stand higher for personal character than the Unitarians, and that free-love has no more determined enemies than they.

THE PROBLEM.

For *The Index*.

When Time and Toil delay
To hasten a brighter day;
When once impatient Fates
Wait at the outer gates;
And the Soul of Man, fast bound,
Encompassed with darkness round,
Vainly aspires toward light,
Seeks with its feeble might
Itself to utterly free,—
How shall deliverance be?

The Age is old and outworn,
But the Heir hath not been born!
With his mouth at the ear of things,
Time saith: "I will fold my wings:
When the New Day dawns, I shall know.
Through darkness why should I go?"
And the Fates are shamed, and complain:
"Let a Master come again!
We weary of work untaught,
For our efforts come to naught!"

These motionless, under ban,
What hope can there be for Man!

WALTER L. SAWYER.

THERE is seldom a line of glory written upon the earth's face, but a line of suffering runs parallel with it; and they that read the lustrous syllables of the one, and stop not to decipher the spotted and worn inscription of the other, get the least half of the lesson earth can give.—F. W. Faber.

O you who linger on the night of toil
And long for day,
Take heart: the grandest hero is the man
Of whom the world shall say
That from the roadside of defeat he plucked
The flower of success,
Bravely and with a modesty sublime,
Not with blind eagerness.

—W. T. Talbot.

States, with the exception of three from New England. On this point, the United States courts follow in each State the rule of the State in which it is sitting.

If we compare the two groups, we notice at once that the first includes nearly all the progressive States; while, in most of the members of the second group, the standard of culture is low. It is not practicable to compare the morality of the two groups, because in the one which prides itself upon retaining the divine sanction for its legal proceedings, and excluding all facts from its juries that do not come from Christian sources, there is often so little attempt made to punish crimes of a homicidal nature that the criminal statistics are untrustworthy. The statistics of illiteracy, however, are striking. The States which exclude atheistic evidence have an illiterate element of about twenty-four per cent., while the States which set up no religious tests have a percentage of about twelve. In other words, about one-fourth of the first could neither read nor write in 1880; while only half as many, or one-eighth, of the progressive class were in this unfortunate condition.

Of course, we do not argue that the oath has much effect upon culture or crime, but merely that, when a certain stage of mental growth is reached, these restrictions upon the truth are felt to be absurd, and are speedily gotten rid of.

Out of the twenty-six States and Territories forbidding the use of the religious test, eight—District of Columbia, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Utah—allow the religious opinions of the witness to be inquired into to affect his credibility, permitting the jury to assume that, if a man is not a believer, he is more likely to be a liar. The supposition is so violent that, in the absence of an express statute, such evidence is too remote and inapplicable to be admitted. One or two States, like Oregon, have forbidden any such inquiries by constitutional provision, which prevents any change by statute. One or two States, like Vermont, have passed statutes of a similar tenor; but, apparently, such a statute is merely declaratory, and the law would not be altered by its repeal. In some of the States, the court has held that evidence of admissions of infidelity by the witness should be offered before he can be asked any direct questions about it; but, although there are no contradictory decisions, the practice is not always in accordance with it. But the inquiry is seldom urged before an intelligent jury, because it is apt to prejudice the case with them. It seems odd that Massachusetts should be in this small minority with Georgia and Utah, a minority whose percentage of illiteracy is two per cent. higher than the class it belongs to.

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

"The assumption," says the *Dubuque Times*, "of the right to aid any system of religious belief, either by direct appropriation for its support or by exemption of its property and belongings from taxation, is contrary to the spirit of republican government. When Massachusetts, as was the fact prior to 1833, made every citizen taxable for the support of the Protestant religion, whether he was a Protestant or not, her constitution in this respect bore the distinctive mark of religious despotism. Such a policy in its spirit, if not in its method, is persecuting, no matter upon what theory it is defended. Thus far, however, exemption of church property from taxation has worked no serious injustice nor provoked very serious opposition. But the time is coming when the discussion will become more earnest. The rapid accumulation of property of the most valuable character by church organizations will force the issue."

For The Index.

The Comparative Longevity of the Sexes.

BY MRS. A. B. BLACKWELL.

A new grouping of statistics, the earliest of modern date equally with the latest, proves beyond question that females are endowed with longevity superior to males. Extended tables have been prepared from the census returns of many countries, covering various periods of time; and they uniformly teach the following conclusions:—

1. All ages included, the sexes are about equal in numbers. The old countries have an excess of women, the new of men. Statistics of emigration added to the population of the country migrated from or subtracted from those migrated to confirm this law. So do all aggregates, giving a due proportion of the older and newer States; and the larger the aggregates, the more marked becomes this constant equation.

2. But the sexes are not equal in numbers at the same ages respectively. At all the early ages, males are habitually in excess. At all the late ages, females are habitually in excess; and the larger the aggregates at the same ages, the greater is the numerical inequality. At one probably more or less variable period toward early middle life there must, therefore, be a time when, other things equal, the sexes in any country will be numerically equal at the same age.

3. The younger the age compared, the larger, other things equal, is the relative proportion of males. More boys are born; but the excess diminishes from birth onwards in something like a reg-

ular gradation, until numerical equality at the same age is reached. Then an excess on the female side begins, and increases progressively, but much more rapidly, to the end of life. Hence, at all ages, life has a longer average to the female than to the male. Records of births and of deaths confirm and correct the direct count of numbers in all these particulars.

4. The relative proportion of boys and girls is approximately the same in all countries. A large total excess of males or of females has no effect on these ratios. The ratios of adult males and females at specified ages are directly affected by the proportion of the sexes in the total population.

5. The state of statistical science does not enable us to determine satisfactorily at what age the sexes are equal in numbers. The period lies somewhere between fifteen and thirty-five; but we are obliged to discount an obviously unusual imperfection of the records at about these ages, and varying conditions probably make the time differ slightly in different countries.

6. There are exclusive feminine ailments, chiefly in middle life, which cause death by thousands in every large community. In most countries, also, women are more subject to all that class of diseases which, like consumption, arise oftener from confined, impure air than from great exposure; and these causes of extra feminine mortality, most active in middle life, have become a steady offset to extra male risks incident to business enterprises, wars, dissipations, and hazards in general, which are incurred in the active period of vigorous manhood. Hence, distinctively during a considerable period of middle life there is approximate equality of numbers between the sexes in death

rates and in life ratios. Taking the whole period from fifteen or eighteen to seventy or seventy-five, the sexes are almost balanced in numbers in every country; allowing of course for excess in the total population of one sex over the other.

7. Mortality tables indicate that girls, like boys, bear hereditary taints, and die, in consequence, at any period of life; and yet, as indicated above, that at every period of life the female has the slightly better chance of survival. I did not say it is survival of the fittest. That phrase originated with Mr. Herbert Spencer. Note that the male is not at the greatest disadvantage during his years of greatest exposure. It is in his protected infancy and in sheltered, restful age that his less vitality is conspicuously manifested.

8. The general facts above stated have long been known. Every census teems with them. Life insurance and annuity tables have discounted them, and yet their cumulative significance and mutual relation seem to have escaped attention. The facts have been treated as results probably incidental and temporary, arising from complex, highly variable causes. But the approximate uniformity of returns gathered from most widely variable peoples, half savage and civilized, during a long term of years, points us to constitutional causes beyond the control of ordinary contingencies. Nature's constant method of maintaining a complicated numerical balance is nature working in accordance with established order and law.

But, let the explanations be what they may, the accompanying Tables and Statements, condensed and summarized from a large mass of Tabulated Statistics, will place the main facts alleged beyond question:—

TABLES SHOWING NUMERICAL EQUALITY OF THE SEXES IN THE AGGREGATE, WITH INVERSE INEQUALITY AT THE EARLY AND LATE AGES.

TABLE I. UNITED STATES IN 1880.

	All Classes. United States Census.										Colored, Chinese, Japanese, and Civilized Indians.					
	Total.		Under 5.		5 to 18.		18 to 75.		75 and over.		Under 5.		5 to 18.		75 and over.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Alabama	622,629	639,876	109,198	105,001	213,998	207,330	294,455	322,340	4,908	5,205	51,948	51,449	107,052	104,120	2,291	2,640
Arizona	28,202	12,238	2,036	1,906	4,295	3,629	21,830	6,670	41	31	237	223	687	571	4	6
Arkansas	416,279	386,246	72,834	69,616	135,769	130,306	205,957	184,680	1,719	1,644	18,934	18,902	36,145	35,781	555	673
California	518,176	346,518	47,369	46,057	109,971	106,422	358,174	192,254	2,197	1,785	1,461	1,428	6,000	3,275	257	217
Colorado	129,131	65,196	9,866	9,434	18,462	17,910	101,590	37,679	213	173	107	118	265	252	5	4
Connecticut	305,782	316,918	31,780	31,091	78,179	77,333	190,627	201,246	5,142	7,248	613	659	1,311	1,376	72	115
Dakota Territory	82,296	52,881	10,029	9,692	16,964	15,945	55,098	27,047	205	197	149	146	265	264	5	9
Delaware	74,108	72,500	9,190	9,145	21,806	20,869	42,387	41,481	725	1,005	1,860	1,949	4,141	4,010	119	186
District of Columbia	83,578	94,046	10,385	10,250	23,044	24,683	49,565	58,034	584	1,079	3,815	3,864	7,217	8,200	196	473
Florida	136,444	133,049	22,220	21,628	44,485	43,960	68,880	66,578	909	883	10,509	10,605	21,683	22,071	510	516
Georgia	762,981	779,199	133,074	128,511	259,468	252,087	364,211	391,507	6,228	7,084	64,233	63,359	129,615	126,537	2,650	3,327
Idaho Territory	21,818	10,792	2,173	2,011	3,855	3,639	15,753	5,114	37	28	23	19	104	34	2	2
Illinois	1,586,523	1,491,348	211,103	205,211	474,811	468,842	889,486	806,080	11,123	11,215	3,010	3,004	6,670	6,825	153	224
Indiana	1,010,361	967,940	130,299	127,334	313,924	306,678	558,201	526,076	7,937	7,852	2,596	2,630	5,922	5,964	161	208
Iowa	848,136	776,479	177,065	173,045	258,558	251,552	404,967	406,351	6,546	5,531	576	602	1,465	1,467	32	34
Kansas	536,667	459,429	77,171	74,533	162,655	153,374	294,799	224,813	2,042	1,709	3,152	3,068	7,356	7,261	166	197
Kentucky	832,590	816,100	126,241	122,106	276,452	270,003	423,228	416,968	6,669	7,023	20,898	20,732	45,338	45,222	1,061	1,465
Louisiana	468,754	471,192	76,249	74,834	150,092	150,061	238,904	238,560	3,504	4,065	40,806	40,483	78,984	78,822	2,429	2,672
Maine	324,058	324,878	32,660	31,727	84,345	82,511	188,395	200,528	7,737	8,658	102	115	258	251	18	27
Maryland	462,187	472,756	61,802	61,152	140,107	139,305	256,166	266,736	4,112	5,563	15,221	15,493	32,224	32,891	920	1,322
Massachusetts	858,440	924,645	90,647	88,660	212,961	214,565	542,551	603,503	12,281	17,917	1,028	1,054	1,991	2,099	93	142
Michigan	862,355	774,582	105,631	102,219	235,391	228,991	492,903	436,114	8,422	7,258	1,479	1,426	3,228	3,266	148	139
Minnesota	419,149	361,624	59,475	57,734	119,703	117,872	247,381	183,565	2,690	2,453	304	269	557	564	9	22
Mississippi	567,177	564,420	99,318	96,558	195,885	190,251	268,083	273,483	3,891	4,128	58,641	58,060	117,122	114,856	2,352	2,662
Missouri	1,127,187	1,041,193	157,762	153,161	355,438	346,072	608,087	536,045	5,900	5,895	10,470	10,279	23,649	23,880	219	666
Montana	28,177	10,982	1,978	1,932	3,445	3,251	22,628	5,777	26	22	217	194	376	372	2	2
Nebraska	249,241	203,161	36,585	35,571	69,513	65,645	101,160	930	785	171	182	338	355	4	5	
Nevada	42,019	20,247	3,207	3,090	5,691	5,653	34,054	1,459	67	41	161	174	553	364	20	14
New Hampshire	170,526	176,465	15,504	15,069	39,572	39,548	10,916	16,117	4,544	5,731	44	48	83	93	5	7
New Jersey	559,922	571,194	67,950	66,766	158,173	158,248	329,315	338,762	4,484	7,418	2,320	2,346	4,967	5,156	244	315
New Mexico	64,496	55,069	8,266	7,883	18,280	17,415	37,438	29,423	512	348	701	605	1,612	1,452	84	63
New York	2,505,322	2,577,549	282,615	276,405	667,961	669,957	1,521,578	1,593,041	33,168	38,151	3,401	3,452	7,009	7,551	402	527
North Carolina	687,908	711,842	117,813	115,504	230,232	221,932	333,260	366,445	6,603	8,111	47,256	47,782	94,416	92,858	2,128	2,724
Ohio	1,613,936	1,584,126	205,981	199,446	479,710	471,568	909,529	894,420	18,716	18,692	5,178	5,054	11,912	11,960	398	459
Oregon	103,381	71,387	11,581	11,335	25,566	24,462	65,769	35,259	465	331	171	125	854	369	9	15
Pennsylvania	2,136,655	2,146,236	279,831	272,343	633,588	626,738	1,220,892	1,220,235	22,344	26,860	5,099	5,074	10,122	11,146	444	666
Rhode Island	133,030	143,501	14,349	14,236	31,840	31,304	83,177	92,207	1,664	2,754	307	345	689	715	33	74
South Carolina	490,408	505,169	87,982	85,569	166,933	163,690	231,052	250,769	4,441	5,141	55,632	54,985	106,173	104,900	2,615	3,018
Tennessee	769,277	773,082	127,831	122,162	261,404	254,297	324,179	389,938	5,863	6,095	34,202	34,366	70,596	70,602	1,305	1,855
Texas	837,840	753,909	142,915	137,108	263,988	254,937	427,343	358,472	3,594	3,392	36,071	35,719	71,136	71,116	1,198	1,328
Utah	74,509	69,454	13,022	12,569	24,468	23,595	36,494	32,688	625	602	87	49	157	145	3	6
Vermont	166,887	165,399	17,439	16,652	43,974	42,296	100,951	101,814	4,523	4,637	61	58	170	169	13	3
Virginia	745,978	766,976	118,390	116,297	247,843	242,731	371,254	398,680	8,162	9,268	52,257	52,850	110,109	109,330	3,323	5,366
Washington Territory	45,973	29,143	5,310	5,000	10,548	9,873	29,958	14,179	157	91	392	369	1,028	771	16	18
West Virginia	314,495	303,962	50,658	48,052	105,255	101,143	155,602	151,261	2,980	2,906	1,911	1,961	4,186	4,068	121	138
Wisconsin	680,069	635,428	91,661	89,632	204,594	201,284	376,370	337,056	7,444	6,456	430	407	941	855	35	43
Wyoming Territory	14,152	6,637	1,930	1,170	1,930	1,824	10,942	3,435	16	8	39	24	62	44	2	2
Aggregates	25,518,820	24,636,963	3,507,709	3,406,807	7,607,126	7,458,641	15,165,920	13,507,438	238,065	264,076	558,290	556,105	1,136,738	1,124,250	26,826	34,577
Males in excess	881,857		100,902		148,485		658,482				2,165		12,488			7,751
Females in excess		881,857		100,902		148,485		658,482			26,011					128,833
Females to 100,000 males	1,000,000	96,544	100,000	97,123	100,000	98,048	100,000	95,351	100,000	100,000	100,000	99,613	100,000	98,901	100,000	128,833

TABLE II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES PREVIOUS TO 1860.

Condensed from Professor Wappäus's Table, as given in United States Census, 1860.

		Total.		Under 5.		5 to 10.		10 to 15.		15 to 20.		20 to 30.		30 to 40.		40 to 50.		50 and over.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
France, 1851	1851	17,777,012	17,976,515	1,682,986	1,638,833	1,676,290	1,618,931	1,602,340	1,544,087	12,206,426	12,462,374	504,591	572,886	97,382	129,463	6,697	9,941		
England, 1851	1851	8,781,225	9,146,384	1,176,753	1,171,354	1,060,228	1,042,131	963,965	949,362	6,737,010	6,737,010	179,746	216,518	42,113	57,132	2,816	4,980		
Scotland, 1851	1851	1,375,479	1,513,263	189,055	182,462	172,106	167,747	162,554	154,896	1,155,715	1,155,715	95,375	37,707	7,569	11,815	679	1,271		
Ireland, 1841	1841	4,016,536	4,152,071	523,727	505,798	544,854	531,351	518,876	499,473	2,094,716	2,447,717	63,323	64,609	21,021	25,944	3,075	4,179		
Netherlands, 1849	1849	1,498,678	1,557,971	173,499	171,028	174,992	171,284	166,252	163,103	1,154,104	1,005,158	29,669	37,813	6,682	8,971	402	614		
Belgium, 1846	1846	2,163,524	2,173,672	254,286	250,755	239,527	233,544	216,687	207,324	1,279,088	1,402,000	54,732	61,810	13,998	16,831	1,048	1,412		
Sweden, 1850	1850	1,687,248	1,795,293	220,089	217,618	185,832	185,515	167,548	168,153	1,043,941	1,166,355	30,591	47,146	5,352	9,978	211	532		
Norway, 1855	1855	729,905	760,142	102,698	98,837	85,994	83,910	75,980	72,981	544,213	475,851	15,569	21,123	4,401	6,541	458	968		
Denmark, 1845	1845	692,440	715,307	86,743	86,389	77,613	75,737	70,634	68,813	350,298	469,625	15,739	19,442	3,317	4,941	191	360		
Schleswig, 1845	1845	179,726	183,174	23,779	22,664	20,517	19,511	18,097	17,390	177,359	116,942	3,907	4,952	882	1,090	58	85		
Holstein, 1845	1845	241,644	237,720	32,984	32,944	29,101	27,856	25,051	24,050	146,897	146,938	4,719	4,880	826	981	56	71		
Spain, 1857	1857	7,670,671	7,793,407	0 and under 15	0 and under 15	2,719,851	2,708,265	4,840,503	4,965,429	91,646	96,984	17,418	20,431	1,253	2,298				
U.S., 1860. Slaves, 1838	1838	2,072,707	2,053,028	247,953	242,960	237,753	233,407	429,272	428,992	1,106,303	1,107,254	43,255	34,741	8,589	6,245	582	429		
Papal States, 1853	1853	1,599,729	1,524,449	184,175	171,986	181,024	168,819	307,957	285,296	882,418	896,778	37,125	35,173	6,679	6,031	354	366		
Upper Canada, 1852	1852	497,664	451,020	86,124	82,968	69,800	68,926	62,268	57,005	274,069	238,194	4,117	3,039	989	757	144	131		
Lower Canada, 1852	1852	441,893	437,749	84,835	82,351	63,509	62,606	53,357	51,282	235,704	234,889	6,127	4,957	1,593	1,437	218	227		
Aggregates, 1852	1852	51,429,079	52,471,165	5,069,246	4,958,937	4,809,140	4,691,266	7,632,719	7,401,012	32,548,623	33,818,782	1,112,298	1,263,789	238,811	308,584	18,242	27,804		
Males in excess, 1852	1852	1,042,086	1,042,086	110,309	117,874	117,874	117,874	231,707	231,707	1,270,159	1,270,159	151,491	151,491	69,773	69,773	9,562	9,562		
Females to 100,000 males, 1852	1852	100,000	102,026	100,000	97,823	100,000	97,548	100,000	96,964	100,000	103,902	100,000	113,619	100,000	129,216	100,000	152,416		

* From 10 to 20.

TABLE III. SELECTED PERIODS, CLASSES, AND COUNTRIES.

	Total.		Under 5.		5 to 10.		10 to 15.		15 to 20.		20 to 30.		30 to 40.		40 to 50.		50 and over.		
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
U.S., 1850. All classes, . . .	11,837,660	11,354,216	1,769,460	1,728,313	1,640,407	1,600,861	1,473,116	1,417,513	6,784,230	6,429,110	127,460	129,774	36,727	40,655	6,260	7,990			
Sex and number in excess, . .	483,444		41,147		39,546		55,603		357,120			2,314		3,928		1,730			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	95,916	100,000	97,674	100,000	97,589	100,000	96,225	100,000	94,818	100,000	101,815	100,000	110,695	100,000	127,635			
U.S., 1860. Free Colored, . . .	234,119	253,951	32,843	33,075	30,700	31,157	39,446	29,953	135,472	153,596	3,198	3,388	1,005	1,570	455	768			
Sex and number in excess, . .		19,832		233		457		493		18,124		640		565		313			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	108,470	100,000	100,706	100,000	101,188	100,000	98,380	100,000	113,377	100,000	120,012	100,000	156,218	100,000	168,791			
U.S., 1860. Slaves, . . .	1,982,625	1,971,135	322,156	331,010	287,299	288,650	276,928	264,320	1,074,194	1,063,483	15,433	15,724	4,627	5,334	1,988	2,614			
Sex and number in excess, . .		11,491		8,854		1,351		12,608		10,711		291		707		626			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	99,415	100,000	102,748	100,000	100,472	100,000	95,447	100,000	99,002	100,000	101,885	100,000	115,279	100,000	131,488			
U.S., 1860. Indians, . . .	23,909	20,085	2,962	2,762	2,734	2,364	2,656	2,272	15,991	12,284	241	172	143	98	82	133			
Sex and number in excess, . .		3,824		200		370		384		2,807		69		45		151			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	84,006	100,000	93,247	100,000	86,466	100,000	85,542	100,000	81,399	100,000	71,369	100,000	68,531	100,000	162,195			
U.S., 1870. Native White, . . .	14,086,509	14,009,156	2,356,293	2,279,587	2,015,664	1,961,818	1,908,699	1,832,224	7,487,225	7,594,065	181,552	186,134	42,075	49,013	4,000	5,756			
Sex and number in excess, . .		77,353		76,706		53,846		66,475		106,840		5,882		6,938		1,666			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	99,450	100,000	96,740	100,000	97,328	100,000	96,674	100,000	101,426	100,000	102,523	100,000	116,489	100,000	140,733			
U.S., 1870. Colored, . . .	2,393,263	2,486,746	396,812	394,609	331,795	328,036	329,339	315,972	1,299,265	1,406,787	25,714	27,292	7,553	9,398	2,785	4,652			
Sex and number in excess, . .		93,483		2,203		3,659		13,467		107,522		2,578		1,845		1,867			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	103,906	100,000	99,444	100,000	98,867	100,000	95,941	100,000	108,275	100,000	106,136	100,000	124,427	100,000	167,038			
U.S., 1870. Chinese, . . .	58,680	4,574	194	162	184	91	1,094	126	57,177	4,103	37	2	5	5	20	34			
Sex and number in excess, . .		54,106		42		93		868		53,074		24		5		20			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	7,794	100,000	78,350	100,000	4,945	100,000	11,517	100,000	7,001	100,000	5,405	100,000	5,405	100,000	170,000			
U.S., 1870. Indians, . . .	12,534	13,197	1,636	1,518	1,477	1,415	1,727	1,470	7,494	8,545	129	166	49	49	20	34			
Sex and number in excess, . .		1,163		118		62		257		1,051		37		49		12			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	105,280	100,000	92,787	100,000	95,802	100,000	85,118	100,000	114,024	100,000	131,746	100,000	100,000	100,000	170,000			
Upper Canada, 1861, . . .	725,575	670,516	126,086	121,600	90,358	88,125	86,267	83,517	313,019	301,662	7,986	6,462	2,017	1,690	305	268			
Sex and number in excess, . .		55,059		4,486		2,233		2,750		11,357		1,524		327		37			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	92,411	100,000	96,442	100,000	97,528	100,000	96,800	100,000	96,371	100,000	82,168	100,000	13,787	100,000	87,868			
Lower Canada, 1861, . . .	567,885	543,701	95,084	90,888	76,844	74,244	70,267	67,806	253,392	242,476	8,333	7,328	2,314	1,917	350	293			
Sex and number in excess, . .		24,184		4,196		2,600		2,461		10,916		1,005		397		57			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	95,741	100,000	95,587	100,000	96,616	100,000	96,497	100,000	95,692	100,000	88,203	100,000	82,843	100,000	83,714			
Italy, 1861, . . .	10,897,236	10,880,098	1,494,564	1,465,127	1,188,775	1,156,926	1,083,993	1,056,452	6,888,780	6,966,202	197,985	195,374	40,458	36,877	2,681	3,140			
Sex and number in excess, . .		17,138		29,437		31,848		27,541		77,422		2,611		3,581		459			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	99,842	100,000	98,030	100,000	97,320	100,000	97,459	100,000	101,123	100,000	98,681	100,000	91,148	100,000	117,120			
Italy, 1871, . . .	13,472,262	13,328,892	1,878,059	1,822,044	1,469,582	1,427,332	1,328,748	1,288,433	8,477,006	8,500,520	263,043	263,043	52,230	48,945	3,594	4,182			
Sex and number in excess, . .		143,370		56,015		42,258		40,315		23,514		25,607		5,285		588			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	98,935	100,000	97,017	100,000	97,125	100,000	97,459	100,000	100,277	100,000	90,265	100,000	93,710	100,000	116,360			
France, 1861, . . .	18,645,271	18,741,037	1,824,408	1,787,753	1,648,168	1,624,591	1,638,644	1,596,776	12,900,682	12,964,636	519,326	519,326	624,066	107,866	133,695	6,177	9,490		
Sex and number in excess, . .		95,766		364,555		23,577		41,868		63,954		104,770		25,829		3,313			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	100,513	100,000	97,990	100,000	98,569	100,000	97,444	100,000	100,495	100,000	120,174	100,000	123,945	100,000	153,634			
France, 1871, . . .	17,982,511	18,120,410	1,696,951	1,655,066	1,668,568	1,609,343	1,597,799	1,543,018	12,282,109	12,477,177	624,222	681,414	106,851	145,250	6,011	9,142			
Sex and number in excess, . .		137,899		41,885		59,225		51,781		195,068		57,192		38,399		3,131			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	100,766	100,000	97,531	100,000	99,417	100,000	96,571	100,000	101,588	100,000	109,162	100,000	135,936	100,000	152,087			
England and Wales, 1871, . .	11,058,034	11,653,332	1,536,164	1,534,812	1,350,819	1,355,707	1,220,770	1,203,469	6,665,833	7,210,849	231,978	273,892	50,258	69,161	2,814	5,312			
Sex and number in excess, . .		534,398		1,632		4,888		17,310		544,056		42,004		18,903		2,498			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	105,374	100,000	99,892	100,000	100,361	100,000	98,582	100,000	108,176	100,000	118,106	100,000	137,611	100,000	188,770			
England and Wales, 1881, . .	12,631,902	13,334,537	1,757,057	1,763,207	1,568,579	1,578,817	1,402,230	1,398,101	7,607,523	8,172,250	248,180	304,097	53,100	72,637	2,733	5,428			
Sex and number in excess, . .		694,650		5,550		10,238		4,129		664,727		55,917		19,537		2,695			
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	106,495	100,000	100,310	100,000	100,652	100,000	99,705	100,000	107,423	100,000	122,530	100,000	136,792	100,000	198,609			
British India, 1870, . . .	97,892,195	92,381,532			under 12		35,788,154	31,182,746				62,104,945	61,198,786	Showing the much larger proportion of males in youth than in India as elsewhere.					
Sex and number in excess, . .		5,510,676					4,605,408					905,259							
Females to 100,000 males, . .	100,000	94,370					100,000	87,131				100,000	98,542						

tions are due to inaccurate returns and how far to other causes is not easy to determine.

The relative numbers of the sexes at birth vary considerably within certain limits; yet civilized and savage, prolific and unprolific nations maintain similar birth-rates, as a few more figures will indicate:—

	BIRTHS.	
	Male.	Female.
France (1881),	469,181	450,996
Ireland (1882),	64,819	61,021
Madras (1880),	339,301	320,690
Switzerland (1882),	44,319	41,668
Italy (1881),	557,029	524,096
Punjab (1880),	298,229	246,430
Belgium (1879),	89,339	85,302
Austria (1881),	428,922	404,554
Germany (1880),	898,996	849,690
Odsh (1880),	5,860,960	5,546,665

More males than females are still-born, and many more die at every age under five years. Whether there is any people or condition in which, with large enough numbers and a well-sifted count, there are more girls than boys at birth, is doubtful. The years of special fatality to girls vary greatly in different countries and conditions; and comparative death-rates, like other death-rates, vary with the civilization. India not only burned widows and destroyed female infants, but, like the most of Asia, it still is a vast prison to one sex, which in consequence dwindles to a minority. Fiercer tribes, as in Paraguay, slaughter their men in war; but most of these have no census returns. In all civilized countries, emigration is the great disturbing element in the numerical balance of the sexes. Table IV. embraces multitudes of men on foreign soil. Others are in Turkey, Persia, and at all the ends of the earth not tabulated. The Argentine Confederation in 1875 reported 9,130 Italians, 4,030 Spaniards, 3,238 Frenchmen, 10,709 British, 5,860 Swiss, and 4,997 Germans. The unrecorded wanderers may be properly offset by the surplus men of Asia; though India, having nearly a seventh of the entire population of the globe, with 6,000,000 more men than women, is clearly to be counted out from our estimate.

It is not held that nature maintains a numerical balance of the sexes under all conditions, but that the larger number of males at birth, and the greater longevity of females, so far persistently balance each other that equality of numbers in the aggregate is maintained, other things equal, in all of our best civilizations. The table includes the leading countries of the world and the colonies of Great Britain. The dependencies of other nations would not greatly affect the result. Like conditions give similar returns, and the close balance is remarkable.

There are two possible explanations of the facts given in the above summary and in the tables. One is: that the hereditary results of male hardships, hazards, or excesses, transmitted to the same sex only, have been so great that the average of life to that sex has become grievously shortened thereby. The other is: that the feminine constitution, much beyond the male constitution, being differentiated in the two classes of organic functions distinguished as individual and reproductive, together with the earlier limitation of the latter, the female gains thereby a greater reversion of energy toward the close of life, as well as a larger available reserve, which in case of need may be called into vicarious action at all ages. Increased longevity thus resulting, primarily affecting females only, if inherited by both sexes, would tend to the extension of the average life of the race. This result would be parallel to the increase of size and strength to the entire species, superiority in this direction having arisen primarily in the male line of descent.

For one, I cannot find evidence that man has

limited his great heritage, has thrown away his birthright of years for worse than a mess of pottage. What, then, are some of the constitutional causes of the superior longevity of women, and what are nature's methods in securing this result?

All organic existence is fundamentally differentiated in the two classes of functions, the individual and the reproductive, with their corresponding direct and indirect modes of nutrition and growth.

Between these basal divisions organic antagonism arises, because of the common necessity that both systems shall be sustained from the same source of supplies, and because the resulting activities must take opposed directions. But, in the process of evolution, both systems are compelled to mutual adaptations and to many various modes of co-operation for their joint advantage. They are like rival nationalities forced into alliance both offensive and defensive, in league with, but also in ceaseless struggle against, the common environment, which becomes helpful or harmful precisely as they together succeed in adjusting themselves to its helpfulness or in overcoming its harmfulness.

The inevitable, the unpreventable antagonism between these two mutually dependent systems has been recognized, and, as it seems to me, has been pushed into undue prominence by men of science and philosophy, simply because the continuous adaptations and co-operations which also exist have not received from them an equal amount of attention. I think it is quite possible to show you that the active mutual adjustments for mutual benefit have become of such positive advantage to both as to have quite succeeded in annulling, possibly in something more than merely annulling, all of the disadvantages of the direct antagonism. The advantage gained is like that to a ship sailing almost in the eye of the wind. If unmanaged, the wind would blow dead against the ship's progress; but, by steady proper management and constant shifting of the sails, it is made to propel the ship forward, though with some obliqueness of direction, and thus to become a positive advantage. In a closely parallel way, the innate principle of perpetual plastic adaptation, which pertains to all organisms, has succeeded through this very antagonism in forwarding both individual and race interests. With attention too exclusively directed to the benefits which accrue to the race, individual gain may be easily misinterpreted. It is within the domain of these complex adjustments and to the distinctive methods of their co-operation that I invite you to look, in order to find the reason for the superior longevity of women.

Two general laws govern all organic adaptations:

(1) In all orders of organic beings, evolution is always twofold,—individual and reproductive,—with continuous mutual adjustment between the two, with growing differentiation in each, and with corresponding advance in both.

(2) Just in the degree to which characters of whatever kind, acquired by habit or otherwise, have become of a high order, have become of great physical or psychical value or of many and various classes of values, just in that degree these characters, if transmitted to descendants and thus made permanent to the race, have required and have found responsive and corresponding differentiation and advancement in the organism through which and by which such transmission has been effected.

It is notable that this double-phased, doubly responsive progress in the primary and in the dependent systems has been everywhere steadily and obviously maintained along all of the various lines of development. A low structural condition of the general organism is allied to a low struct-

ural condition of the special organism; and a high, widely differentiated, and many featured general organism is always accompanied by a carefully and broadly differentiated reproductive system.

Now, whenever a crystal takes a definite, specific form, we understand that a part of the forces which contribute to this result reside within the material which is crystallized, but, at the same time, that the size and perfection of the crystallization is largely dependent also upon outside forces. In heredity, characters are transmitted both from, and jointly from the paternal and the maternal ancestry. But the mother is also largely the environment. If that is of a low order or inharmonious, the results are unsatisfactory and tend toward dissolution. But if the environment is favorable, if it is highly adapted to foster and carry forward all the many various and often diverse forces which are marvellously grouped, co-operative, and held in growing equipoise, then the result is evolution.

Think of it! If electricity, in addition to being generated by two unlike metals, must be properly stored, properly conducted, and properly applied through a long, complex series of most delicate yet effective contrivances, in order to achieve good and desired work, how much more the requirements of the living human germ in its progress toward its mature royal heritage! The male of all species has acquired advanced size and many new bony and muscular and mental and moral differentiations. But the female of all species, conversely, has acquired in advance or in exclusive right a mechanism and functions most delicate yet instinct with subtle, living forces held in readiness for efficient co-operation, for impersonal, organic benevolence in transmitting gifts to the unborn generations; and, also, she is the embodiment of an associated but unique power, more closely inwrought with her own emotional, intellectual, and moral nature, which is uniquely modified accordingly, and in due time is transmitted to the same sex and, to a large extent, to both sexes. All this means so much in relating her, on the one hand, to all the past of her race through her adaptations to the masculine development and, on the other, to all the future of her race by her privilege to be the final dispenser of every gift of good or evil that, in remembrance of this mighty mediatorship between past and future good, between the endless becoming from one present to an instantly higher present, the lifeless and unconscious uplifted into the living and conscious, I may surely venture to affirm that, whoever has not given the female due credit in the evolution of her race, he it is who has never given this side of the subject due attention.

But by what methods has Nature succeeded in giving this type of pre-eminence in a lesser degree to the females of the lowest ranks of her living kingdom and in a steadily ascending degree upward to the mothers of the human race? The answer is both easy and explicit: Simply through the habitual process of nourishing first and best that part of every organism which has been called most into active exercise.

Through the joint aid of the blood circulation and the nerves, especially of the sympathetic nervous system, Nature always gives her special attention to wherever there are special needs. Now, the growth and exercise of muscle and of its various dependencies are pre-eminently attended to in the male economy. In treating of this part of the subject somewhat fully elsewhere, I venture to call the masculine type the "peripheral" type of adapted organic growth and activities. But the general nutrition of the female is conspicuously

adapted to, perhaps is subordinated to, her special functions. Hers may be properly designated the "central" type of organic growth and activities. Hence, advantage and differentiation with him are largely peripheral. Male evolution, as Mr. Darwin has illustrated, has been everywhere marked by the development of many external appendages. But advantage and differentiation with the female are much more centralized. Her thoughts and feelings and volitions are more closely interwoven than his, and her whole nature is curiously modified by her feminine organization.

Pre-eminent feminine longevity seems to have prevailed ever since the first differentiation of sexual life. In the flower, the centralized sex element must live to nourish its fruit in place, giving to its direct appendages a better chance of survival. Apparently from a like necessity and from continuance of acquired habit, many female insects are much longer-lived than the males. There is some authority for the assertion that superior longevity pertains to the females of some higher animals, of some domestic animals; and there is small reason for supposing that, if the subject had ever been fully investigated and tested, the law would fail among any living species. Each ascending race probably has progressively increased in length of life, and the habit of one sex been inherited by the other, to the advantage of both; but the superior longevity itself appears to have had, primarily, a direct relation to the special feminine functions, while time has but evolved a much more complex adjustment of means to ends.

With our own race, Nature has handed over to the reproductive system of one sex an exceptionally large amount of work to be done, and yet she has exceptionally restricted the time for doing it. Then, in proportion to the amount of energy permanently retained for individual use, she has carefully diminished the size of the organism. Perhaps we should say rather, in view of our explanation of man's superior bulk, she has not increased the size of the organism beyond a due proportion to the amount of energy permanently devoted to individual upholding. It follows that in any and every emergency the two systems, which have been more equally equipped in the feminine than in the masculine economy, can give to each other the more efficient aid and support at all times, and that the secondary can restore to its primary an almost entire reversion of energy in late life.

The two classes of functions are not alike continuously active. Let us recall just here that all kinds and degrees of organic dormancy short of total inactivity chiefly affect certain functions only; while other functions avail themselves of exactly that opportunity for bringing up arrears and making good an advanced position. Thus, simple rest when tired, the rest of sleep, the winter rest of trees, and the hibernation of some animals are only a few of the many forms of dormancy through which all halting energies are enabled to keep within working distance of their numerous co-laborers. Ordinary sleep, a more or less complete dormancy of the senses and the volitions, enables many of the advanced nutritive processes to be more effectually active than is possible in a waking condition. Circulation, respiration, and digestion are retarded; but wearied muscles, overwrought nerves, and exhausted brain are all refreshed during sleep, as they never are when there is free expenditure in all directions.

Independent of cold, darkness, and dryness, in adaptation to which dormant habits have, doubtless in part, arisen, "plants need a season of rest" in direct growth as opportunity and aid to the in-

direct growth of the fruit-buds, because vegetable nutrition is not simple, but double-sided, and the two divisions are not in continuous equal action. The female of the polar bear, like the plant, hibernates, that its offspring may reap the benefit; and the dormant state of the pupa of the insect, with its sleep of the senses, forwards the development of the higher organism by suspending the use of energy in exhausting muscular and sense processes. Subjectively considered, diversity of functions not entirely adapted to work evenly and continuously together are both the occasion and the final cause of all varieties of dormancy. Excessive activity in one direction conduces to corresponding rest elsewhere, till working and resting have become alternate in all organic functions, with adapted but various periodicity in all, simultaneously or successively.

This class of adjustments, efficient in all vital processes, is conspicuously effective in the feminine constitution. Hence, the stronger hold on life which the infant girl has in advantage over the boy. Her little life, like his, hangs suspended by a thread to its pitiless new surroundings; but the thread has two strands of nearly equal size, carefully intertwined throughout and ready to give mutual support, and upon the one strand there is almost no present strain. The boy's life is suspended by a much larger single thread, less thoroughly intertwined with its very much smaller companion strand, which is able to give it almost no efficient support. Hence, four hundred and nineteen boys to only three hundred and eighty-one girls out of every thousand died in the United States in 1880; and similar proportions are maintained habitually among all classes and in all times and countries about which we have information. Vital adjustments become more intimate just in proportion to their complexity and differentiation, because the laws of all growth perpetually lead in this direction. Close adaptation and co-operation within and without everywhere lead to the possibility of survival; hence, the slightly better chance of life at all ages to the female. The habitual longevity is preserved by new growing adjustments. The head wind has become the motive power to propel the ship. The antagonism has become transformed to healthful co-partnership.

In middle life, individual well-being becomes less assured to the woman. Her mental life must, in a great degree, conform itself to existing conditions; and, possibly, the whole tone of her activities, physical and psychical, is lowered and her abilities are depressed. But, when the cycle of special activities is completed and permanent dormancy begins, can there be but one result,—increased vigor to all individual power, physical and psychical? Here, we find the farther explanation of woman's pre-eminent longevity; here, the hope of a renewed and prolonged intellectual strength; here, the compensating advantages for all previous disadvantages. Nature cares no more for the female than for the male: she does care something more for the race than for either singly; and her provision for the young has given appreciable extra advantages to that parent with whom their interests are most closely allied, and the reserve of all such advantages is handed back to her late in life. The largest bud of the walnut bears the female flower; the best nurtured silk-worm grub proves to be the female; in all ranks below fishes, reptiles, and birds, the females are always larger, often much larger, than the male. Then was it scientific to assume that disadvantage begins for the female among the higher races just where broader differentiations and detailed higher adaptations also begin and progress upward to man-

kind? Instead of inferring that woman has been placed at a disadvantage in the race of life, when the subject has been brought into the domain of exact science, as it readily can be in certain directions, it may be found that she has various calculable and definite advantages over man, her now demonstrated superior longevity being one case in point. I find no evidence that, as Prof. Ward suggests in his *Dynamic Sociology*, there is an abnormal feature in the feminine constitution which has been in some sense grafted upon Nature, but subsequently adopted and adapted by her in the best way possible. On the contrary, there seems to be the clearly traceable footsteps of one steady progression upward to the decided and increased advantage of the woman. Whether or not it will be found in time that, all things considered, the male is at a disadvantage as compared with the female of his species, there are not comparative data enough to determine. It seems probable that here, as elsewhere in all the aggregate interests of the sexes, Nature steadily maintains a constant moving equilibrium by diverse adjustments, as she does in maintaining their numerical equality in the aggregate.

Woman has less growth to make, and she has more available power to make it rapidly. She is precocious physically and mentally, and attains an earlier maturity; yet, as we have seen, she does not reach earlier physical decadence. On the contrary, her physical vigor is the more prolonged. Neither has it been found that her psychical powers have fallen below the physical in any unusual degree. In normal conditions, an accession of strength to either means an equal accession to both. The statistics which can establish the prolonged mental vigor of the woman are not abundant; yet, so far as they prove anything, they look strongly in that direction. A large percentage of the few women who have been noted as brain workers have worked easily and well till late in life, and they compare more than favorably in that respect with any equal number of men. Judging from the sustained mental alertness of the women of the last fifty years, some new light may probably be thrown upon that question, even during the lifetime of the existing generation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A DEFENCE OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS OF NEW ENGLAND.

Editors of The Index:—

In your paper of Oct. 9, 1884, is an article by Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, headed "A Colony of 'Latter Day Saints' on Cape Cod."

There are several misstatements in the article. First, "There are Mormons in many parts of New England, and particularly in Massachusetts there are several communities of these deluded people." How does Mrs. Dickinson know that they are "deluded"? It is quite probable that it is she who is "deluded."

The Latter Day Saints, with branches scattered all over New England, are not now and never were a part of the Utah fraction; and the majority of the members know no more about the practical life of polygamy than Mrs. Dickinson herself.

In the latter part of November, 1865, Elder James W. Gillen reached Fall River as a representative of the church opposed to polygamy. He held several meetings, and some were baptized; and on Dec. 8, 1865, a branch of the church was organized with eight members. From this small beginning, the church has grown in New England to over six hundred members, who live in peace with their neighbors, and do not believe in "free-will affinity," as alleged by Mrs. Dickinson.

Mrs. Dickinson says, "In short, here, as in all localities where the Mormons live or have lived, they demoralize their neighbors; their terrible doctrines permeate the whole moral atmosphere, and . . . it

seems impossible to get rid of the taint." This statement is a perversion of the truth, and is not borne out by the facts. Let her make a tour of Massachusetts and Rhode Island where these people live, and ask those for whom we labor and with whom we do business, and learn how much we "demoralize" the community. Go to New Bedford, where the writer of this article lives; go to Fall River, Boston, Providence, Brockton, North Plymouth, Plainville, and you will find that not many notable ones of earth have believed our statement of the "story of the cross." But, as poverty is not a sin nor a crime, are we to be despised because of this? If we are poor, we can tell the truth and maintain it, and ask no favor from friend or foe but a fair field, and fear no onslaught, whether it comes from press or pulpit.

Will Mrs. Dickinson show where the wives and daughters of our brethren are not as virtuous and pure as any society that Mrs. Dickinson has ever mingled with, and our homes as free from any polluted "taint" as any house in which she ever dwelt or entered? We do not intend to sit idly down, and suffer such insults to pass unnoticed, while public writers uncork their vials of wrath against us. I deny that any person, a member of this church in Dennisport or elsewhere, is living in wedlock contrary to the laws of this State, and that such things are winked at by the officers of this church.

If Mrs. Dickinson has the evidence, let her furnish it; and the case will be attended to. As a church, we teach (and practise what we teach) that a man should have *but one wife* and a woman *but one husband*, and the church has no authority to divorce either man or wife. This matter belongs to the law of the land.

We are prepared to acknowledge that there are "black sheep" among us, as in all churches; but it is not the doctrines that have made them so: it is a perversion of the truth that makes men bad. And, wherever the doctrines, as taught by the Latter Day Saints, have been observed and practised in the letter and spirit, they have made men better citizens, husbands, and fathers, and women better wives and mothers, and children better sons and daughters. Mormonism, as taught and practised in Utah, is the truth perverted; and, so far as I have been able to learn, Joseph Smith is no more responsible for their hellish doctrines than Jesus Christ was for the sordid, devilish, and selfish desire of Judas, who for thirty pieces of glittering silver betrayed his Saviour.

Mrs. Dickinson claims to have had an interview with one Captain Howes. There is, at Dennisport, Captain Loring E. Howes, a member of the church; and she says that he told her "that Elder Pratt translated a Bible for us." In this, she must be mistaken; for Elder Pratt never translated the Bible for the Latter Day Saints. We have a translation of the Bible among us; but Elder Pratt never made it, although he had as much right as any Bible Union or other clergyman to translate it.

We are the only people who claim to have a translation by the revelation of God: all other translations are claimed to be by the wisdom of man.

Joseph Smith, Jr., never attended a conference on the Cape, though there has been a Smith there, and he expects to be there again on the last Saturday in January, 1885; and you are requested to attend, and every facility will be accorded you to learn all you desire to know about this people who "demoralize their neighbors," but you must be careful lest you get the "taint." It seems to be a marvel of surprise to Mrs. Dickinson that children of Latter Day Saints should be educated in the public schools. Is she not aware that the church is thoroughly American on this subject, and is in full sympathy and accord with the school system of our State, and any person who observes the laws of the Latter Day Church will love and cherish the laws of this great republic, no matter upon what soil he was born?

JOHN SMITH.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., 679 Purchase Street.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

Editors of *The Index*:—

In the last number of *The Index*, Jan. 1, 1885, I read George Kempton's letter in response to a criticism, in a previous issue, of his method of advocating the temperance movement.

I have been an advocate of total abstinence for more than fifty years, and of prohibitory law ever since prohibition has been able to make itself felt

anywhere, and have witnessed the beneficial results of both measures wherever they have had strength to obtain a foothold. But the results have only been partially effective through the length and breadth of the land; and Mr. Kempton's method presents itself to my mind as the most plausible, and, if generally adopted, will prove the most efficient of any plan ever yet conceived. The only surprising fact in the case is that neither Neal Dow nor any of us has heretofore ever thought of it as an instrumentality. The plan is plausible, because every man will look out for his own interest; and, although he may be inclined to indulge his own appetite, he will not be disposed to pay too much for the same gratification of his neighbor in a business way.

Everybody will admit that drunkenness is a great evil, if not a crime. Even the drunkard himself will not deny it, although he may feel too weak to exercise the duty of self-denial. He needs some motive more powerful than an appeal to his moral sense or the personal injury he is inflicting upon himself and family, because the indulgence of an abnormal appetite is too strong for him to resist without a still stronger selfish motive to antagonize it. I never conversed with an habitual drinker, whether moderate or immoderate, who did not assert that his own manhood was his self-protection, and that a man who had not self-control was not worth saving; and so on to destruction they would go, until convinced that ruin was before them. They would then make a struggle, in at least three cases out of five unsuccessfully; the three falling back into their old acquired habit.

Such men require strong measures,—either give up drinking or starve.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Kempton will forward some of his documents to some of the earnest temperance advocates in Maine.

The same *Index* contains an article on hard times, by Mr. Hudson Tuttle; and, although excellently well written, it does not suggest any efficient remedy except "just and harmonious distribution." How is that to be brought about? I leave the question to be answered by those who know.

The *Farmer's Union* contains the following article:—

Viewed from merely an economical standpoint, the consumption of intoxicating liquors is a national evil of such gigantic proportions as few people fully realize. Some interesting statistics, recently gathered, show the amounts expended annually by the people of this country for some staple articles of use to be as follows:—

Bread,	\$505,000,000
Meat,	303,000,000
Sugar and Molasses,	155,000,000
Public Instruction,	85,000,000
Missions,	5,000,000
Intoxicating liquors,	900,000,000

Here the story is told. Hard times, indeed, when the worse than useless expense for intoxicants is about \$100,000,000 more than the expense of the nation for bread and meat. And look at the utterly insignificant expenses for public instruction and for missions. Away with the accursed thing from the face of the earth!

D. S. GRANDIN.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, ME.

P.S.—*The Index* of January 1 quotes from the *Christian Statesman* that Mr. Blaine lost his election for travelling on Sunday. The *Statesman* quotes the prophet Jeremiah as appropriate to the occasion.

Rev. Mr. Jasper, the colored preacher, said, upon Scripture authority, "The sun do move." A New England preacher, addressing his congregation of about equal intelligence, said, "An elegant writer, speaking of Jesus and a great philosopher, said, 'The philosopher died like a philosopher, but Jesus like a god.'"

He did not know the name of the "elegant writer" nor the name of the "philosopher," but had heard the anecdote somewhere. The audience he was addressing swallowed it. As the "elegant writer" was a convert to Christianity from Paganism about the year 200 A.D., he perhaps knew how the mortal pagan gods died.

When a writer to-day quotes Jeremiah and the Jewish law as applicable to our Sunday, and assumes it to be the holy Sabbath of which the prophet spake, we should judge both writer and readers to be about equal in intelligence to the two distinguished preachers above mentioned, and equally competent to teach astronomy and history; or we should judge the writer intentionally to pervert his authority.

D. S. G.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF ALFRED LORD TENNYSON, Poet Laureate. Illustrated.

The principal merit of this edition of Tennyson is its completeness up to date, and this within the limits of a single volume of about four hundred pages. Everything is here, the earlier poems and the dramas as well as the idyls and the lyrics of his mid-career. It follows, of course, that the type is rather small; but the fact that there are two columns to a page must be considered. Another advantage of this edition, and a great one, is that it contains the article upon Tennyson by Anne Thackeray Ritchie, which appeared in *Harper's Monthly* about a year ago. It is the nearest approach that we have had to anything like intimate knowledge of one of the most famous and secluded persons of the time, and the spirit of its execution has no taint of the irresponsible interviewer whatsoever. There is a full-length picture of Tennyson on page eight. The frontispiece picture of him is superb.

IN CASE OF ACCIDENT. By Dr. D. A. Sargent. Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. pp. 125.

The contents of this little volume should be read and reread by every one until the plain, practical lessons, which are imparted in its dozen short chapters, be clearly imprinted upon the memory, as in that case they will be almost sure to become the means of saving a life or alleviating much suffering. Under the chapter headings of "The Bones," "The Blood and its Vessels," "The Stomach," "The Heart," "The Brain," "The Lungs," etc., the treatment of possible sudden injuries to any of these parts is explained and directed in a clear, sensible, and concise manner. The illustrations show the proper mode of applying the treatment prescribed.

In the February number of the *North American Review*, Rev. H. W. Beecher discusses the question as to how far ministers may properly go in politics. He shows himself to advantage perhaps all the more, because it is a matter that touches him personally as well as professionally. In the same number of the *Review*, the question, "How shall the President be Elected?" is ably treated by two United States Senators, Dawes and Vance; a college president, F. A. P. Barnard, of Columbia; a New York lawyer, Roger A. Pryor; and a well-known journalist, William Parcell. The substantial agreement of four of them on the same point is significant. Another notable article is "Holmes' Life of Emerson," by George Bancroft; and still another is an essay by Prof. C. A. Young on "Theories regarding the Sun's Corona," which he skillfully brings within popular comprehension. Rev. W. G. T. Shedd defends the foolish dogma "Endless Punishment," and Prof. G. Stanley Hall writes on "New Departures in Education."

THE New Year's number of *Wide Awake* opens with a beautiful full-page illustration of a poem by Margaret Sidney, which will be of greatest interest to the boys and girls of Boston. Both picture and poem are entitled "Midwinter in the Public Garden." A starlight skating scene is the subject of both. Charles Egbert Craddock gives the second instalment of a Tennessee story, "Down the Ravine." Kate Foote has a unique Western story, "Wagon-Tire Camp." Yan Phou Lee, the Chinaman, describes the houses and the home-life of his native land. Rose Kingsley's "The Children of Westminster Abbey" deals with the histories of Edward V. and Richard, Duke of York. Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont tells about "Washington in Past Days." Sarah W. Whitman gives some thoughts on "Oil Painting." Some of the other writers for this number are E. E. Hale, Susan Coolidge, Edward Abbott, Lizzie W. Champney, Prof. A. B. Palmer, David Ker, and Mary E. Wilkins. A brilliant number. D. Lothrop & Company, Franklin Street.

BEAUTIFUL illustrations grace every page of the January number of *Our Little Ones*. The titles of its delightful stories and poems are as follows: "Christmas Carol," "The Gold Basket," "A Letter from a Christmas Turkey," "A Christmas Problem," "Patty's Plague," "Eyes for the Kitties," "A Grand Surprise," "A Winter Wash-day," "Christmas, 1884," "Dame Gilfin and her Goats," "Five, Six, pick up Sticks," "Weezy's Mouse," "What became of Dimple's Bubble," and a song with music, "The Postman."

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

The London *Enquirer* says, "The result of the Sunday opening of the Keswick Library has been so satisfactory that the committee were encouraged to pass a resolution that, in addition to the hours already used, the library shall be opened every Sunday evening from 8 to 9.30 for the remainder of the winter months."

The National Woman's Suffrage Association held its seventeenth annual convention at Washington, D.C., January 20, 21, and 22. The attendance was large, and the meetings were enthusiastic. Mrs. Stanton presided, and made the opening address. A number of able and eloquent addresses were given by well-known advocates for woman's suffrage.

JENNIE COLLINS appeals to those benevolent people who take satisfaction in helping forward any practical charity to send contributions for the fair to be held at 1031 Washington Street for the benefit of working girls, on February 17. Send to that address. Situations, warm dinners, and advice are furnished to working women by Miss Collins, as far as her means will allow.

RUSSIA allows no more religious than political freedom of speech. The latest "blasphemy" trial of which we have any report from that delectable country is that of a peasant, a member of the Bible-reading sect called Stundists, for preaching against the image worship of the Russian Church. He was sentenced for this crime to imprisonment for three years and nine months and "the loss of his personal rights." Apparently, he had not many to lose.

OUR petition for protecting witnesses from discredit on account of unbelief has been presented with 460 names. That for taxing churches had 956, of which 461 were collected by Mr. Raynal Dodge in Newburyport. Mr. S. R. Urbino collected 150 on each petition in Boston. The thanks of the secularization committee are cordially tendered to these and other workers in the cause. Now is the time for our readers to speak to their friends in the legislature about these pressing reforms.

JAPAN, where we send missionaries to instruct and convert the wretched heathen, is ahead of us

in some reformatory methods; and we cannot help wishing that the proselyting spirit might take possession of its people, so that they would send us missionaries, when we read that in their prisons a large variety of trades are taught, such as tailoring, type-setting, printing, book-binding, shoe-making, porcelain painting, cooking, etc. The prisoners have an allowance of three cents per day and fifty cents a week put to their credit and paid to them on their discharge. A practical philanthropy like this is worth copying by nations which self-righteously congratulate themselves upon their superior culture and advanced civilization.

UPON the complaint of Mr. Joseph Oppenheimer, a free thinker, who objected to his children being compelled to join in religious exercises at school, Joseph Strauss, a school trustee at College Point, Long Island, issued an order that the chanting of the Lord's Prayer at the opening morning exercises be discontinued. Mr. Strauss, who is a Hebrew and is in the dry-goods business, was soon called upon by a committee of women, appointed at an indignation meeting which had been held, who demanded that he should revoke his order; and, when he declined, the excited ladies threatened to withdraw their custom from his store, whereupon he changed his mind and countermanded the order. The next morning, the Lord's Prayer was chanted as usual.

DR. SHEDD, arguing for eternal punishment, says, in the *North American Review*: "A human judge pronounces a theft to be endlessly a theft, and a thief to be endlessly a thief; but he does not sentence the thief to an endless suffering, though he sentences him to a penal suffering. But this objection overlooks the fact that human punishment is only approximate and imperfect, not absolute and perfect, like the Divine. . . . But the divine tribunal, in the last great day, is invariably and exactly just, because it is neither reformatory nor protective. Hell is not a penitentiary. It is righteous retribution, pure and simple, unmodified by considerations either of utility to the criminal or of safety to the universe." Anything more fiendish than this from a professed moral teacher cannot be found in the literature of the world.

In the face of such apparently purposeless and certainly senseless outrages as those perpetrated by the "dynamite fiends" in England, the result of which was damage to the Parliament buildings in London and the wounding and maiming of a dozen or more innocent visitors, some of them women and children, it becomes difficult for the most philosophic humanitarian to solve satisfactorily the problem of human nature. In despotic Russia, where men are under constant governmental surveillance and are deprived of freedom of speech and act, it does not so much surprise us to find dynamite resorted to as a terrorizing argument; but, in a country so intellectually advanced and so politically free as England, it is difficult to imagine a set of beings so ignorantly brutal as to resort to such cruel and foolish methods of demanding that their grievances be adjusted. It is very discouraging to the true friends of Ireland,

like Parnell and his co-laborers, to have all their earnest efforts to obtain the privilege of self-government for that country overthrown by such evidence of unfitness for self-government by those who, doubtless, fancy themselves by some legerdmain of reasoning, working for the same end.

SAYS the *Presbyterian*, "Even the Jews are against Ingersoll." Well, what of it? There is a tradition that they were against Christ when he was attracting large audiences; and they are "against" him now, at least the same as Ingersoll is. We suspect that the more liberal Jews of Jesus' day were in sympathy with him in his reformatory teachings, although incredulous as to his Messianic claims; and we know that the progressive Jews of to-day are in sympathy with Ingersoll in his opposition to the fabulous stories and absurd doctrines of both Judaism and Christianity. The work of Ingersoll will be useful so long as prominent theologians in leading publications defend the infamous and barbarous doctrine of eternal punishment. The tendency of that doctrine is to make men merciless and cruel. Against it and the conception of God associated with it there ought to be nothing but the strongest aversion. The efforts of men like Ingersoll will be needed some years yet to counteract the bad influence of men like Dr. Shedd, who, in the February number of the *North American Review*, with cool satisfaction labors to show that eternal damnation is just, reasonable, and sure to be the fate of a portion of mankind.

It was a fit though sad ending of a brilliant career,—the fall of Col. Fred Burnaby on a battlefield in a foreign land, in a fight between the British troops and the followers of the Mahdi in the Soudan. He was the latest development of the "Admirable Crichton" type of character. He was the son of a clergyman, was of unexceptionable moral character, a fine scholar and accomplished linguist, a loyal, intrepid soldier, a daring explorer, and charming writer. He was the military correspondent of the *London Times* with the army of Don Carlos in Spain, and once travelled on horseback through Turkey to Asia, and all the way from Scutari to Khoi in Persia, returning by Kars, Andahan, Batoum, and Trebizond to Constantinople. He also visited Russia, South America, and Central Africa. He was a member of the Council of the Aeronautic Society of Great Britain, and had made nineteen balloon ascensions. His published works are mainly relations of his adventurous travels, and are written in a refreshingly stirring, graphic, and picturesque style. They comprise *A Ride to Khiva*, *Travels and Adventures in Central Asia*, accompanied by maps and a valuable appendix, and *On Horseback through Asia Minor*. Through these volumes, his name and fame have reached all parts of this country as well as Europe, although he was but forty-three years old at the time of his death. The cable despatches from London bearing news of the excitement caused in England by the report of the battle, say of Col. Burnaby, that "his death was more talked about than the battle itself."

EPISCOPALIAN MEDIEVALISM.

Considerable discussion has been aroused by the recent action of Bishop Potter, of the Episcopal Church, in officially recognizing the monastic "vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience," taken before him by two young preachers of the Episcopal faith, who wish to devote themselves to special work among the poor in New York City. This discussion is naturally more lively in Episcopalian circles than in the greater world outside, and seems likely to revive in that Church the antagonism, which in late years had much diminished, between the Low and High Church parties.

Bishop Lee, the learned and venerable leader of the Low Church party, has written a letter in opposition to Bishop Potter's action, or to any action that would permit the practice of taking such vows, which have so strong a savor of the Papal Church, to become established among Episcopalians. Bishop Potter has replied, defending his act of receiving the vows. He is not, however, to be regarded as belonging to the High Church party himself, and much less as leading it or even as approving by his individual judgment its peculiar doctrines and customs. His proclivities are generally understood to be with the Broad Church section; and, in his official action as a prelate, he appears to be governed by the principle of allowing each section of the Church full and impartial liberty to follow its own convictions. On the one hand, though earnestly petitioned by influential clergymen in his diocese to bring Dr. Heber Newton to ecclesiastical trial for heresy, he contents himself with sending to that heretic a gentle and friendly admonition. Dr. Newton goes on to preach even bolder heresies than any his fellow-clergymen complained of last year, but thus far his bishop steadily refuses to put him on trial. On the other hand, the same bishop permits Rev. Morgan Dix to practise his High Church rites and to preach his antique doctrine about woman's sphere, and receives from these ardent ascetic neophytes of the "Order of the Holy Cross" the Romanish vows of poverty, celibacy, and submission. Here is, certainly, a practical illustration of one form of Broad-Churchism,—the most advanced modern views concerning the Bible and religious history, and the narrowest mediævalism in doctrine and practice, under the canopy of one ecclesiastical organization.

Possibly, this may be a good temporary policy for the Episcopal Church,—a Church that lives by forms rather than by convictions. Its oil and water may thus be made to float amicably together, and a violent rupture be averted. But it is a policy that does not distinguish the value of ideas. It is a policy which says that any idea which has zeal and earnestness behind it is just as good to work by as another. Between ideas, as to their inherent truth, it makes no discrimination. If certain inexperienced minds, with a noble ambition to serve mankind and flaming with a youthful enthusiasm to make the service heroic in its self-sacrifice, stumble, in their gropings through ecclesiastical history, upon an idea which seemed, centuries ago, to be very powerful and to afford a fine field for heroisms, this policy accepts the idea, without criticism, as all right for the modern world, and tells the young men to go to work with it, and consecrate their burning enthusiasm upon its altar. But is there not a larger and higher course to which even a Broad Church bishop should be able to point the young men who come to him with zeal all aflame to devote themselves to the world's good? Should he not be able to show them that, even for the poor, they could do better work by taking certain nineteenth century ideas to work with than they can with any ideas dug up

from the graves of ecclesiastical mediævalism, and that they could carry, too, just as much zeal and genuine self-denial and heroism into the work, when approved by reason and science, as they can into that which is stamped with the old monastic vows?

Nor have the non-Episcopal and even secular journals that have joined in the discussion, so far as we have observed, generally touched the weak point in Bishop Potter's action. The *New York Nation*, for instance, sees no reason for such hostility to the ecclesiastical proceeding as has been aroused, and says, "The practical view of the matter in our day would seem to be that any man who thinks that he can do good work better by taking a vow of some sort of self-denial does well to take it, with whatever solemnities he thinks necessary." It adds, as if it were a valid comparison, that "all ministers, soldiers, and married men, too, are under public vows, and so are a great number of abstainers from alcoholic drinks." The *Nation* thus treats the matter in that semi-humorous, not to say flip-pant, way which it applies to subjects when it is disposed to dismiss them as of little account. And this matter would be of little account, if the young clergymen were only taking a vow similar to that which an inebriate takes when he signs a total-abstinence pledge. But behind these young clergymen's vows are certain erroneous ideas, which, as they have been organized in the Roman Catholic Church, have given to that Church a good deal of its power, indeed, but which have also made that Church the foe of civilization and progress, and keep it to-day several centuries behind the age.

These erroneous ideas are that voluntary mendicancy, assumed as a religious duty, will in some way make real poverty, which is never to be removed, easier to be borne; that celibacy is the specially religious, if not highest, form of chastity; that full-brained men and women, who have come to years of discretion, may rightly submit their entire intellectual activity and conduct to the rule of certain other persons who may happen to be, officially, their ecclesiastical superiors; that religious work is something by itself, apart from the homes, occupations, and social obligations and interests in which the great mass of human beings are naturally and necessarily engaged. There, of course, may be individual cases where marriage may be conscientiously and heroically abstained from as a duty; cases, as in Clara Barton's Society of the Red-Cross, where men and women may put themselves under orders to obey, without question, any emergency summons that may come for philanthropic helpers, without abdicating their own ordinary self-sovereignty; and to set an example of simplicity in the use of and moderation in the desire for material wealth is always a commendable duty. But the Church that puts its sanction upon the erroneous ideas above enumerated as the source of the monastic vows commits a triple crime: it sins against nature's law, it violates the conditions of social order, it tramples upon the sacred rights of reason. A Church so acting blinds its windows to to-day's intelligence, and opens them toward the Dark Ages.

WM. J. POTTER.

GIORDANO BRUNO.

Few men have been so worthy of a statue as Bruno, and I am glad to hear one proposed. This martyr for science was born in 1548 at Nola near Naples, and became a Dominican monk at fifteen, but was forced in 1576, by his doubts about transubstantiation and the trinity, to flee from the cloister and leave Italy. He had been hooted out of Toulouse for attacking Aristotle, and driven from Montpellier for praising Paracelsus, and had

refused a Parisian professorship because he would not go to mass, before he came to Oxford, where we find him defending the Copernican theory in a public discussion on June 10, 1583. He called himself the Awakener of Sleepy Souls, and was eager to instruct women as well as men. During the next two years, he published a series of Italian dialogues, commencing with an argument for the earth's motion, entitled an *Ash Wednesday Symposium*. Other dialogues maintained that the sun, moon, and stars are of the same materials as our earth; that these worlds have inhabitants; and that the First Cause, or Universal Substance, is utterly incomprehensible, so that it may equally well be called material as immaterial, and no system can possibly be a finality. His *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* he wrote "to hasten the time when good actions shall no longer be thought destitute of religious merit or blind faith honored as the highest wisdom." Jupiter tells the other gods that they have placed so many records of their wickedness and personifications of vice among the stars that worship is passing out of use. So they agree that Truth, the foundation of all virtues, shall henceforth be the pole-star; while Taurus shall give place to Tolerance, and Capricorn to Intellectual Liberty. Virginity is in danger of being displaced by lawless Love. The Northern Crown is promised to the destroyer of that pernicious sect which teaches that sin is fore-ordained, and that no man can be saved by good works. Riches and Poverty contend in vain for a place among virtues. Indolence is sent to hell; and her appeal to the Golden Age is set aside, because men were then merely animals, and only through labor can they become divine. Aquarius is sent back to earth to say that there never could have been a universal deluge. In derision of the doctrine that two natures are one in Jesus, Chiron, the Centaur, is said to have been perfect man and perfect horse. There is also a daring allusion to him who knew how to walk on the water and work other miracles, and thus was able to make people think that white is black and black white; that human reason is mere folly, and ignorance true wisdom. Nothing is said against natural religion, however; and it is urged that only those laws which promote human welfare are just, and that property ought not to be so unequally distributed that some feast while others starve. In 1585 appeared his *Heroic Enthusiasm*, showing that nothing ennobles the soul like love of scientific and philosophic truth. That same year was published a satire on the expectation of Christians to be saved by credulity, which he derides in a poem I translate from the Italian thus:—

"O saintly Asininity, O pious foolishness!
More mighty thou to lead the soul in paths of righteousness
Than all our pride of intellect, which ne'er can entrance
gain
To heaven. There man's studious toil is all accounted vain;
But there thou buildest palaces in which no scholars dwell.
Ah, what availeth the attempt Dame Nature's ways to tell.
And find out if the stars are flames, or only lands and seas?
The holy Asininity cares not for facts like these.
Her knees are bent; her hands are clasped; she looketh up
to Him
From whom she hopes eternal rest, when Wisdom's crown
is dim."

That same year, he returned to Paris, but was banished in 1586, for placing Copernicus above Aristotle, on Whit-Sunday, May 25. While wandering through Germany, he published his last works,—Latin poems, more theistic than the Italian dialogues, and containing an explanation of the nature of comets and an argument for the rotation of the sun. Ill success among Protestants made him fancy that he might be better off in the shadow of the mother Church. So he ventured to Venice, where a nobleman had asked to be shown

the fanciful way to knowledge invented by Raymond Lully. Perhaps Mocenigo hoped to learn sorcery and alchemy. His dissatisfaction finally led him to betray his teacher and guest to the Inquisition, and Bruno was arrested as he was about to take flight across the Alps. Among the charges at his trial in 1592 were disbelief in the trinity and transubstantiation and assertion of an infinity of worlds. This last view he admitted, as well as having been troubled by doubts ever since he was eighteen; but he professed to be otherwise orthodox, and desirous to reconcile himself with the Church. On June 3, as may still be read in the records of his trial, he offered to recant whatever in his teachings she condemned. This saved him for the time from the stake; but he was kept in the dungeons of the Inquisition, first for a year at Venice, and then for six more at Rome, whither he was removed with his own consent. Impossibility of release seems to have made him desperate; for, at a second trial, December 21, 1599, we find him declaring that he would not recant, and ought not to. On this, his judges condemned him to be burned alive; but he said, "Perhaps you pronounce this doom with greater fear than I receive it." A week was given him to reconsider, but he was firm; and on Thursday, Feb. 17, 1600, he perished in the flames, without uttering even a moan. His last act was to turn away his face from the crucifix. The more clearly we realize how much of error and servility there was three hundred years ago, the more we shall honor Giordano Bruno for showing so much courage and teaching so much truth. His death was simply the penalty for having advanced beyond his age and refused to go back. Nobody reads his books now, but they have become antiquated through the establishment of those ideas for which he died.

F. M. HOLLAND.

CHRISTMAS IN BERLIN.

On Christmas eve, we drove through the finest streets of Berlin to see the Christmas trees. On that evening, when the trees are for the first time lit up, the blinds and curtains of every house are drawn aside, so that wayfarers may witness the merry scenes within. The city is fairly illuminated. Many are the pictures of happy faces surrounding the magical evergreen with its star-like candles, its load of bounties and many-colored mystical fruits. Some of these trees I have had the privilege of examining closely, of others I have had careful descriptions, and am enabled to make a few notes that may interest students of religious archaeology. The Christmas tree when completely decorated, as it is in old-fashioned German homes, represents the whole development of Teutonic religion. The figure of the white-bearded Odin, afterward Father Christmas, formerly perched upon the top, has made way for a Christ-child, very sweet,—in fact, made of sugar; and above this pink babe is a star. But, though Odin has disappeared, his symbols are present. The swine, symbol of luck, Odin's sacred animal, hangs beside the lamb on the tree, the dove nestling near; and the golden cones abound, which, in many a legend, he showers around good children who sit beneath the evergreen wherein he shelters himself during the winter. No German, by the way, ever outlives his sentiment about firs and pines. I once walked with Prof. Weber, of Berlin, through a pine-grove in England; and he was glad as a boy, took off his hat to them, and sang the Tannenbaum folksong, "O pine-tree, O pine-tree, how green are thy leaves!" Every house, however humble, must have one of these Christmas trees, though the demand runs up the price. For nearly two weeks,

the market places and spaces of this city have been lined with these evergreens. In many houses, the scene of the Nativity is shown at the foot of the tree,—Mary and her babe, and Joseph, a cow, and a donkey. Joseph, of course, is slightly snubbed as usual, made suggestively old, and standing aside like the servant rather than the head of the family. If any one will look at the picture of Yggdrasil, the universe-tree whose fruits are stars, in Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, he will have before him a primitive phase of this enchanted forest which springs up and glows throughout Germany during the Christmas season. The orthodox tree will be found standing through the last twelve days of the year. There is an ancient German belief that these last twelve days are of great potency, each influencing one of the months of the succeeding year. Prof. Weber tells me that the same belief existed in ancient India, and perhaps originated in the twelve days' difference between the lunar and the solar year. The tree-and-serpent worship of ancient India is represented in the Indo-Germanic world by Yggdrasil and the serpent coiled around its root, and probably survives in this Christmas tree. In India, the so-called "idolaters" gather around the Tulasi or other sacred tree, and read their scriptures and prayers. The same is done in some pious families here, which would be surprised if any Hindu guest should write home an account of their tree worship.

Last year, I passed my Christmas among the Buddhists and their temples. Christmas was ushered in with Singhalese tom-toms, as here with bells. In frescos of Buddha's nativity, the tree plays a large part, his mother, Maia, being beneath one when he was born. In the Buddha legend, the whole earth clothed itself with blossoms and fruits when he was born. The Christ legend has had to adapt itself to the old Yule-tide of this cold region. The Nativity is celebrated amid the signs of nature's death; but this indoor efflorescence of living trees with light-blossoms and lustrous fruits makes good the old legend of natural religions, that a Saviour must be cradled in the glory and joy of the earth. It would, however, be an interesting inquiry how far the mystical and inward characteristics of religion in northern countries have been caused by the confusion of the Nativity festival with Yule-tide. The Norse Christian might have been a very different man, had the birthday of Christ been fixed on the summer solstice—day of the Beloved Disciple, who sleeps till his Master come—or even on May day. As it is, he has been compelled to spiritualize the gorgeous solar signs, the magical efflorescence and fruitage, attending the birth of oriental and tropical avatars. I have just heard in Berlin Domkirche a Christmas sermon, by a sufficiently commonplace brother, in whose conventionalisms about the Sun of Righteousness dawning in our hearts, the Dayspring, the fruits of holiness, the deserts of human sorrow and evil blossoming like a rose, there was a poetry of which he was unconscious. The Semitic race, dwelling in a desert, spiritualized to a certain extent the religious imagery and fable picked up by its pedlars in tropical and luxuriant lands; and this may have been one among the causes why it appealed to our Germanic ancestors, after their modification by migration into regions where, amid a desert of snow, they could only dream of

"The land where the citrons bloom
And the orange lights up the leafy gloom,"

and hope to realize it in a paradise beyond the grave. But into the mystical paradise the serpent has entered,—Science, with its fruit that makes man his own god; and one shudders to think of the probable result when these poor people wake

up amid their snows and their pauperism, to find that they have as little hope in another life as in this.

The Christmas tree of Germany has a legendary survival in the Holy Thorn of Glastonbury and the black thorn of St. Patrick in France, both of which are related to the miraculous Apple-tree which, in the fifteenth century, is said to have borne tiny apples at midnight of the Nativity. The change of Christmas day by the new style played the mischief with these Christmas miracles. Like the English king who repudiated the Holy Thorn because it did not come to time on either the old Christmas or the new, the people everywhere began to watch traditional wonders, to see which style they preferred. It was well known, for instance, throughout Germany that, on the anniversary of the moment when Christ was born, all the cattle kneeled in their stalls; but when, merely to criticise the calendar, the beasts were watched, they would not kneel at all, unless in a few remote corners unvisited by the schoolmaster. In England, the Christmas tree has been reduced to the Christmas log, by which the Englishman warms himself, as Peter did while his Lord was on trial, and presently to be denied. The legend of the star and the manger survives in England only so far as it may be made serviceable in rather sordid ways. In Germany, Luther, despite the pretty dream of his visit to the cottage in Bethlehem, cursed the tree of German faith so far as everyday life is concerned; but every Christmas it blossoms and bears fairy fruits like the Nuremberg apple, which, says the chronicle (1430), none ever ventured to eat. It is my own belief that the legend of the birth of Jesus is a myth developed late in the second century, out of the account of Christ's baptism as given in the lost Aramaic gospel. In the fragments of that gospel, the only one written in Christ's own language, he speaks of the Holy Spirit as his "Mother"; the dove descends and enters him, and addresses him in the prophetic way of Simeon; and a heavenly light appears, which afterward became the star. Suffering humanity could not be content with pious poetry: it wanted a realistic scene, and a domestic drama equal to that of Buddha and Maia or of Abraham and Sara. In Germany, the romance of the infancy was further changed: it was adapted to the ancient fairy-lore of the country, in which were combined the splendor of the Teutonic heavens and the homely conditions of the lowly folk. The Virgin Mary has two characters, both strictly German. She is Bertha, the goddess who spins and watches over the spinning housewife or maiden. In folk-song, while Joseph works at his carpentering, Mary spins and Jesus holds the yarn:—

"Maria die konnt spinnen, des freut sie sich,
Josef, der konnt zimmern, des närten sie sich,
Jesus, der konnt haspeln Garn,
Der Reiche wird nun arm."

Then she is Cinderella. These humble garments are thrown aside, this poverty is made rich, the Prince of Heaven selects her for his bride. She is raised to a throne and wears a crown. In the oldest epic of Germany, the *Heliand*, the angel appears to spinning Mary just as the good fairy does to Cinderella. Joseph, after his dream, takes her to the splendid palace (*glänzvolle heim*) of her royal ancestors in Bethlehem. There is an old South German legend that when Joseph and Mary, on the flight to Egypt, sat down to rest under a palm-tree, some man drove them off, and for that was doomed to wander in misery till judgment day. This man acts the part of Cinderella's wicked sisters. This is the wondrous tree that still blossoms every Christmas in Germany. This morning,

I heard a poor Fräulein singing the song of Gottfried von Strassburg:—

"Du Rosenblüt, du Lillenblatt,
Du Königin in der hohen Stadt,"

She is a devout Protestant, and, at any other time than Christmas, would be scandalized by mariolatry. But what is this poor Fräulein, as the ages have made her, but a Cinderella in her corner, passed by without notice by the fashionable world, patiently dreaming of the hour when her good angel-fairy shall appear to say, Come up higher! and give her beauty for ashes?

I cannot help suspecting that the "Reformers" did Germany a doubtful service, when they swept from these altars all images and symbols of Mary. The rudely masculine Jehovah, the god of battles, might better have gone first. The position of the German woman has declined far beneath that which astonished Tacitus and the Romans. There is no other country, claiming to be civilized, where woman is so sat upon. In that respect, Germany is fifty years behind England and America. Not only are colleges and universities closed to her: she cannot get any scientific or classical education or enter any regular school of art. And, now, the clerical party is trying to rob her of the means of self-support by competing with man in the labor market, under the hypocritical pretence of protecting her from overwork.

It is pathetic to witness the signs that appear at Christmas to show how the poor and ignorant hold on to their lowly Christ, their humble Joseph and Mary, with babe and donkey, amid all the barbaric splendors of the imperial military régime that now masters Germany. I am reminded here of a curious superstition I have just met with. My wife presented our landlady, on Christmas eve, with some ornamental grasses, amid which were two peacock feathers. The good lady refused to receive them until the feathers were removed, saying that they were "unlucky." On inquiry, I find that this superstition prevails in certain regions. Where did it come from? There is an old Jewish tradition that a peacock was at the gate of paradise when the devil entered it. By flattering the peacock, he caused it to spread its tail proudly and welcome him into the garden instead of sounding a note of alarm. This fable may have wandered about with the Jews, as it seems to have influenced the Yzedis, or devil-worshippers, who venerate the peacock. At any rate, this ostentatious bird may answer my need just now of a type of the gorgeous military display flaunted about Berlin. The splendid tail folds up a little during the season associated with dreams of peace on earth and good will to men; but, as the proverb says, "when the saint's day is over, farewell the saint." When the twelve days are past, they will hardly influence the twelve months that succeed so much as the superstition supposes. The peacock will strut again. The diplomatists of Christendom will meet again to devise schemes for slicing up Africa among them. The priests will all demonstrate that the favors of Heaven are represented in the pomp and luxury which surround the Kaiser and the princes and their palaces. Decorated officials will say to Joseph and Mary, as the Innkeeper does in the mediæval Mystery, We want no beggars here, but only people with rich clothes and plenty of gold. The poor pilgrims will journey on their way somewhither, but duly return a year hence to be received with carols and dances as they rest beneath the Christmas trees,—rest for a little, then wander on.

I will close—if I may indulge in another phantasy—by mentioning another superstition which shapes itself in my reverie. In some homes, it is believed that when companies surround a Christ-

mas tree, and their shadows are cast by its lights on the wall, some of those shadows may appear headless. Such persons will die during the following year. These fairy trees have, as we know, mystical lights, too. They represent the ancient hopes, visions, affections of humanity. Their annual light is cast upon a crowd of proud Christs, dressed in purple, in armor, in uniform, in priestly robes; but the shadows of these are headless. They are doomed. They will not die in one year or many, but they are doomed. Already, they have died out of the heart of the people; they have become fictitious to the brain of mankind; they perish with all progress. But the human Christ will not perish, and the love that is in him will keep its evergreen of beautiful lights and charities in the homes of the lowly to the last generation.

The finest Christmas tree I have seen was lit up with electric lights. This union of an ancient heathen institution, surviving through the beauty and charity possible to it, with the latest achievement of science, seemed a prophecy of the good time when human faith and sentiment, allied with science, shall work the miracles of which those of tradition are but dreams.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

The Unitarian Conference held in Philadelphia on the 13th inst., judged aside from its social pleasures, was remarkable for having called forth three excellent papers of a very radical description. From Clifford, from Savage, from Chadwick came true words of the spirit, that were significant in their indication of the advanced position of individual Unitarian thinkers. Boston gave the exposition of evolution, New York the latest affirmative ideas concerning God, and Philadelphia the broad principles by whose behests Church and State must forever remain separated. As merely common essays,—in fact, as merely average Unitarian utterances, playing daintily and longingly with a post-Christian name,—such writings would be little calculated to command attention from strangers; but the truth of this matter is that these, rather than being juiceless and formal in all essential colors, were outgivings of the only Unitarian philosophy that at this day commands respect for consistency.

It is worthy of note that, during the convention, the name of Jesus was in no special way toyed with by those I choose to comment upon. The prayers were said, the addresses were listened to, and no invocations upon a misused fame were once detected. It is true a hymn, or perhaps several hymns, employed made some exclusive reference to Jesus; but these might be credited to slips of thoughtless or more conservative guides. A vice noticeable among Unitarians in general was thus rather better than ordinarily avoided. If this is not a significant advance, it seems to me it must at least be an adherence to a good principle, which of itself is a gain.

It was instructive to watch the auditors. They took the radical ministrations of the speakers with an evident relish. Chadwick's theory of God, which quite baffled me in some aspects, seemed in the end to resolve itself into a simple question of terms. Savage's evolution philosophy was much more docilely accepted than it would have been, had Spencer been there to present it. Clifford's weighty discussion of the relations of States to religions was as free from reactionary sympathy as could have been anything from an unchurched philosopher. There is little from first, second, or third that would provoke appeal in an agnostic. Yet it struck me that the listeners were probably

much more willing to sit under such specifics, when labelled "Unitarian," than they would have been, had simple come-outers So and So claimed attention for them. There is much weight given to the clothes one wears. I acknowledge the gain to be appreciable, even when truth is accepted under imagined disguise; but I think Clifford and Chadwick and Savage would fain have their audiences willing to credit the message they bring for its own rather than its name's sake.

I am not intimately conversant with Unitarian affairs, and therefore do not absolutely speak by the card; but it seems to me that Clifford and Savage administered the strongest dose of liberal thought ever identified with the faith in Philadelphia. And what impresses me felicitously is the fact that the patient almost seemed to enjoy the revivification. To save Unitarianism from its indefinite Christology, which the timid sectarians still hug languishingly, it needs the young brains and thoughts of men coming fresh from new-tilled fields. Clifford with the ideal, and Savage with the scientific, present the two sides of a duplex philosophy; and both are worthy of their aspirations. They are priestly neither in bearing nor dress, thought nor speech; and, because they dare to outrage conventionalities in determining to be men, they and their kind represent whatever there can be of hope in the Unitarian Church. I can freely say this much, because I am not a Unitarian, and care nothing for Unitarianism as such.

Commenting upon Chadwick and Savage as speakers, I need add no word. But I should like to state here, what must be welcome knowledge to *Index* readers, that Clifford—his deep, noble, resonant earnest voice not yet, I feel, put to its best uses—is carving for himself a constituency in Philadelphia worthy of one who obeys his own, and not an ecclesiastical instinct of right. There are limitations to his philosophy which I care not to enlarge upon here, but he preaches the spirit; and, as the spirit is the life, and the life is that circle from which no human soul can stray or be debarred, I defer captious criticism indefinitely. I feel personally thankful to him to-day for having rebuked the muddy pretensions of *Christian Statesmanism* right in its Quaker city retreats.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

FLORIDA AND THE FLORIDIAN.

The Spaniards unfurled their flag over this peninsula on the Easter Sunday of their religion, and called it "*Pascua Florida*,"—Easter Sunday. They pursued two fallacies, gold and the fountain of youth. Many a man to-day is lured by the same search. Of gold there is not even the color, save on boughs of the orange tree; and of the few springs and the multitudinous lakes there is not one on whose margin the steps of age even loiter. Florida is climate *et præterea nihil*. When you buy land at \$50 an acre, you pay \$49 for the climate and one dollar an acre for the sand.

Geologically, Florida is rather too young for man. It is barely out of the sea. It is not high enough, and it has not been up long enough to allow the rivers to sculpture its face into features. The water circulation is chiefly under ground. There are but few streams and no valleys. Here and there, a stream breaks up in a spring great enough to float a small steamer.

The geologic structure is not yet determined. The section from Okechobee to the Atlantic, published by Agassiz, is a mere fancy. There is no evidence that the foot of any white man had ever pressed the ground covered by his coral reefs and hammocks. The peninsula from Jupiter Inlet to the Keys is *terra incognita*. Prof. Curtis, in his

botanical studies, has touched its skirts; and members of the coast survey have mapped its shore line. There may be Seminoles here who never saw a white man.

While Florida is geologically young, its flora is old. On the Appalachicola is a little forest of Torreya, or "nutmeg tree." I have seen the same shrub in the lower Yosemite, and it occurs in isolated patches in other parts of California. It occurs, also, in Japan, which may be its fatherland. The geographical distribution of this shrub and its isolation are proof that it is an ancient type. The bold cypress, common here in the swamps, is allied to the Sequoia of California and Glyptostrobus of Japan,—proof that this, too, is ancient. Florida has nearly three hundred species of grass, but not a grass that would fatten a sheep. This is a fact of deep significance. It means that the Floridian cannot have spring lamb or palatable beef, and must take his milk from tin cans.

It was Lewis H. Morgan who showed that the status of an uncivilized people is determined by the food supply of its country. He might have shown that the same law holds for a civilized people with but little commerce. The Floridian impresses you as a man who lives in a state of chronic starvation. Corn bread and turnip tops boiled with pork is the standard dinner. Taste is level with necessity. As the table, so is the house, so the family. The other day I called for shelter, in a rain-storm, at the house of a "cracker." The family, consisting of man, wife, and ten children, sat by an open fire. The hearthstone was Florida sand. The house was not differentiated into kitchen, dining-room, parlor, and chambers. Twelve human beings cooked, ate, slept, smoked, and "dipped" in one room. Such a neighbor, the woman said, pointing over a little lake, "lives this away."

In general, the Floridian lives in pitiful isolation. I called one day at the cabin of Mr. Ladeen. This gentleman is something of an aesthete. It was amusing to see how the disease breaks out in the pine woods. Ladeen was dressed in red pantaloons, and his long beard was frizzed and done up in hair-pins. He sat on a bench in front of the door.

"Good morning, Mr. Ladeen."

"Good mornen'."

"How is your family?"

"I ha'n't got any family."

"Do you live here all alone?"

"Yes."

"And how long have you lived here all alone?"

"About ten years."

"Mr. Ladeen," I said, "I used to read in medieval literature of one Saint Colmar. This gentleman lived forty years with three friends. He had a rooster, a rat, and a mosquito. The cock would crow and wake him. If he slept a little more, the rat would nibble his ear, and start him again. If he fell into another doze, the mosquito would come and bite him on the nose. And so he lived forty years, but I did not know where he lived. He lived in Altamante, Florida."

Ladeen broke out in a somewhat passionate reply: "I don't believe a word of it! I tell you a rooster can't live forty years, neither can a rat nor a mosquito. And, what's more, there never was a man by the name of Colmar in these parts. Me and old man Dan, and Mantanner, and old Mantanner, we're the oldest settlers, and we never heard of such a man as Colmar." In Florida, when a man is slightly crazed, they call him "troubled." Ladeen met Mantanner, and said: "Do you know this professor is troubled? He's got it awful. He tried to make me believe there was a man by the name of Colmar, who lived here forty years, with a pet rat and mosquito. He's got it awful."

Ladeen's wife died ten years ago. As life was ebbing, she turned to a friend, who told the story to me, and said: "I am going. I'm almost gone, but I want to say one thing. I'm dying of starvation—and isolation—and—vexation—and—and"—She was dead.

It passes without saying that among these pine woods little is known of modern thought. I have an intelligent neighbor who is not "to the manner born." The other day, he told me a story which is too good to lose on myself. Another neighbor said to him, "See here, Rogers, they say that Gunning is a dangerous man, and dog-oned if I don't believe it." "Well," said Rogers, to draw him out, "I think so too; but what have you heard?" "I hear," said the little man, "that he's a Darwiner." "Oh," said Rogers, "he's worse than that. He's an evolutionist!" "My God!" said the man; "and does he practise it?" And this man is the son of a Baptist preacher!

Here is another little character sketch which may not be distinctively Floridian. I commend it to lawyers with impecunious clients. I saw a man singing and digging out stumps. He told me he had been, off and on, digging out stumps on that farm for seven years; and he couldn't get his wages till he had dug up about a hundred more stumps. I asked him what his wages were.

"Well," he said, "it's a wife." I told him of Jacob who served seven years for a wife and then got the wrong woman, and hoped that he would be more fortunate than the Jew. "But how is this," I said, "that a man has to serve seven years for a wife in Florida, digging stumps?"

"Now, stranger," he said, "I'll tell you. I was married, and didn't like my wife. I got in love with another woman, and Judge Ano got me a divorce. But he wouldn't give me the papers so I could get married till I had dug up all the stumps from his farm. Well, you see, while love was on, I made the stumps fly. But Jane cooled on me, and I quit diggen'. I fell in love again, and back I came to the stumps. I made 'em whiz! But, darn me, if Susan, too, didn't jilt me. I pulled off on the stumps again. But it seemed a leetle hard to lose so much diggen', and so I hunted up another gal. I've found her this time, sure; and now I'm bound to make the raffle. These stumps'll have to come now."

I said that Florida is climate and nothing more,—a statement which needs many qualifications. Roaches, gnats, mosquitoes, all infestations that afflict man or beast, seem to have learned the advantages of the climate, and to have anticipated man in making Florida their sanitarium. I have never seen an insect here in bad health or low spirits. Mosquitoes have colonized the State. In the India River region, hardly a claimant in the form of a man can get a foothold. Men who have endured the summer there, and tried to work in hammock orange groves, have told me that they had to encase themselves, hands, face, and all, in rubber, and swelter under a sun that would almost boil your blood. Mr. Potter's optimism would be sorely tried in a Florida hammock. But I, too, am something of an optimist; and I must turn to the brighter side of this Pascua Florida.

"Nothing but climate?" Climate is everything. When you do not have it to suit you, make it. You barricade against the north wind, the east wind, nor'easters, nor'-westers, and blinding "blizzards" that blow from the throne of Æolus, the cordilleras of Montana. You live to-day with a thermometer gauge of zero, because of the climate which you have imported in anthracite from the carboniferous age. How fares it with me? I write on the veranda (January 12). A softer sky never bent over Italy. The air is laden with

the perfume of honeysuckles and lemon trees and opopanax and jasmine. To-morrow may bring the trill of the lark and the mocking-bird. I could almost believe that I am living where Lucretius placed the home of the gods, in

"That lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never falls the least faint star of snow, . . .
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts
To mar their sacred, everlasting calm."

Alas, no! We are not yet with the gods, and as many cries of human sorrow rise from the sunny sands of Florida as the frozen steppes of Siberia.

W. D. GUNNING.

THE RIGHTS OF ANIMALS.

"If," writes Rev. F. Denison, in *Our Dumb Animals*, "as has been thought by the wisest of mankind in all the ages, 'animal life is indestructible,'—in other words, that it is not the last of animals when they expire here, since they have minds, and it is inconceivable that minds can perish while matter does not; and if it be true, as is firmly believed on the best of authority, that hereafter men must give a full account for all 'the deeds done in the body,'—then it follows, beyond a question, that some men will endure a serious arraignment for their treatment of animals. Cruelty to innocent, voiceless, sentient creatures is deemed criminal even by the judgment of men. How will it be accounted by Him whose 'tender mercies are over all his works,' and without whose notice 'not a sparrow falleth to the ground'? Let this problem be studied. Christianity is utterly condemnatory of cruelty."

If some of the higher animals had the power of logical thought and of speech, they might argue very ingeniously, if not conclusively, in favor of their own immortality. Addressing man through one of their representatives, they might say:—

We have fundamentally the same natures that you have. We feel pleasure and pain, and are subject to moods; we have affection, jealousy, vanity, and pride; we enjoy the smile of approval from our superiors, and dread their displeasure; we are not devoid of imitation and curiosity. We have some sense of beauty, some imagination, and some power of reasoning. We are not entirely destitute of reverence. We are capable of improvement by education and inheritance. Your philosophers teach that mind is imperishable. Certainly, we have minds, distinct individual minds. Mental as well as bodily characteristics are subject to the law of heredity with us, precisely as they are among human beings. If your minds are immortal, why are not our minds also immortal? Your philosophers refer, in proof of man's immortality, to the fact that his consciousness persists, while the atoms of his brain and body are constantly changing, that memory and identity extend through years, although the body has changed many times, showing that the impressions must be made on something that is not, like the brain, subject to change. This is just as true of us. The atoms come and go; but our identity, as shown in memory reaching back a dozen years and more, persists amid all material fluctuations. Your Darwins and Haeckels have shown what your own observation should have taught you, that you are derived from the lower animals,—the lower animals, we say, because you yourselves are animals. Go far enough back, and your ancestors and ours were the same creatures. Since our origin is the same, must not our nature and destiny be the same? Your bodies have been developed from animal bodies, your minds from animal minds. If, then, your minds are immortal, ours must be; for how could a being who is indestructible and immortal have been evolved from a perishable being? To say that the capacity for im-

mortality was somehow acquired during the process of evolution from apehood to manhood is to make use of an unsupported assumption, opposed to continuity, the primary fact of evolution, in order to enable you to deny *our* immortality and assert your own. There is another consideration we may mention in our behalf. Your theologians say that a future life is necessary to prevent the ultimate defeat of justice, since it often fails here. Think of the millions of animals that have been hunted for sport, beaten, tortured, and wantonly killed,—often, too, by men they were serving with all their strength and the best they knew. Where is the justice of a God who would confer immortality upon all who have found their chief sport in tormenting and destroying animals and give the animals no recompense for their sufferings, extending through long dreary centuries, in the aggregate beyond the power of computation, and in horribleness beyond the power of Hogarth's pencil to describe? Justice requires that we have a future life. Moreover, from the first, man has been surrounded by animals: they have been his companions, and they are indispensable to his happiness. He keeps them now, even when they are of no utility to him; and in the city parks are kept deer, swan, and birds of song for the pleasure of the people. In the past, men were generous enough to believe that we would share with them the future; and, even now, the Indian of the plains

"thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company."

One of your own poets, while speaking our praises, bears testimony to the indispensableness of our presence and our companionship to man's happiness,—an indication that, if man is immortal, we, too, are immortal:—

"I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained;
I stand and look at them sometimes for an hour at a stretch;

They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
They do not lay awake in the dark and weep for their sins;

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God;
Not one is dissatisfied,—not one is demented with the mania of owning things;

Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago."

Thus might the animals make a plea to the rational world, not simply for their own immortality, but for better treatment than they now receive. Abstract morality would treat with justice all beings, without any inquiry as to their origin or destiny; but the highest ground on which Christendom has theoretically recognized the rights of all races of men is that they have a common origin and destiny, and constitute a universal brotherhood. This implies a great advance beyond the condition of the little tribe or community which recognizes no rights to be respected beyond its own jurisdiction and the relations of its own members. The progress is due to a multitude of causes; and the belief that all men have a common origin and a common destiny has probably had but little to do with it, as it certainly affords no ultimate reason for the practice of justice to all men, which we believe has its true reason and basis in the interests and well-being of mankind.

If the great majority of mankind who believe in a future state for themselves could see that the claim of the animal to a future life is nearly, if not indeed quite, as well founded as their own, the result might be a treatment of the poor brutes somewhat better than they now receive. Perhaps the shallow, sentimental ladies who join in the fox hunts at Newport, or the ignorant and brutal drivers who club their horses until they fall from the weight of the load and the force of the blows, might be restrained, if they could realize that the

wronged brutes would appear in ghostly form to reproach them after death. Our knowledge, however, of the hardships and barbarities to which slaves have been subjected, when there has been no question among their masters as to their immortality, of the treatment which the inferior races have received from the powerful nations of Christendom, and of the persecutions that have destroyed millions of lives where the brotherhood of man and immortality have been accepted by all, and of the wars which every now and then drench with blood the fairest spots in Christian lands, make us doubt whether acceptance of the theory that animals are immortal would greatly modify the common treatment of them.

The belief among the mild and contemplative Egyptians that the souls of men after death appear again in animals, and the same doctrine in India, where metempsychosis was most extensively and ingeniously developed, undoubtedly contributed to respect for the rights of animals. Unfortunately, justice to animals had no place in the ethics of the Christian Church, which showed less regard for the brutes than was shown by the pagan teachers of Greece and Rome, whose writings abound in passages inculcating kindness to animals, as do the writings of the Old Testament, which commands, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk,"—passages which, among others, show a tenderness toward the brutes we do not find in the New Testament or in the early teachings of the Christian Church. "The fatal vice of theologians," says Mr. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, "who have always looked upon others solely through the medium of their own special dogmatic views, has been an obstacle to all advance in this direction. The animal world, being altogether external to the scheme of redemption, was regarded as beyond the range of duty; and the notion of our having any kind of obligation to them has never been inculcated, has never, I believe, been admitted by Catholic theologians. In the popular legends and in the recorded traits of individual amiability, it is curious to observe how constantly those who have sought to inculcate kindness to animals have done so by endeavoring to associate them with something distinctively Christian. . . . That class of amusements, of which the ancient combats of wild beasts form the type, have, no doubt, nearly disappeared from Christendom; and it is possible that the softening power of Christian teaching may have had some indirect influence in abolishing them, but a candid judgment will confess that it has been very little. During the periods and in the countries in which theological influence was supreme, they were unchallenged. They disappeared at last, because a luxurious and industrial civilization involved a refinement of manners; because a fastidious taste recoiled with a sensation of disgust from pleasures that an uncultivated taste would keenly relish; because the drama, at once reflecting and accelerating the change, gave a new form to popular amusements; and because, in consequence of this revolution, the old practices being left to the dregs of the society, they became the occasions of scandalous disorders."

Mr. Lecky states with truth that the inculcation of kindness to animals on a wide scale is "mainly the work of a recent and a secular age." Societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals are supported in the Protestant and free thinking portions of Christendom. But in every community there need to be cultivated sensitiveness to the sufferings of animals, and a public sentiment that will not permit them to be abused.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

COPIES of *The Index* of January 22, containing interesting facts and figures on "The Comparative Longevity of the Sexes," by Mrs. A. B. Blackwell, can be had at this office. Price 7 cents. The paper will be found of great value for reference, since it was prepared with great care and is reliable.

THE taxation of church property has been thoroughly agitated in Newburyport; and it is found that the opposition is very weak, and comes almost wholly from Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. It is thought that, if the case were left to the people of that city, there would be a vote of four to one in favor of it.

W. D. LE SURUR, in the February number of the *North American Review*, thus refers to a passage in Mr. Fiske's late work, which we some weeks ago felt justified in characterizing in *The Index* as a misrepresentation of Herbert Spencer's position:—

On page 117, we read that "the greatest philosopher of modern times, the master and teacher of all who shall study the process of evolution for many a day to come, holds that the conscious soul is not the product of a collocation of material particles, but is in the deepest sense a divine effluence." This, I do not hesitate to say, is a misrepresentation, involuntary no doubt, of Mr. Spencer's position. If there is any meaning in language, it makes Mr. Spencer ascribe a special divinity to mind. Mr. Spencer, however, does nothing of the kind. He holds that there is one unknowable, unconditioned being, and that this manifests itself in the two conditioned forms of mind and matter. The material particles, therefore, can claim, according to his system of thought, just as much divinity of origin as the mind or soul itself. The word "divine," moreover, is not a word to the use of which Mr. Spencer is prone; and I could not readily turn to any passage in which he employs it to express any idea of his own. He speaks, in his recent articles, of "an Infinite and Eternal Energy," but of the mind in particular as "a divine effluence" he does not speak. To say, therefore, so positively that Mr. Spencer regards the mind as "in the deepest sense a divine effluence," and that in distinction to the body, is not fair, to say the least, to the distinguished philosopher to the exposition of whose views Mr. Fiske has devoted his own most serious labors.

AN innocent paragraph in *The Index* of January 8th called out in the *Commonwealth* of the 17th a long article printed as an editorial, made up almost wholly of special pleading, quibbling, misrepresentation, and abuse, such as one would expect only from a third or fourth rate preacher. We are called a "philosophic charlatan,"—words that do not greatly disturb us; for we remember that only four or five years ago Joseph Cook, whom our critic much resembles in wordiness and recklessness of statement, called Herbert Spencer "a charlatan" and Mr. Fiske "the echo of a charlatan." The *Commonwealth* writer says that we are "endeavoring to throw dust in the eyes of the unfortunate readers of *The Index*"; that we are in "a lamentable state of unreason" and in an "unfortunate condition"; that our "condition is well-nigh hopeless; and this because his [our] melancholy 'state of scepticism' seems to be unaccompanied by any pain whatever." The article concludes: "*The Index* is to be commiserated on its opinionless condition. *The Index* is evidently in a position to say with Dickens' 'Mr. Montague Tigg' (who was the original agnostic): 'I reject the superstition of ages, and believe nothing. I don't even believe that I don't believe, curse me if I do.'"

One from the many wild assertions in our critic's reply will show with how little reason or truth he calls in question our statements. He quotes from us the following words, "What Mr.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

THE NEW CIVILIZATION.

BY MRS. IMOGENE C. FALES.

The law of evolution is that process in nature whereby the complex is evolved from the simple, the new from the old. And as higher forms of animal life have been developed from out the lower, so a new and higher form of civilization, one of co-operative action, is being rapidly evolved from out our present competitive civilization. It is almost axiomatic that competition is but the trade phrase of the law of the survival of the fittest, and that all commercial rivalry is but a struggle for existence. Natural selection, despite its many concomitant evils, has been and still is a prime factor in the development of morality and intellect. "Nature, red in tooth and claw with ravine," has still a secret in her keeping.

Through trouble and suffering, she slowly evolves types superior to and independent of that trouble and suffering. The necessities which made possible the quadruped and man were blotted out forever, when these sprang into being. Violence and disorder are stages through which life passes in evolving from one type to another of greater stability and power. The cruelty and horror of a thousand centuries were the conditions precedent of humanity,—conditions once necessarily obeyed, but needful now no longer.

Were the doctrine of evolution really believed in by its professed advocates; if we fully realized that the law by which all things have gradually progressed toward an ever-increasing complexity was still at work, still carrying out its beneficent design, we would be in a position to apply that doctrine to sociologic phenomena, and especially to future social events. But, while accepting the theory of evolution as to the past, most of us are unwilling to recognize it in the social life of man-

kind to-day. We know that type divergence has required innumerable years of inherited tendencies and accumulated variations, and that the same process has obtained in the growth of religious forms and in the passage of society from barbarism to a highly specialized and individualized civilization. But we virtually refuse to believe that the sum total of these evolved tendencies has produced a condition of affairs where social reorganization naturally results, and where new principles are to supersede old ones in social and industrial life, and henceforth govern men and nations. In zoölogy, the appearance of any exception to a dominant type has implied and introduced a new and higher type. In the history of comparative religion, the introduction of a new and higher faith has ever been the evolution of an idea contradictory to the established forms of the institution which it supplemented. And in the history of industrialism, so far as we can judge from its vague and incomplete data, progress has been from the elaboration of the old and organized into the development of the new and at times seemingly sporadic.

The sentiment of love, of justice, of regard for human rights, has grown with the growth of the race. It has influenced thought, expressed itself in literature and art, modified national life, and now demands to infuse itself in all our laws and social institutions, and to transform the nature of our civilization. Increasing intelligence is showing that the interests of mankind are related; that moral qualities are the safeguards of social institutions; that the rights of the individual are the nuclei of national greatness; and that continued social prosperity is impossible, when these fundamental principles are disregarded. From time immemorial, man has warred with man, either with sword and spear or in the hardly less deadly conflict of opposing interests, the strong holding in subjugation and wretchedness the weak and defenceless. At all times and with all people, the struggle has been for liberty and against oppression. The process of transforming the savage state of isolated interests into the civilized one of interdependent action, where the good of one naturally becomes the good of all, has been long and painful; and the process is still far from being complete. Whatever may have been the processes and means of growth, the results are of priceless value. An increasing specialization and interdependence of all the parts of the social organism mark every step of society's advance.

The study of sociology teaches that there is an organic unity of the race, that all human interests are correlated, and that social development is the result of a closer co-ordination of men's activities in all industrial affairs. This fact is pregnant with meaning. It shows that the law of correlated forces is of universal scope and application. Biologically, organic processes of development result from an increasing differentiation of parts and specialization of functions as well as an increasing complexity and refinement of the organism. This same law somewhat differently expressed is equally applicable to sociology. Social progress results from the increasing individualization and co-ordination of mankind and an increased specialization of industrial function and activity. The converse of the law of growth, whether considered with reference to biology or sociology, is that dissolution is always through an arrest of motion and an accompanying disintegration of parts. Hence, in summing up the law of life, we may say that it is the co-ordination of all the forces of the organism, whether individual or aggregate, and that the law of death is the arrest of motion, the dissipation of these forces, and their transformation into other forms of action.

Whenever co-ordination is arrested, then in proportion to the arrest does disintegration result. How is it to-day in social life? Is there such a blending and balancing of business interests that the great wheels of industry move noiselessly and without jar or friction? Do we find the peace, the order, the stability, the rhythmic beauty, which come with the proper adjustment of things? Do we find that the social engine utilizes every foot-pound of the force contained in its members? On the contrary, it is evident that in all business relations more energy is expended upon conflict than upon production and supply; that, in society, the activity lost from the impossibility of its utilization, and from the inefficiency of the modes in which it is employed, outweighs that consumed in the continuance of the race; and that from this accumulated waste and loss, with their accumulated concomitant evils, we are nearing a period of unstable equilibrium and of the gravest menace. It may be seriously questioned if the social mechanism of to-day utilizes one-hundredth part of the work power of its component individuals. Although in nature there is no real waste of force, yet this conservation is attained by a book-keeping account, in which loss in one direction is balanced by gain in another; but, in society, this rule does not apply. The measureless force lost every day through the imperfection, the inefficiency, the rust and friction of the social mechanism, is lost forever to the race. Nay, more: the life-force of the individual, when not utilized, turns and utilizes itself at society's expense. Outside the realm of man's activities there is a perfect correlation of forces and conservation of energy; and in that realm, despite the wanton recklessness of human actions, there is a subtle and constantly occurring metamorphosis, whereby material loss is transmuted into spiritual gain, sorrow into peace and joy, and death itself into life.

Nature, the great economist, suffers nothing to be lost. Her aim is the greatest results with the least possible expenditure of energy; and, although she carries on her work with boundless prodigality, her aim never ceases, her law is inviolable. And the danger which threatens civilization to-day is that the forces of social life, no longer in harmony with man's advancing nature and needs cannot be transmuted into other activities without great expenditure of life. For we are reversing the process of growth, which is a maximum of gain at a minimum of loss, and are reverting to a condition where a minimum of gain is obtained at a maximum of loss,—a condition of waste, of disintegration, of decay and death. The balance between human needs and their supply is being disturbed by the augmenting powers of a highly complex civilization. Laws whereby the energy of the race was conserved and translated into higher forms of action have ceased to be productive of the greatest good, and now work in the interests of the few alone.

There are culminating periods in social life, when out of old conditions new forces are brought into play. These are periods of decomposition and recomposition,—the breaking up of the old and the ushering in of the new. Such a period we are now entering, in the change from a competitive to a co-operative civilization. Although, up to the present time, competition has been the ruling force in life and co-operation has been wholly in abeyance, yet all advance has been through a restriction of the action of the former and an enlargement of the action of the latter, and the conversion of isolated into associated interests. Society has reached a stage where the law of growth is being arrested by industrial competition, and a counter-acting movement is setting in,—that of labor or-

ganization, which is the initial step of a universal system of co-operation.

"This change from competition to combination," says Henry D. Lloyd, in the *North American Review*, "is nothing less than one of those revolutions which march through history with giant strides. When Stephenson said of railroads that where combination was possible competition was impossible, he was unconsciously declaring the law of all industry." Wherever the relations of capital and labor are involved, there is an increasing resistance on the part of labor to the cheapening of its service and the further encroachment of capital. There is also a determination on the part of capital to avail itself of the law of demand and supply, and keep wages down to the lowest figure, irrespective of the well-being of the laborer.

According to statistics from the last census, the average rate of wages for skilled and unskilled labor suffered a reduction of sixteen per cent. in the decade 1870-80. And, at this moment, the financial depression is such as to throw out of employment, it is estimated, more than a million of men; while, throughout the country, the reduction of wages from ten to twenty per cent. is almost universal. In this land of plenty, the limit has already reached many of our trades. The wages of sewing-women, shop-girls, cigar-makers, shoemakers, tailors, diggers, linen workers, cotton spinners, miners, iron, leather, lumber, and paper workers, have been reduced so low that further reduction means despair and death. Wealth, while it is the product of capital and labor, is in a deeper sense indicative solely of labor; for it was primarily in thought and labor that all wealth was developed. Under the competitive system, where the law of demand and supply regulates the rate of wages, the laborer, because of the lack of trade organization, competes with the laborer in order to earn his daily bread; and now that the portals of the world are being opened, and immigration is pouring its vast tide in upon this country, now that machinery is lessening the demand for labor, the problem of the rights of man to life, liberty, and happiness, begins to assume an awful significance. The question is no longer, How can life be properly sustained? it is, What is the minimum of wages to which a human being can adjust himself? The struggle for existence will become harder and harder as the wages of the New World begin to tend toward those of the Old, as inevitably they will, under the combined pressure of immigration and competition.

When our working classes see that we go under the present rate of wages by the substitution of cheaper and equally skilled labor from abroad; when they find the starving hordes from Ireland, Hungary, Italy, China, and Japan, glad to obtain work at any price,—there will be engendered a race and a class hostility of which we little dream.

Unless labor undergoes more thorough and rapid organization, unless there is co-operation between capital and labor, unless government legislates directly in the interests of the people by establishing greater facilities for the proper distribution of those who seek these shores, and by the prohibition of all forms of contract labor, so that the pauper labor of Europe and Asia and the prison labor of our own land shall not compete with honest, native labor, there will be something more than discordant elements in our midst: there will be, sooner or later, a war of races, a war of classes. Republican institutions can only continue to exist, as they faithfully embody the rights of all the people, and not those of a few. The higher classes are wedded to the old caste system of thought,—that there must always prevail the same sharp distinctions that now unhappily characterize social

life. The many have their rights when they can get them, is the tacit assumption which the whole force of our civilization bears out.

Since all value is the result of labor, and since labor is a consumer as well as producer, and since, by reason of insufficiency of wages, it cannot consume what it helps to produce, it follows that the relations of capital and labor involve the well-being of the entire industrial system. Political economy concerns itself with the production and distribution of wealth, as it is under the present wage system; but, as this system is only a temporary phase of social evolution, and is destined to give way to a full and free expression of co-operative principles, there is necessary a new system of political economy, based upon the identity of human interests. We use terms without fully realizing their meaning. In the words "political economy," the natural inference would be that we had brought into play a system of fundamental economic principles upon which all business interests were based, and which naturally tended toward individual, social, and national development. But we simply find a system which has been relatively right, a system adapted to a lower degree of civilization than that which at present obtains: we find a temporary form, expressing temporary conditions. And now that a new phase of life is being evolved there is an imperative need of a new system of social and political economy.

The old order of things is breaking up. Labor and capital, those interacting forces in social growth whose mutual dependence is absolute, are tending day by day toward a state of open hostility. Class distinctions are appearing in this Western World. Poverty, pauperism, vice, and crime are on the increase. Monopoly, the final outcome of competition, is controlling industrial life and absorbing the wealth of our civilization. The competitive system must go on concentrating wealth and power in the hands of the few, to the detriment of the many; it must still further reduce the value of labor; it must decrease consumption, while increasing production; and it must finally bring about an irrepressible conflict between capital and labor. For the cause of over-production is under-consumption, the cause of under-consumption is wealth concentration, and the cause of wealth concentration lies in the wage-system. It lies in obtaining labor at the lowest market rate, selling its product in the highest, and placing to capital that which belongs to labor. It lies in a wrong system of distribution. There is co-operation in production, but not in division of the product. Out of this struggle for existence are arising forces of such a nature as to render a continuance of the present state of affairs for any length of time utterly impossible. The one fact of the organization of labor, which is going on and must continue to go on, since it is the counter-acting movement to the incorporation of wealth, will in time induce a new system of industrial and political economy. More than that.

When, through increasing population and the use of machinery, the supply of labor continues to far exceed demand, and the majority of men can only obtain the means of securing the necessities of life by underselling one another and forcing wages and profits down to the lowest possible point, then the instinct of self-preservation will alone compel complete industrial organization and the introduction of a universal system of co-operation. *The starvation limit of competition is the beginning of the new life of associated interests.* In the long run, nature constrains us to right action. Action and reaction, cause and effect, are as true ethically as they are in the world of matter.

We are rapidly nearing that momentous period when, out of old conditions, a new order of life is being evolved; when a great natural law of conflicting interests is giving way to a higher one of reconciliation and harmony; when the fact of human equality, irrespective of the accident of birth, is manifesting itself; and when the inequalities of nature, which birth, station, and education have entailed, are disappearing before the spread of liberal institutions and democratic ideas.

Liberty is not an accident. It is not the result of man's ingenuity or man's planning. It is part of nature's laws, nature's forces. In the fulness of time, nations ripen into liberty, as the flower, under fostering care, ripens into beauty of bloom. Progress is the road to liberty,—liberty, not for the few, but for all. Liberty is not liberty when it centres in one, and many are held in bondage. It is despotism. It is not liberty, when the many toil that the few may live in selfish ease. It is license, child of power, but not of love. Liberty can only exist when the rights of one are determined by the rights of all. It can only continue to exist when men are sufficiently advanced to become free men. We are apt to forget that growth, despite reactionary periods, is a continuous process, bearing us away from things of the past to higher states and conditions. We are apt to relegate all progress to the past, and deny it to the present, because, living in the very centre of activity, we do not perceive the flow of the current. There is also another reason why we do not place the proper value upon what is happening round about us. We are being taught by the leaders of scientific thought that growth is so imperceptibly slow that it is well-nigh impossible for those who form part of the moving panorama of time to know to what extent and in what direction the forces of nature are moving. They take the length of time required to transform inorganic into organic life, the thousands of years necessary to the deposition of a delta, and argue that the same length of time is necessary for profound and entire sociologic changes. From one point of view, the reasoning is correct. If we reckon from the time when society was simply a mass of warring atoms to where it is to-day, thousands of years have doubtless been required to bring about the change. But there is a fact which the leaders of scientific thought overlook; and that is, that while growth is gradual there are involved in the process critical periods, when new forms of life, albeit germinal, are ushered in. Such a period we are now entering, when old forms and institutions are being sloughed off, in order that new and better ones may take their place. This process will not require thousands or even hundreds of years, because present conditions are the culmination of all that have gone before; and, when we reach a culminating epoch, change is rapid, and, as it were, instantaneous.

The motive power of the world to-day is thought applied to social relations; that of the past, natural forces working without the aid of an enlightened human reason. In this transition from one order of life to another and higher, we can even now see the beginning of better things. We can see it in the efforts being made to reclaim society by caring for the children of outcasts, in individual efforts to found kindergarten and industrial schools, and engraft them upon our present school system. We can see it in an increased moral sentiment that boldly confronts the evils in our midst, and demands that individual rights shall be subordinate to public good. More than all, we can see that the laws governing social growth are moral laws, and that the process of industrial organization will arrest the law of com-

petition, and bring in the higher law of associated interests, of mutual helpfulness, of regard for the rights of others.

Thus, the new civilization of correlated human forces evolves from out the old, and evil becomes a means of good. And if the forces of nature are correlated, if her elemental energy is always the same, if the universal equation of value forever persists, it is because there is in all things an unknown element involved, which forever acts as a regulating determining force, "a Power not ourselves, which makes for righteousness."

"Earth casts off its slough of darkness,
An eclipse of hell and sin,
In each cycle of her being,
As an adder casts its skin.

"Lo, I see long blissful ages,
When these Mammon days are done,
Stretching like a golden evening
On toward the setting sun."

REASONS WHY THE LAW DISCREDITING WITNESSES FOR UNBELIEF SHOULD BE REPEALED.

First. This statute is not one of our time-honored institutions, but merely a compromise passed in 1859.

Second. The testimony of Dr. Currier, of Lexington, against the competency of his patient, Miss Caira Robbins, to make a will, was impeached on account of his opinions about theology at East Cambridge last summer; and the validity of the will was sustained accordingly.

Third. Such treatment of unbelievers is forbidden by the constitution of Oregon, and also in Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, Texas, and Vermont.

Fourth. When, as in the case mentioned, the witness is not directly interested in the suit, discrediting his testimony for unbelief injures not him, but some innocent third party not responsible for his views.

Fifth. To discredit, on account of disbelief, a witness testifying in his own behalf violates the right of every member of society to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property.

Sixth. The men who have acknowledged freely that they hold unpopular views are precisely those most likely to tell the truth in court.

Seventh. The whole community is injured by permitting the course of justice to be interrupted by theological controversy. H.

DRAPER, after mentioning that the Christian martyr had in his supreme moment a powerful and unflinching support, believing he was about to "escape from the cruelty of earth to the charity of heaven," led by an invisible hand that would "guide him all the more gently and firmly because of the terror of the flames," adds: "For Bruno there was no such support. The philosophical opinions, for the sake of which he surrendered his life, could give him no consolation. He must fight the last fight alone. Is there not something very grand in the attitude of this solitary man, something which human nature cannot help admiring, as he stands in the gloomy hall before his inexorable judges? No accuser, no witness, no advocate, is present; but the familiars of the Holy Office, clad in black, are stealthily moving about. The tormentors and the rack are in the vaults below. He is simply told that he has brought upon himself strong suspicions of heresy, since he has said that there are other worlds than ours. He is asked if he will recant and abjure his error. He cannot and will not

deny what he knows to be true; and, perhaps,—for he had often done so before,—he tells his judges that they, too, in their hearts are of the same belief. What a contrast between this scene of manly honor, of unshaken firmness, of inflexible adherence to the truth, and that other scene which took place more than fifteen centuries previously by the fireside in the hall of Caiaphas, the high priest, when the cock crew, and the 'Lord turned and looked upon Peter' (Luke xxii., 61)! And yet it is upon Peter that the Church has grounded her right to act as she did to Bruno. But perhaps the day approaches when posterity will offer an expiation for this great ecclesiastical crime, and a statue of Bruno be unveiled under the dome of St. Peter's at Rome."

For *The Index*.

WHERE ARE THE YESTERDAYS GONE?

"Where are the yesterdays gone, papa?" asked my little girl.

As we gain the heights of the Present,
And our eyes o'er the intervals cast,
Below is the sweep of a river,
And beyond the wide plain of the Past.

The Yesterdays there are encamping,
In a line that extends to the wall
Where clouds with the plain intermingle,
And the Night drops her mantle o'er all.

The Yesterdays camping in silence,
As they went their swift way one by one,
While we only thought of days coming,
When the Present was measured and done.

Through the mists they appear as we left them,
And forever and ever will stay,
As changeless and stony as silence,
In the light of the lingering day.

In memory, some smile upon us;
And our souls are aglow with the breath
Of the roses of love and affection,
While some are as bitter as death!

O Yesterdays, how we regret you!
Oh that prayers deep and fervent would bring
Us again all blessings of childhood
And the light of its blossoming spring!

That way we shall pass again never,
By the headland there sets a swift tide:
He who passes it passes forever,
For no bridge spans the gulf to that side.

In a dream, we look in the distance,
Through the mists settling dark on the plain:
The Yesterdays vanish in twilight,
But the Morrows will greet us again.

HUDSON TUTTLE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CLERICAL MISREPRESENTATION.

Editors of The Index :—

Mr. Underwood has done well to state (January 8), in reply to the claim of the *Christian Statesman* that God has enjoined judicial oath-taking, first the vicious tendencies of that practice, and then the fact that Jesus expressly prohibited it. But I think it is well also to notice the unsoundness of the foundation upon which the editor of the *Statesman* rests his claim. He says, "Here, as at other points, the real question is whether the Bible is true."

Implied in this statement are two false assumptions: one, that the Old and New Testaments make a symmetrical whole, all the parts of both combining to teach one doctrine; the other, that all the injunctions of both parts are binding upon men of the present day. To the persistence of the orthodox church in holding and vindicating these manifestly false doctrines is due very much of the disingenuousness, equivocation, and sophistry which pervade orthodox sermons, tracts, magazines, and newspapers.

In an enumeration of the religions of the world,

Judaism and Christianity are recognized as distinct religions, as much as Buddhism and Islamism. The Christians are constantly trying to "convert" the Jews; and the few cases in which such conversion is effected or pretended are hailed as a triumph by one party, and bitterly denounced as apostasy by the other. And yet our orthodox clergy have the impudence to pretend that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, upon which these diverse religions are founded, form a self-consistent and symmetrical whole!

But not only do the Old and New Testaments teach two different religions, so diverse as to be incompatible with each other: each of them shows contradiction of idea and of statement between its own component parts, and that not only in trivial, but in essential matters. Take, for instance, in the Old Testament, the following passage from the first chapter of Isaiah, where Jehovah is represented as addressing the people of Judah:—

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth!"

This is in express and direct contradiction of the writings ascribed to Moses, by whose mouth the same Jehovah is represented as expressly commanding the observance of new moons and sabbaths, and the calling of assemblies, and the systematic offering of incense and of bloody sacrifices, and as giving explicit and minute directions how and when and by whom all these should be offered, and as announcing that the blood and the smoke and the incense formed a sweet savor in his nostrils. And yet our clergy represent these two as forming parts of a self-consistent and symmetrical whole.

Of the many cases in which different portions of the New Testament contradict each other in matters of fact or doctrine or precept, I will mention the following:—

Paul repeatedly and urgently enjoins industry for self-support: Jesus taught his disciples not to work, not even to plan how their bodily wants might be supplied, but to depend upon God for food, clothing, and shelter.

Paul receives rich men into the Church, if they will be liberal; but Jesus sternly condemned both the acquisition and the retention of wealth, and required the abandonment of all property as the first condition of discipleship.

Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthians, declares that the risen Jesus was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; but the author of the Acts of the Apostles, speaking of a period a little later, computes the number of the disciples as "about an hundred and twenty."

The writings of Paul abound in forcible remonstrances against circumcision and sabbath-keeping and temple sacrifices; yet, in the Acts of the Apostles, he is represented as saying to the chief of the Jews, when he was a prisoner in Rome, "I have committed nothing against the people or customs of our fathers."

The gospel ascribed to Luke represents Jesus as ascending on the night or day next following his resurrection: the Book of Acts declares him to have had interviews and conversations with the apostles for forty days after his rising from the dead.

The gospel ascribed to Luke represents that Jesus, just before ascending into the air, directed his disciples to tarry in Jerusalem, and declares that they did tarry there: the gospel ascribed to Matthew says that he commanded them to go into Galilee, and that they immediately went there.

The gospel ascribed to Luke represents that, immediately after the baptism of Jesus, he spent forty days in the wilderness, being tempted of the devil: the gospel ascribed to John represents that on the third of those days Jesus was at the marriage in Cana.

In spite of these discrepancies and contradictions and many more such, our clergy continue to insist, not only that the books in question are free from inconsistency or disagreement, but that all parts of both are so inspired as to be infallibly correct, and

are binding upon us of the nineteenth century. If we remember that these men are pledged to continue to teach this doctrine, first by their whole clerical education, and then by the creeds of the churches to which they belong, we shall see the need, not only of distrusting their professional representations, but of ceasing to contribute to their support. C. K. W.

BOOK NOTICES.

T. LUCRETII CARI DE RERUM NATURA LIBRI SEX. With an Introduction and Notes to Books I., III., and V. by Francis W. Kelsey, M.A., Professor of Latin in Lake Forest University, Rochester. Boston: John Allyn. 1884.

It is pleasant to find such a book as this latest edition of the immortal Latin poet Lucretius emanating from a young interior city like Rochester, N.Y., hitherto rather famous for spirit-rappings and a mere ordinary American material prosperity than for poetry and philosophy. Prof. Kelsey introduces Lucretius to his readers as a man, as a philosopher, and as a poet in a very satisfactory manner. Like Byron and Shelley, the great modern poets and mouthpieces of free thought and daring speculation in verse, Lucretius was a patrician; and, therefore, he had the courage of his opinions, burning no "incense,"—like his successors, Virgil and Horace,—"kindled at the muse's flame," to any haughty patron. Though highly born and a contemporary of Cicero and Cæsar, with all the opportunities for the attainment of wealth and power which were then open to a member of the Roman aristocracy, Lucretius deliberately preferred a life of contemplation and philosophic asceticism to a political and military career, although he was a Roman to the core, a Roman full of Greek fire, poetry, and speculative genius. The poem of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, like the works of Aristotle, was for a long time hidden from the knowledge of men; but at length it re-emerged into view, never more to be forgotten or neglected. In every generation among scholars there is sure to be a percentage of Lucretian enthusiasts. For though, to borrow the language of Shelley, Lucretius had limed the wings of his swift spirit in the dregs of the sensible world, he yet soared into the empyrean of song. His great poem is full of felicities, beauties and sublimities of expression and thought, which have made it irresistibly attractive to readers of all ages and climes and shades of opinion. The *flammaria moenia mundi* is a Lucretian formula, and the *infant cast weeping upon the shores of life*. He could voice the passion of love in as glowing numbers as Byron, the poet of that passion, who, in one of the final stanzas of *Canto First of Childe Harold*, transplants into English a flower of Lucretius, thus:—

"Love has no gift so grateful as his wings:
How fair, how young, how soft soo'er he seem,
Full from the fount of Joy's delicious springs
Some bitter o'er the flowers its bubbling venom flings,"

which is a fine translation of the original Latin,—

"Medio de fonte leporum

Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat."

In an age of luxury and grossest sensualism, among a purely practical, unimaginative, and sensual people, Lucretius was a poet of nature like Wordsworth, and preferred the flowery lap of mother earth and simple fare to high-ceiled palace hall and gorgeous indulgence of appetite. His motto was:—

"No lewdness, narrowing envy, monkey-spite,
No madness of ambition, avarice, none;
No larger feast than under plane or pine
With neighbors laid along the grass to take;
Only such cups as left us friendly warm,
Affirming each his own philosophy,—
Nothing to mar the sober majesties
Of settled, sweet, Epicurean life."

His bride was a life of philosophic tranquillity and reflection. He led such a life, as far as it was possible to live it, in the tempestuous period of civil war and bloodshed in which his existence was cast. But his life was brief, having been terminated, after the Roman fashion, by his own hand, according to tradition. But it was long enough for the production of a strain of mingled reflective thought and poetry, which will charm the world forever.

Prof. Kelsey says: "The poem of Lucretius is a protest against the degrading influence of impure superstition; against the sham and increasing degeneracy of society; against the reckless, mad, ambitious, and ceaseless ferment of political life. In a period grossly material in tastes and enjoyments, when great fort-

unes were being rapidly made and were ever bringing new luxuries in their train, it bids men take refuge and find true happiness in higher things, in pleasures of the soul rather than of the body." For, though Lucretius believed the soul to be mortal, he did not bid his readers eat, drink, and be merry on that account. The age of Lucretius was like ours. As Matthew Arnold says or sings,—

"Well-nigh two thousand years have brought
Their load, and gone away,
Since last on earth there lived and wrought
A world like ours to-day.
Like ours it looked in outward air!
Its head was clear and true,
Sumptuous its clothing, rich its fare,
No pause its action knew.

On that hard Pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell,
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.
In his cool hall, with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay:
He drove abroad in furious guise
Along the Appian Way;
He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers,—
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours."

Indeed, Arnold borrowed the above description from Lucretius himself. In fact, subsequent poets and writers, from Virgil down, have been in the habit of helping themselves liberally to the good things of Lucretius, without acknowledgment, even when they have been assailing his doctrines. The universe of Lucretius, like that of Humboldt, was infinite in extent and duration. As Prof. Kelsey says: "The atomic materialism of Lucretius is the current doctrine of the nature of things, and his view of man's development in civilization and the origin of institutions anticipated important modern theories. To-day, with the revival of materialism, the rapid advances in physical science, and the tendency so characteristic of our age to study every conception through its history, Lucretius is receiving marked attention on every hand. Taking the range of literary and scientific works together, we shall find that few ancient writers are so frequently quoted or so often appealed to as he."

The young student of the great philosophic Roman poet, with Prof. Kelsey's edition of the *De Rerum Natura* in his hands, will find himself provided with every possible aid to a thorough understanding of that poem.

RED LETTER STORIES: Swiss Tales from the German of Madame Johanna Spyri. Translated by Lucy Wheelock. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price 60 cents.

Madame Spyri is pronounced by competent critics the best living German writer for children, and all those who have read her delightful *Heidi* will concur in this opinion. The present work consists of two short tales of Swiss mountain life, which bring before us very vividly the every-day life of the Swiss peasantry. The stories are pure, wholesome, and homely in tone and treatment. Though distinctly juvenile reading, the writings of Madame Spyri yet recall vividly the more elaborate works for mature readers of Frederika Bremer, with their realistic portrayal of the delightful home life of her countrymen and women.

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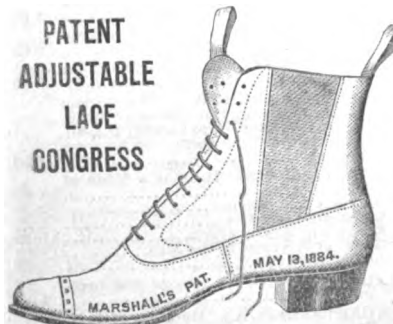


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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS the *Advertiser*: "Congress, as has been said again and again, should act against polygamy the crime, and not against the religion, of which it is an unessential part. There are Mormons in Boston to-day, who are quiet, law-abiding citizens, having no intention of practising polygamy, which they declare is not a part of their religion. Against them, justice has no grievance; but against polygamists, wherever they are, there is imperative need of enforcing criminal law vigorously."

THE *New York Sun*, commenting on Dr. Shedd's article in the *North American Review* in defence of everlasting punishment, observes that "now an argument in favor of the doctrine of hell and of eternal torment for the damned is so great a novelty that a magazine editor who desires to pique curiosity is glad to obtain it for publication. We take unusual interest in this paper, because it is the first square defence of the doctrine of eternal damnation from an orthodox Protestant theologian which we remember to have seen for several years past. Even if the tenet is not directly attacked, it is usually ignored by Protestant ministers as too disagreeable a subject for contemporary Christians."

Thus Cardinal Newman comments upon the clerical pomp and vanities of Oxford: "There are ministers of Christ with large incomes, living in finely furnished houses, with wives and families, and stately butlers, and servants in livery, giving dinners all in the best style, so descending and gracious, waving their hands and mincing their words as if they were the cream of the earth, but without anything to make them clergymen but a black coat and a white tie. And the bishops or deans come with women tucked under their arm; and they can't enter church but a fine powdered man runs first with a cushion for them to sit on, and a warm sheepskin to keep their feet from the stones." And these be the disciples of the de-

spised Nazarene, who had not where to lay his head, who said that his kingdom was not of this world, whose pride, pomp, and glory he despised.

A CORONER's inquest over a little boy who had died in a faith-cure institution at St. Louis showed many children in the same house in a dying condition. "Asbough's place," says the *Springfield Republican*, "had been running two months: nine children had recovered, and many had been taken away as they grew worse. Prayer was the only thing done for the sick. As the attendants moved their hands over them, they would say such pious things as 'The good God please make these sufferers whole,' 'Jesus, our Saviour, take away the germs of disease,' etc. This is not very superior to the superstition unearthed at Reading, Pa., where a physician found a dying child that had been treated by a 'witch doctor,' who had written a prayer in high German and fastened it in a muslin bag around the child's neck, and had left a briar wand to be waved above its bed when it was restless, for the purpose of driving off the witches."

THE *Sentinel Advertiser*, published at Hope Valley, R.I., quotes a paragraph from a recent number of *The Index* respecting the treatment of the Chinese in this country, which it prefaces thus: "It is encouraging to note in these degenerate political times an occasional example of devotion to principles of right and justice, such as built up and animated the Republican party in its earlier and better days." The paragraph, this paper says, "shows the drift of advanced and liberal thought, and is really an 'index' of the path that must be taken by the party of professed and equal rights before that party can ever again hold in the hearts of freedom-loving American people the place it once so worthily and nobly filled." Our protest was against the unjust treatment of the Chinese in this city. The presence of the Chinese in large numbers on the Pacific coast presents a difficult social problem, which requires the wisest statesmanship; but there can be no excuse for not enforcing the law against assaults upon these people, whether in Boston or San Francisco.

GOV. HOADLY, of Ohio, in his annual message, referring to an Act by which the penitentiary of that State was reorganized last year, says: "The Act of 1884 has two objects,—to reform the men and to abolish contract labor. There are those who look upon convicts as hardened criminals, and all efforts at their reform or moral and religious improvement as hopeless. Such is the case, no doubt, with some, perhaps many; but, when we remember how many of the prisoners are mere lads, nearly one-fifth of all being under twenty-one years of age, how many of their crimes were committed while they were intoxicated, and how many of the offences punishable by imprisonment are the result of temper and passion without settled purpose of wrong, we find reason to correct and change this opinion. Besides, as it has long been the settled policy of the State to shorten the terms of imprisonment as a reward for good conduct in the penitentiary, and to restore the convict who has not violated prison rules to full citizen-

ship, any well-directed effort to qualify him for the exercise of this privilege should be welcomed by all good citizens and encouraged by the State." In carrying this Act into force, Gov. Hoadly says thus far "discipline has been maintained, the men have worked well and willingly, hope has assisted fear in promoting good behavior." A night school is attended by five hundred and fifty prisoners. The striped suit is still used for the refractory and disobedient; but the meritorious prisoners wear two kinds of clothing, gray and blue, distinct enough not to facilitate escape. A small portion of their wages is set apart, "ranging in amount relatively to conduct." The primary end of the management has been "to reform rather than to make money." The Governor wisely recommends that the institution be managed upon strictly business principles and not be made the foot-ball of politics, and its experienced force be changed with every change of party government in the State.

A LETTER from Russia says that the jails of that country are "inadequate to the needs of the increasing population." New jails are being built every year; but they are not sufficient for the "accommodation" of the increasing number of prisoners, who in 1882 numbered 95,000 and in 1883 97,337. "In Siberia especially, great suffering is caused by the want of accommodation for the 12,000 convicts distributed over the mining districts, especially as the enormous number of exiles crowd the houses of correction." The majority of the Russian convicts and exiles are, according to all accounts, better men and women than those through whose influence they have been convicted and sentenced; and we are not certain but that it would be fortunate for the people of Russia if a revolution should occur that would send into exile the majority of the present officials, and elevate to power the brave and honest spirits who are now the victims of Russian despotism. But the Russian peasants believe, as they have been taught, that the czar governs by divine right and authority, and that it is their duty to submit to any wrongs rather than resist "the powers that be." Thus, priestcraft supports kingcraft; superstition and spiritual despotism make the people afraid and disinclined to oppose a governmental despotism, which is destroying the intellectual and moral strength of the Russian people. The best men and women, those of genius and courage, are exiled and imprisoned; while the country is cursed by censorship of the press, suppression of freedom of speech, espionage, religious intolerance, rottenness in every department of the government, hypocrisy and obsequiousness among officials, suspicion and distrust not only of those holding positions, but of men of influence generally, and a despotism pervading the government which paralyzes the mind and heart of the nation. Sometimes, a revolution is absolutely necessary to the continuance of the process of evolution; and it looks now as though Russia might have to undergo the experience of a terrible struggle before entering upon a career of development and progress.

EQUAL FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE BY STATE SECULARIZATION.

A sub-committee of the Free Religious Association has been zealously engaged the last few months in preparations to bring before the Massachusetts Legislature certain measures in the interest of a more equal liberty of conscience than the statutes of the State now allow. They have directed their efforts to two points,—the abolition of the law by which churches are exempted from taxation, and the removal from the statute, with regard to witnesses in court, of the clause by which the testimony of a witness may be discredited on account of his theological opinions. This action of the committee has been taken in pursuance of a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Association last May, by which it was voted that the Association should more actively endeavor to promote the objects of State secularization.

Heretofore, the Association has contented itself with discussions, on its platform and in its publications, of the various questions which concern the complete secularizing of the State, leaving it to individual members to work in practical ways for the object, according to their respective judgments and opportunities. In this way, James Parton's excellent essay on the Taxation of Church Property, given before a Convention of the Association in New York a number of years ago, and afterward printed in tract form, has been distributed in the legislatures of several States where this subject was coming up for consideration; as have also, to less extent, the more elaborate pamphlets published by the Association on the Sunday laws and the public-school question. One reason, perhaps, why the Association as a body has not more actively engaged in this work has been an apprehension lest the *odium theologicum*, which might easily be aroused in the average legislator's breast against the Association, might serve to hinder the advancement of the objects it was laboring to promote. But this year the Association decided that the time had come for it to adopt in this direction a more active policy; and, naturally, it has made a beginning of such action in the Legislature nearest its own head-quarters.

The question might possibly be raised—indeed, we have heard that it has been raised by a few persons—whether the constitution of the Free Religious Association gives any warrant for it to engage as an organized body in work of this kind. Is not the province of the Association, it is asked, limited to providing a platform for the free and full discussion of all questions pertaining to religion? And, since the Association invites persons to its membership irrespective of their religious beliefs, may it not be possible and probable that among its members may be those who do not believe in the objects covered by the term "State secularization," and whose equal rights of membership will therefore be infringed by the present action of the executive committee of the Association? To these queries, we would reply that, for one, we have never been able to accept that interpretation of the province of the Association which would limit its action to providing a free parliament for the discussion of questions concerning religion. To speak now of nothing else, the Association is committed by its constitution to the advancement of perfect liberty of thought in religion. If the Free Religious Association does not mean this, it means nothing. And, to our mind, the promotion of perfect liberty of thought implies necessarily a good deal more of practical activity than merely to furnish a platform for free discussion. There cannot be perfect liberty of thought, even the

platform for free discussion is imperilled, so long as the State gives its support to or subsidizes certain systems of thought in distinction from other systems of thought. And this is precisely what the State does in this country through the laws which remain on the statute-books favoring certain theological beliefs and imposing disabilities and restrictions on citizens who do not hold such beliefs. Such laws make it easier for people to hold certain opinions which happen to be held by the majority than to hold other opinions which their own reason might dictate. They put a premium upon certain views by granting special privileges to those who adopt them, and they punish those who do not adopt these views by putting upon them peculiar burdens and singling them out for public disfavor.

Here, then, are positive restrictions upon liberty of thought, which are maintained by the power of government. And, if an association which is organized primarily to advance liberty of thought in matters of religion is prevented by its constitution from taking any practical step for the removal of these restrictions, it would be an anomaly indeed! To say nothing of any other practical activities in which the Free Religious Association might legitimately engage as an organized body, it has always seemed to us that to this work of removing existing barriers to that equal freedom of thought which is the proper right of every American citizen it is specially called. What more palpable example of self-stultification could there be than that a society organized on the principle of liberty of thought and for the purpose of advancing liberty of thought should refrain from any active movement for abolishing legal hindrances to liberty of thought, because possibly some persons may have come into it as members who believe in retaining those hindrances? That is, if such a case could possibly exist, the society's action would be controlled by the presence or imagined presence of members who do not believe in the fundamental principle of the society and one of its foremost objects!

The ground is sometimes taken, we are aware, that the principle of liberty of thought is practically won, and that the statutes which in the United States appear to violate this right are only lingering relics of a system of governmental support of religious doctrines which is fast becoming obsolete, and may now be safely left to its own natural decay. There is a measure of truth in this representation. But, on the other hand, there is much error in it. The system of governmental support of certain religious views is not so far dead but that, through statutes growing out of that system, frequent and gross injustice is being done to individual rights of conscience all over the country. Equal freedom of thought and conscience is not established so long as it is possible for the testimony of a witness in court to be discredited and set aside because of his religious beliefs or non-beliefs, as has been recently done in the case of an important witness on the validity of a will in a Massachusetts court and also in the court martial for the trial of Gen. Swain in Washington. In both of these cases, it is possible that actual justice in the decision depended on the excluded testimony. Nor do the conditions of free impartial inquiry in religious matters exist so long as government in any way discriminates among citizens in respect to their religious beliefs,—in effect, subsidizing the beliefs of a portion of the citizens by exempting their churches from taxation, by enforcing their peculiar views of the sacredness of Sunday, and by allowing their theological ideas to be represented in the public schools and in legislative bodies, for whose support all citizens are equally taxed.

We lately saw a description in some Roman Catholic journal of the new Catholic cathedral in Providence. It was proudly claimed to be nearly, if not quite, at the head of all the ecclesiastical structures in the country in respect to architectural elegance and luxury of interior decoration and furnishing. The cost was given; but the figures, which were enormous, we have forgotten. But, whatever it is, it is all exempt from taxation. The city of Providence may be legally called upon to protect it from fire and other damage; but, if we understand the law of Rhode Island, not one cent will be paid to the city for this protection of the costly, luxurious edifice. In the same city is a small Free Religious society which meets in a hall on which taxes have to be paid, because it is regarded as secular property. Thus, the Free Religious folk not only have to pay taxes on their own building, but they have to pay indirectly their proportion of taxes as citizens for the Catholic cathedral because the real owners of it are exempted from taxation. And this is only one illustration of an injustice that is committed in the name of law all over the country. The injustice is not simply that a portion of the citizens are thus compelled to pay indirectly for the support of religious institutions and doctrines which are contrary to their convictions, but it consists also in the fact that the government encourages certain established religious beliefs by placing a bounty upon them, and correspondingly discourages heterodoxy by leaving it to struggle without government aid. The theory of government in this country is equal justice, or fair play, for all faiths and all opinions in respect to religion; but the practice is yet very far from this goal.

WM. J. POTTER.

MENTAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ORTHODOXY.

Many years ago, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, after trying to persuade the world that slaveholding was right, undertook the harder task of showing that the infliction of everlasting misery was reasonable. It does not appear that he made many converts to either opinion. But, as the grounds on which he maintained the latter have been seriously impaired by freedom of thought, critical investigation by scholars, and advancing intelligence in the community at large, new effort in that direction has been thought necessary; and the Rev. Dr. W. G. T. Shedd has applied himself to it with alacrity in the *North American Review* for February. For the due performance of this work, he seems to have judged it necessary to assume the reality of the trinity, the incarnation and atonement, the inspiration and infallibility of Scripture, and an understanding, on his own part, of God's character, plans, and purposes, past, present, and future.

Dr. Shedd's theory is that, man having once sinned, God is necessarily obliged to punish, and to punish after this life by strict retributive, having no regard to the reformation of the offender. This penal suffering, he says, can never come to an end, because guilt is the reason for its infliction, and guilt, once incurred, never ceases. Thus, the endlessness of future punishment is implied in the endlessness of guilt.

Dr. Shedd here notices, as an objection that will be made to his theory, that in the human administration of justice some regard is paid to the reformation of the criminal and to the protection of the community from further injury; but he declares that this is owing to the necessary imperfection of human governments, and that the perfect divine system requires only simple retributive (or what is commonly called vengeance).

Assuming that by the considerations above mentioned it is proved that God will, in the future world, inflict endless punishment upon sinners without attempting or desiring their reformation, Dr. Shedd undertakes next to show that this course of action is rational and right. As proof that it is rational and right, he proceeds to assume:

1. That endless punishment is supported by the human conscience; that men believe in hell by reason of their moral sense; and that a guilty conscience expects endless punishment.
2. That punishment must needs be endless, because sin is endless; besides, that in hell the amount of guilt is constantly accumulating, because that, by sinning, the man at length becomes *unable to keep the law*.
3. Punishment must be endless, because sin is an infinite evil; demonstrated such by the incarnation and the atonement.
4. Because the wicked prefer hell to heaven, and
5. Because the most vicious people are most opposed to the idea of endless punishment.

The above Dr. Shedd presents as a rational defence of the doctrine of everlasting punishment, which doctrine, he assumes, "must have a foothold in the human reason, or it could not have maintained itself against all the recoil and opposition which it elicits from the human heart."

An unbiassed reader of Dr. Shedd's article would easily discern his sophistry, his false assumptions, his self-contradictions, and his utter failure to prove either the reasonableness or the reality of endless punishment. But so strong a bias has been established by the common habit of presuming that the clergy are wise as well as good and honest as well as wise, and of accepting their professional assertions without question, that the average reader needs to be reminded of some such considerations as the following:—

Long before Dr. Shedd wrote the article in question, he had so pledged himself to his theological connection to hold the doctrine it sets forth and to stick to it and to bolster it up by every means in his power that he is not to be expected to make any other than a partisan statement of it, or to give a moment's recognition to such facts or such reasons as favor the other side. He is not to be expected, in this matter, to act otherwise than the average lawyer in defending his client.

Pretending to account for the fact that great numbers of men believe the doctrine of endless future punishment, Dr. Shedd disingenuously withholds the true and sufficient reason, and substitutes a false one. He says that this doctrine is supported by the human conscience, and that "it must have a foothold in the human reason, or it could not have maintained itself against all the recoil and opposition which it elicits from the human heart."

Instead of "maintaining itself," this doctrine has been maintained by the persistent and unscrupulous representations of men like Dr. Shedd. Its real "foothold" has been in pulpits, creeds, catechisms, sermons, commentaries, tracts, orthodox newspapers, and revival meetings. All the Catholic clergy and nineteen-twentieths of the Protestant ministry have strenuously exerted themselves to teach this doctrine for centuries. What wonder that their parishioners believe it? It is clerical manipulation, and not reason nor conscience, which upholds this doctrine.

But the most noteworthy feature of Dr. Shedd's article is the deficiency or perversion of moral sense, the disregard of ethical considerations, the apparent unconsciousness of any distinction between right and wrong, which he shows through

its whole course. If he had originally the average amount of reason and conscience, these seem to have been fashioned by his orthodox theology into its own image, so that he remains blissfully unconscious of the utterly diabolical character and course of action which his argument ascribes to the Deity.

He assumes "reason and conscience" to teach what he teaches, but their verdict is plainly in the contrary direction. Reason and conscience condemn the father who deliberately kills his child: if he burns him alive, they consider it an aggravation of his guilt; if by magical arts he succeeded in prolonging his child's life for the purpose of prolonging his suffering, reason and conscience would stamp him as abominable and detestable in character as well as action. What, then, would they say of one who should beget children with the intended purpose so to torture them; of one who, having the power, should make their sufferings endless; of one who should prearrange for millions of such burnt-offerings; of one who should assign and inflict this torture as the appropriate and the just penalty for not believing a doctrine unproved, unreasonable, and incredible?

Reason and conscience justify him who said to such a one as Dr. Shedd, "Your God is my devil." What could Satan himself do worse than what this reverend imputes to God? But he imputes the same fiendishness to Jesus also. He who in this life was the friend of sinners, who came to seek and to save that which was lost, is by and by, according to Dr. Shedd, to approve and inflict the cruelties above hinted at, and to turn a deaf ear to the cries of "the lost," more numerous and more wretched there than in his earthly days. And Dr. Shedd does not realize that, if this were true, the character of Jesus would be far less estimable in heaven than it was on earth. He would not only be changed, but be changed unspeakably for the worse.

But these are not the only instances of Dr. Shedd's insensibility to moral distinctions. He does not suspect the absurdity of satisfying justice by punishing the innocent for the guilty, or of holding a criminal guiltless in consequence of the infliction of the penalty due to him upon an innocent person. He does not suspect the absurdity of making a just God continue endlessly to revenge himself for accumulations of guilt after the offender has "become *unable to keep the law*." He does not suspect the absurdity of calling God's *post mortem* law perfect, because it neither seeks nor desires the reformation of the criminal, and calling the present laws of men imperfect because they propose that work, and take some measures to execute it. He does not recognize the absurdity of grouping together as divinely inspired and infallibly correct all the parts of two different collections of documents, written by different persons in different languages, and in different ages, and not only diverse from one another by mutual discrepancy and self-contradiction, but advocating some the one and some the other of two diverse and incompatible religions. He sees no absurdity in assuming that a wise and just God so constituted man as to make his belief dependent on evidence, and then, in the matter most vitally important to him, required belief irrespective of evidence; nay, worse,—required belief of something which, as intelligence advanced, was shown to be more and more disapproved by evidence. And, finally, Dr. Shedd does not see that proved errors in regard to the authorship, the date, or the contents of one of the Scriptural documents impair, in any manner or degree, the duty of believing its infallible correctness or of obeying its injunctions.

C. K. WHIPPLE.

CARLYLE'S RELIGION.

Such a great moral force and intellectual prodigy as Carlyle cannot possibly become hackneyed or without interest as a topic of discussion. His works in volume almost form a literature of themselves. It is true that his behavior in the presence of the inevitable and ordinary ills of life was not at all that of a philosopher, but of one nervously disposed. Still, inwardly in the sanctum sanctorum of his *me*, or conscious spiritual being, he was sunlike, emitting a steady glow and effulgence. There, he was not weak or querulous; but all was life and light and power and buoyant, electric, magnetic, good humor. Carlyle was a Norseman or Teuton as well by genius as by race. When in his lectures entitled "Heroes and Hero-worship" he treated of the hero as god, it was no Greek or Asiatic deity concerning whom he descanted to his audience, but Odin, the chief of the Norse or Scandinavian pantheon. Froude says that even the Scandinavian gods were nearer to him than were the Hebrew. The Norse mythic fountain, Mimir's well, and the world-tree, Yggdrasil, were more sacred to him than Siloa's Brook or Oriental palm.

He spoke of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin theologies and mythologies as "old clothes," which were outworn and out of date for us moderns, and especially for men of Norse or Teutonic descent, with their personal purity, individualism, high moral sense, truthfulness, courage, rationalism, and love of reality, fireside, home, and freedom. It was not for such a race, the imperial race of the modern world, to stoop to borrow its theology or theory of human destiny and the universe from slavish, superstitious, treacherous, comparatively unmanly Asiatics, with their utter subservience to social and theological absolutisms. His contempt for the Asiatic character, as well as his entire disbelief in all alleged supernaturalisms, had much to do with his rejection of the Hebrew and Christian theologies, which were yet inbred in his blood, heart, and brains, as it were, by inheritance from generations of devout Presbyterian ancestors of the "Old Mortality" sort of Scott's famous romance. Thus, he used the phraseology of Hebrews and Christians, while he did not pretend to believe in Hebraism or any of the Christian creeds, he regarding their so-called supernatural revelations as myths or fancies of heated brains. To these, we are told, he greatly preferred, with some German writer on the subject, "the old deep Norse Paganism, with its stalwart energy and self-help, with its stoicism, rugged nobleness, and depth, as of very death to any Christianity now going." It was a dictum of his that men can no longer possibly look at the world and life through old Greek, Hebrew, and Latin spectacles, because at last there is a *modern* world, with an altogether changed outlook and environment of institutions, knowledges, and material apparatus for carrying forward every-day life. Thus, he applauds the practical, rough old father of Frederick the Great for confining his son to a study of the French and German languages as living tongues, in which he was to think and speak, while the dead languages of the Greek and Roman past, as studies, were mere mental and moral rubbish.

Carlyle had a constant and haunting sense of the fleetingness, shadowiness, and spectral nature of our mortal lives. He saw men as ghosts walking the streets, and at times his associates and intimates would become spectral to him, the skeleton and death's head, as it were, becoming visible to his morbid and brooding gaze through the tissue and fleshly integuments of their bodies. Death and eternity seemed to be constantly in his

thoughts, and the environing silence of infinite cosmical space, in which our little planet and our little lives with their inane hubbub are floating like mere specks, bubbles, and motes.

In his journal, under date of July 15, 1835, when he was engaged in writing the *History of the French Revolution*, he records how the terrible scenes of the Revolution seized his imagination, haunting him as he walked the streets. London, too, and its giddy whirl of life, that, too, might become as Paris had been. Ah! and what was it all but a pageant passing from darkness to darkness? "The world" (he said at this time) "looks often quite spectral to me. Sometimes, as in Regent Street the other night, quite hideous, discordant, almost infernal. I had been at Mrs. Austin's, heard Sydney Smith, for the first time, guffawing, other persons prating, jargonizing. To me, through those thin cobwebs, Death and Eternity sate glaring!" Thus was Carlyle of an ascetic, melancholic temperament. At one time, he was fond of reading in that great and voluminous literary monument of mediæval superstition of the Benedictines,—namely, the *Acta Sanctorum*. His graphic sketch, in his *Frederick the Great*, of the Prussian Saint Adalbert was a fruit of this reading. This saint flourished in the last years of the tenth century. Carlyle describes him as "a man of genius, one of Heaven's brightest sons born into the muddy darkness of this world; laid hold of by a transcendent Message in the due transcendent degree. He entered Prag (or Prague) as Bishop, not in a carriage and six, but walking barefoot; his contempt for earthly shadows being always extreme."

Curiously enough, Carlyle believed, with the stern old Romans, that, under certain circumstances of personal uselessness and outwornness and subjection to irretrievable calamity and misery, suicide was no criminal desertion of one's post in life, but a justifiable shuffling off of an intolerable and profitless burden of existence.

With Macbeth, he thought in his prevailing mood of mind that

"Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing."

He had all his life "the child's heart in the man," so that no amount of experience of the varying aspects of every-day life and the phenomenal world could make them seem common and familiar. He wrote of these things as if he was constantly under a sense of "something far more deeply interfused," of some mystic and eternal Reality which was operating without haste or rest and masquerading under the show of sensible things. Thus was he religious in the old and better sense of the word; and thus did he walk with God, as it were, or the Eternal Power behind the veil of sense. As the sea-shell murmured in the child's ear of its native ocean, so nature, or the sensible world of ear and eye, was full of mystical intimations to him of Deity. By "the silences and immensities," of which he so often wrote and spoke, he meant the stillness and boundlessness of the immeasurable night heavens and of cosmical space. "Old Ocean's gray and melancholy waste," with the everlasting monotone of its surf-beaten strand, sounding like the weary moan of endless effort and duration; the elemental operations of Nature in rural solitudes; the alternations of day and night; the mysterious charm and benediction of moonlight in nocturnal street or lonely valley,—these sights and sounds of nature forever witched him with a feeling of awe and fascination, as the masks and sensible manifestations of hidden Deity. Thus, was the All ever and always to him, in whatever environment he might

be of town or country, "godlike or God." Notwithstanding his sceptical, invincibly rationalistic mood of mind with reference to the creeds of Christendom, Mr. Froude says Carlyle was a determined believer in God and immortality. But he complained, in view of the flood of atheism that was pouring in on mankind in his last days, and which he denominated "The Gospel of Dirt," that God did not manifest himself and vindicate his own existence in a sufficiently palpable manner to stay said tide of atheism. Carlyle was a great admirer of the Athenian Stoic philosopher, Zeno, but was yet no Stoic himself. He was evidently annoyed by Emerson's imperturbable cheerfulness, buoyancy, and sunshininess of manner, as if it indicated a superficial nature. It seemed a demeanor essentially "exotic" to him, which a thoughtful man had no right to wear or assume. He petulantly likened his American friend to a smiling gymnosophist sitting on a flowery bank, while he himself was down in the thick and dust of the battle of life, giving and receiving hard knocks and getting badly bruised, to say nothing of broken bones. As if Emerson, with all his gentleness and sunshine of manner, had not had his share of the world's blows and buffets, as a radical come-outer and antagonist of all popular conventionalisms and beliefs! The difference between him and his self-styled master was that the pupil took his punishment smilingly, while Sartor Resartus made an unmanly ado about it. Carlyle was a prophet and religious teacher, because he had an ever-haunting sense of the eternal Reality which moves this phantasmagorical world from behind the veil of its phenomena, sending ever new generations of living beings, both animal and vegetable, to take the place of those which are constantly perishing, and thus weaving forever the mystic web of life without pause or cessation in the roaring loom of Time. Then, too, for Carlyle, the moral law, inexorable and irrevocable, pervaded the universe of conscious life, vindicating itself at all times and in the lives of all men and generations. Mr. Froude says that Carlyle did not think it possible that educated honest men could much longer believe in historic Christianity. "He had been reading the Bible. Half of it seemed to be inspired truth, half of it human illusion." "The prophet says, 'Thus saith the Lord,' 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' Yes, sir. But how if it be not the Lord, but only you who take your own fancies to be the word of the Lord?" And again, "If you are the Lord, you have a right to say so; but, if you are not, you know no more about the matter than I do." "I spoke to him of what he had himself done. Then, as always, he thought little of it. He thought that scientific accountings for the moral sense were all moonshine. Right and wrong in all things, great and small, had been ruled eternally by the Power which made us." Although his inherited creed had crumbled away in the light of his reason and his profound historical knowledge, still it cropped out to the end of his life in all his talk and writings. For it is not in a single lifetime or in one or two generations that an inveterate religious creed of fourteen or fifteen centuries' persistence can be outgrown. The nations of Southern Europe were pagan for thousands of years. Paganism was a structural outgrowth of their mental and moral nature and environment. Nominally, they have been Christian for many centuries; but, at bottom, they are still pagan, as in primitive times. Carlyle, although he was invincibly rational and sceptical, and although he, by his writings and his own confession, had shaken existing creeds as much as any man "in extricating the kernel of truth from the shell in which it was rotting," still, in his

age-weakness, world-weariness, and loneliness, shrank with aversion and exasperation from the general unbelief which confronted him on all hands in England and on the continent. He could not adjust himself to the new world, which was seriously bent on breaking with the creeds and faiths of the past, and was eagerly accepting the conclusions of science and rational thought. He relucted at the spectacle, and reverted, in his talk at least, to his dead mother's spiritual mood. Like Dame Partington with her mop, he vainly tried, with loud and angry denunciation, to sweep back from his threshold the Atlantic flood of unbelief and democracy which was roaring all around him. To add to his exasperation, cranks of the vulgar, atheistic sort insisted on persecuting him with their pamphlets, which he likened to the yell of hyenas exulting at the fact that the universe was nothing but carrion. The ages of faith were indeed gone, never to return; and Carlyle in his old age could not reconcile himself to the fact. At times, he fairly raved about it, and was like "a geyser in his wrath, throwing up columns of steam, boiling water, and stones." In his journal, under date of Nov. 13, 1869, he writes: "The quantities of potential and even consciously increasing atheism, sprouting out everywhere in these days, is enormous. In every scientific or quasi-scientific periodical, one meets it. By the last American mail, I had two eloquent, determined, and calmly zealous declarations of it. In fact, there is clear prophecy to me that in another fifty years it will be the new religion to the whole tribe of hard-hearted, hard-headed men in the world, who for their time bear practical rule in this world's affairs. Not only all Christian churches, but all Christian religions are nodding towards speedy downfall in this Europe that now is. Figure the residuum: man made chemically out of *Urschleim*, or a certain blubber called protoplasm, virtue, duty, utility an association of ideas, and the corollaries from all that. Man descended from the apes or the shell-fish. France is amazingly advanced in that career. England, America, are making still more passionate speed to come up with her, to pass her, and be the vanguard of progress." Thus, it will be seen that Carlyle belonged to his own earlier day and generation by his heart, if not by his head. The new moral and mental world which was emerging into view alarmed him. That is, like Wordsworth:—

"He grew old in an age he condemned, . . .
And, like the Theban seer,
Died in his enemy's day."

And yet he himself had been the mightiest prophet and forerunner of the new time. For consolation, he threw himself back on Pope's "Universal Prayer," as the pious utterance of reverent reason. Like Heine, he reverted to a belief in the historic, personal, anthropomorphic God of Orthodoxy, history, and tradition. Such inconsistency in similar circumstances will mark the careers of many a profound thinker and scientist for a good many years to come, in the weakness of their human nature; for religion is not truth, but a sentiment, a primitive passion and emotion of human nature, an offspring of its weaknesses, hopes, fears, and aspirations. And because it is a sentiment pure and simple, springing outside of the domain of truth and reason, it is useless to argue with it or about it:—

"Still will the old instinct bring back the old names."

It is the attitude of irrational, unscientific, human nature in the presence of the mystery of the universe, and by reason of its own weakness, wretchedness, and perplexity.

In closing a notice of this phase of his nature, the thought will suggest itself that Carlyle was al-

together in too grim earnest with life, or too constantly in a grimly earnest mood. If existence has its dark side, it has its bright, sunny side also. The festal, genial, social emotions are to be cultivated; and he who keeps his bow incessantly bent deprives it at last of its elasticity.

B. W. BALL.

ABOUT A WORD.

It is clear that Mr. Kennedy and I are of one mind, save as we differ about the uses of a word. I am heartily glad to have written anything that should call from him such a definition and declaration of position. What he has said of political democracy cheers and exhilarates me, for I find in it an assurance that our system is coming to be observed by that unbribed, judicial eye whose services it has wanted too long. But now about words. Good words get spoiled, as has happened to "spiritualism" and "socialism." We cannot at once replace them, and cannot very well get on without them. But the mischief is irreparable: a spoiled word can no more be restored to its proper use than an addled egg can be made sound. This is embarrassing, but it is still more so to have in current use and for important purposes a double-faced word. A face may vary in expression without losing its identity, and so a word may have various shades of meaning without prejudice to its proper simplicity. But a word with two faces differing extremely or entirely in character leads to a confusing duplicity of expression that in numbers will make confusion of thought. What is said with one intent is applied to a quite different intent, so that the speaker, however clear in his own mind, can never be quite sure what he is saying to his auditors.

Now, democracy was originally a political term, like monarchy. It meant popular government, the supremacy of the *demos*, *populus*, people. But *demos*, as implicated in this term, even while it retains its strictly political signification, is itself one of the spoiled words. Once, it meant a body of persons or families grown together in an historical and moral unity: now, it means a miscellaneous aggregate of individuals comprised within the limits of a certain territory and living under one government. However, democracy is none the less a political method; that is, a means to such ends as are named in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. And the more strictly it is regarded and judged as such, the more likelihood will there be of getting good out of it. Let it be seen in Bacon's "dry light" as simply a means to an end, and, if it does not work well, men will permit themselves to see the fact, and to inquire why it does not work well. Thus, defects will be supplied, imperfect methods amended, and the best that the system is capable of brought out of it. All this is the more to be desired, since modern democracy is still young. It has a character of its own, quite different from anything that was known in ancient times; and it is still in its green years, with much to learn from experience and much self-correction to undertake. But, at present, we seem under a sort of enchantment. Never was a people so tolerant of shambling inefficiency in its public affairs. Congress does a little good work, with quite as much of inexcusably bad work; but its supreme faculty is that of doing with labor nothing to purpose. It talks, shuffles, plays at party strategy, and huddles up appropriations in the last days or hours of a session. We look on without concern, persuaded that all is well. Why this curious indifference? The secret, as I believe, lies in the fact that democracy is a double-faced word, and that the virtue of the face which really does not belong

to the fact is nevertheless carried over to it to cover all defects and atone for all faults.

The finest characteristic of the modern spirit is its breadth of sympathy, its appreciation of human worth without regard to external conditions. The difference which Mr. Kennedy notes between Homer and Scott in this particular is a real one; and, if I may judge, he does by no means exaggerate its importance. There is nothing else in the modern spirit so large, so generous, so productive and promising as this character, which is also most peculiar to itself. But this character is associated with no political method or opinion. It is as pronounced in Scott, the tory, in Wordsworth, the rigorous conservative, and in Carlyle, the advocate of "one-man power," as in any democrat whatsoever. Goethe was a representative of "intellectual aristocracy"; but where shall we find a more sympathetic appreciation of wholesome, humble life than in his *Hermann and Dorothea*? For this reason, first of all, I do not give the title of democracy to that characteristic of the modern spirit: it declares itself quite independent of political opinion. Why should it have a political title any more than that scientific tendency which is also a characteristic of the modern epoch? Again, Scott draws the figure of Edie Ochiltree, and exhibits worth and dignity of being in a licensed beggar. What reference in this to any *demos*, any body of permanently associated men, or to any *cracy*, any sovereignty, supremacy, or power of rule? I can find none whatever; and, therefore, it seems to me that to apply the term "democracy" here is to make it a double-faced word of the most deceiving sort. The effect is to invest democratic botchwork with a glamour that enchants men and cheats their eyes. Mr. Kennedy cannot be so cheated, but how many can be so and are!

D. A. WASSON.

PREJUDICES OBSTRUCTING THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION.

This is the title of the lecture which Count Goblet d'Alviella gave as the first of his course on the History of Religions, and which is published in the December number of the *Revue de Belgique*. He begins by showing how sadly those who try to teach what the Old Testament really means, like Colenso, Kuenen, and Lenormant, have been hindered by belief in its infallibility. So the study of the heathen religions has to contend against a bigotry which refuses to hear them spoken of, except for the purpose of making them appear inferior to Christianity. Then, again, there is the philosophic prejudice, for instance, of those followers of Comte, who insist that all religions began with fetichism, though history proves this to be rather a late phase of their development. The philosophers of the last century were no more narrow in asserting that all religions were created by priestcraft than are those recent speculators who think that theology is only astronomy. To say that the gods were only deified men is really not much more unscientific than to lump them all together as solar myths or dawn myths or art myths, according to the fancy of different theorists. All these explanations may be of use when taken together, so that each can correct the others; but no one of them is sufficient by itself. Exclusive devotion to any one science—for instance, philology—is often found to blind specialists to the value of other methods of research. And, finally, there is the irreligious prejudice which sees in mythology and theology nothing but rubbish, which ought to be buried out of sight. Those who work in such a spirit must stir up more prejudice than

they can drive away. August Comte used to say, we can destroy only what we replace. We might also say that we can destroy only what we explain.

This maxim of Count d'Alviella ought to be kept in mind in our contest with that implacable foe of free thought, the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant sects we shall sooner or later find working with us, as a growing party in each one of them would be glad to be now. Everywhere there is progress, except in that Church which boasts herself the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The same organization which burned John Huss and Giordano Bruno, carried on the crusades and the inquisition, massacred the Albigenes and Huguenots, is fighting against our free schools to-day. In order to hold our own against her, we must keep in mind the foundation on which she rests. All her growth is not to be ascribed to ignorance, for her origin was in a comparatively enlightened age. What did more than anything else to create her was the popular desire for salvation. The wish to win heaven and escape hell has made men and women distrust their own goodness, and long for supernatural help. Jesus sought to satisfy this want by teaching the sufficiency of faith in himself. The early Church insisted on faith in Christ with an earnestness which inevitably expanded it into belief in the established creeds. Those who expected to be saved by faith naturally tried to believe as much as possible; and the more incredible the creed, the more meritorious its acceptance. As the creeds grew in length and value, the preachers who expounded them found it necessary to organize so firmly as to be able to feel sure that only the orthodox faith was taught. Correct belief was thought necessary for salvation, and bishops and popes had to be empowered to tell people what to believe. This preference of faith to reason checked mental culture, and hastened the general intellectual decline during the early Christian centuries. All inward life, even in the form of faith, seemed less important than outward observances. These had been insisted upon by Judaism and all the heathen religions, as means not only of training mankind in morality, but of propitiating God. The early Church found her converts prone to rely on ceremonies; and, one by one, she incorporated the familiar rites with such changes as were needed to adapt them to her own creed. Thus, her preachers became priests, and their power increased rapidly. The people looked to the creeds and ceremonies of the Church to carry them to heaven, and for a time forgave her oppression and corruption for the sake of her fancied aid. They were like sailors out at sea, who hate their officers, but know there is no safety outside of the ship. It was this reliance on the saving efficacy of the Church which delayed the Reformation for centuries, and which has kept it so nearly within the limits it reached in the sixteenth century. Protestantism has only partly met the difficulty, for regard to its church interests has kept it from teaching man his full capacity to save himself. The best way to meet all ecclesiastical usurpation and extortion is to insist on the ability of ordinary men and women, in happy families and honest business, to work out their own salvation. If we live amid favorable social and domestic influences, we have no right to distrust our capacity to fit ourselves for all the requirements of this life or of any other. If we lack inspiration, we must seek it by improving either our own physical and mental condition or those daily influences which make up our home. What the world needs is not the multiplication of churches, but the elevation of business relations as well as of social and family life.

F. M. HOLLAND.

A REPLY TO THE "CATHOLIC REVIEW."

We mentioned recently the case of a convict in the penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., who feigned insanity, in order that he might get to the hospital and effect an escape. Being extremely violent, threatening, if any one dared approach him, to kill a fellow-prisoner, whom he had clutched by the throat and behind whose body he was shrewdly barricading himself, it occurred to the warden that, since this convict was a Catholic, he might submit to a priest; and, accordingly, he sent for one, who came and soon had the fellow on his knees. A medical examination, made subsequently, showed that the convict was in health, and that his insanity was wholly feigned. We cited this case—not unfairly, we thought—to illustrate that men may believe in theological dogmas and have great reverence for the priest, and yet have no regard for law or the precepts of morality. We expressed the opinion that, if the Catholic Church made morality, as it now makes theological belief, primary in its teachings, it would thereby improve the character of its adherents. We admitted that in a riot or a revolt in a prison the priest was often useful, as he was in the case above mentioned, for the reason that the lower class of Catholics, being the victims of superstition, can be restrained only by its imaginary terrors, and, being in their religious education the creatures of the priest, are submissive to him, when moral appeals have no effect whatever upon them.

Our contemporary, the *Catholic Review*, which has an editorial article in reply to our remarks, takes a different view of the subject. It says: "Where force failed, the influence of religion at once told. . . Obviously, a common-sense comment on such an incident, granting the details to be true, is that the chaplain proved an excellent aid in a grave emergency. It goes to emphasize what we constantly insist on, that prisons and reformatories should be thrown open, at stated times and in accordance with discipline, to the clergymen of such denominations as the prisoner may profess or desire to profess. Well, in the instance cited, logical and atheistic Mr. Underwood only sees another example of 'the bad influence of priestly teaching.' The effect of the priest's expostulation on the raving criminal was not due to reverence for God's minister, but wholly and solely to 'superstition.' And our Boston logician goes on to rave in this fashion: 'The Catholic Church attaches more importance to belief in theological dogmas and in submission to the priest than to the virtues the practice of which is indispensable to character and all-important in conduct.' Of course, it would be absurd to ask this logician for his authority for such a statement."

That the Catholic Church is not indifferent to the moral character of its adherents was freely admitted in the article which the *Review* criticises, but we claimed that it attaches primary importance to faith. This is certainly true. Heresy it regards as the most dangerous sin. Members of the Catholic Church are not excommunicated for lying, theft, drunkenness, robbery, or other crimes; but for heresy they are excommunicated. Without theological belief (except in cases of "invincible ignorance"), the Catholic Church teaches that there can be no salvation. With faith and compliance with the requirements of the Church, whatever offences against morality have been committed, salvation is certain. Do not these facts teach that the Catholic Church makes theological faith primary and morality secondary? The convict above referred to had plenty of faith, although destitute of moral character; and there was no lack of "reverence for God's minister," although it was accom-

panied by no reverence for the moral law, showing that his religious training, and possibly that of his ancestors whose traits he has inherited, received more attention than was given to his and their moral education. Of course, so long as faith and reverence for the priest are of primary importance in the education of Catholics, the priest will be a necessity, and often useful in restraining the lower classes from violence, since the very teachings of the Church make the priestly presence and influence the only means by which these classes of its adherents can be reached. But the theological teachings of the Catholic Church are responsible for that type of character, that combination of faith and fear, that strange mixture of servile superstition and moral savagery represented by the Joliet convict.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SEVERAL colored men, having been refused admission to a skating rink in this city, merely because of their color, very properly brought a suit against the proprietor for damages. In the first cases decided, fifty dollars apiece were awarded the complainants. An appeal was made by the defendant to a higher court, but with no prospect of a reversal of the verdict.

In an exchange, we find quoted from O. B. Frothingham the following paragraph, which, in our opinion, is fairly applicable to the great majority of sectarian journals published in this country:

As a rule, "religious" papers are a reproach to journalism, on account of their unfairness and their rancor, their persistency of misrepresentation and the unswerving constancy of their abuse. Political papers have their seasons of suspended hate, but the ill-will of the religious organ toward its opponents is systematic and continuous. . . . It is the fatality of the Christian pretension under all its forms that it renders impossible reasonable judgment of dissent. The editorial, the comment, the record of intelligence, the book review,—all betray the malignant temper.

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for January, 1884, the latest number but one,—the number for April, 1884, having just been issued,—contains an article by the editor on "Rowland G. Hazard's Works." Dr. Harris does us the honor in this article to quote largely from our notice of Mr. Hazard's latest work, *Man a Creative First Cause*, which appeared in *The Index* of Nov. 8, 1883; and the passages quoted are made the subject of some comments which we have failed to examine in *The Index*, partly because of the purely speculative nature of the subject and partly because of other demands upon our time and space. We may recur to the subject in the near future. We are not strongly impressed with Dr. Harris' reasonings on this subject; but the courteous and generous spirit in which he conducts the discussion must win the respect of all his readers, whether they agree with him or not.

THE Boston *Saturday Gazette*, in a reference to Joseph Cook's last published volume, says: "Here, as in other lectures, Mr. Cook worships at the feet of those who are in accord with him in opinion, and treats those with whom his theories find no favor with lofty scorn and scant courtesy. When he roars, he thinks he is reasoning; and he imagines that, when he strikes an adversary with a bludgeon, he has settled the intellectual point at issue at once. His success is a sensational one in a sensational era. In all his lectures, he has uttered nothing of permanent value that has not been better said by others. He may be looked upon as the apostle of modern bigotry as manifested against intellectual progress, and his theories may be characterized as a mixture of German philosophy

and water. This, his latest book, is a curious jumble of badly digested learning and iron-clad egotism. It will, of course, please his admirers who have learned to regard his words as oracular; but more thoughtful readers, who do not consider a noisy and a wordy statement to be necessarily a truthful and a well-framed argument, will either yawn or smile at the bluster and the conceit of the self-satisfied lecturer."

FROM the *Independent*, we take the following paragraph:—

. . . We point to Christ as the only Saviour, but yet one shrinks from declaring that all those who never heard the name of Jesus are lost. The true state of the case may be given thus: No one can be saved except as he follows Christ, as no one can walk except by the light of the sun. But, as the sun may show one the path before it has become visible above the horizon or when its face is obscured by clouds, so Christ may be followed by those to whose vision his form has never been revealed. As many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God; and men may be following the mind of Christ, not only in the clear sunlight of orthodox theology, but also in the twilight of nature or beneath the thick clouds of superstition and erroneous opinion. God is love, and he who believes in love believes in God. Christ is the truth and the light; and he who loves and follows truth and light and purity and righteousness loves and follows Christ, though the story of the divine Nazarene has never been unfolded to his eyes.

The doctrine that "he who loves and follows truth and light and purity and righteousness," whether or not he believes in or has ever heard of the gospel story of Jesus, will be among the "saved," must no doubt be expressed in some such phraseology as the above, in order to be acceptable to those who have adopted rational views as to the true basis of character and moral merit, but are still subject, more or less, in their ways of thinking and modes of expression to the influence of a theology to which they can no longer give intellectual assent.

OMAR KHAYYAM.

If the Power which made me had asked my leave,
Before it made, to make me,
I would have said: Think what you do,
And don't, if it's all the same to you.
Why make me for Death to break me?
That is to say, what may be me
Is earth, as again it must be:
What is the use of moulding Man
Who is fated to end as he began?
Poor dust, which can only dust be.

But if I must be, give me so much leave
As to say what my mind discloses:
I would have shaped this clay of mine
Into the pitcher that holds the wine
Or into yon bush of roses.

—R. H. Stoddard.

For *The Index*.

TO OMAR KHAYYAM.

Omar, in the six hundred years and more
Since thou first gazed upon the flowery shore
Where dwells the prophet near to Allah's throne,
Hast thou yet learned the heavenly Potter's lore?
The why and how he made some vessels fair,
And graceful some, with decoration rare,
While others poor and plain misshapen urns
Came forth from that same hand: did he not care
That they must bear the stamp he gives away,
That no man's art may give or take away
One hump or wrinkle either more or less,—
Great need each human jar should "gently pray"
For patience and an all-abiding grace
To see in each poor form a heavenly face!
Would thou couldst tell us, Omar, who hast seen
The sacred mysteries of that higher place!

ABBIE FRANCES JUDD.

WESTBORO, MASS.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VII.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF PAUL.

Next to the personality of Jesus, that of Paul is the most interesting and noteworthy in the history of primitive Christianity. Auguste Comte and other students of this history have even assumed for Paul the credit of being the real founder of the Christian religion, regarding the gospel story as a mythical and legendary relation of no historical value. Our previous discussion, however, has prepared us to reject this hasty conclusion, and to assign to Jesus his proper historical position. "In Jesus himself," says Prof. Allen, . . . "there were—besides the indefinable something which resides in personality—at least two elements, one of vast personal force and the other of great historical significance: his intense conception of purely moral truth and of religion as a life, and his equally intense conviction of his calling as the Messiah of the Jews. These were the necessary antecedents of the revolution. . . . But, as soon as the movement widens out beyond the narrow range of a merely personal and local influence, then the life and work of Paul come to be just as essential to any real understanding of it."*

Our only reliable record of the teaching of Paul is found in the genuine Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, which, as we have seen, are the earliest extant Christian writings. The Acts of the Apostles, which in some particulars confirms the testimony of the Epistles, in others distorts or contradicts it, and is therefore of very little historical value in our study of Paul, except as it gives us some information, probably from reliable sources, of his early life and history. The date of its composition is much later than the dates of the Epistles; and its general character is that of a

"tendency writing," the object of which is not so much the dissemination of historical truth as the reconciliation of two conflicting parties, into which, as we shall see hereafter, the early Christian communities came to be divided.

Of the fourteen Epistles attributed to Paul by the current orthodox tradition, all except four—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians—have had their authenticity questioned by able critics. There are unquestionably differences in thought traceable in the earlier and later Epistles; and, in the case of Hebrews, these differences are so marked, and are accompanied by such a notable divergence in style and phraseology, that we are justified in concluding that Paul could not have been its author. With this exception, however, and with the exception also of the Epistles to Timothy* and Titus, and perhaps also Ephesians, the internal evidence would appear stronger in favor of their authenticity than in opposition thereto. The differences of thought observable are no greater than might be expected in the mental progress of a man of the wide experience and great mental activity of Paul.†

The Legend of the Resurrection.

Paul is the earliest witness to the prevalence of the legend of the resurrection of Jesus among his disciples and followers.‡ Since Paul bases his Christian belief and teaching upon this phenomenon as an established fact,§ and since Christendom has accepted it as the foundation stone of its spiritual edifice, it becomes necessary, in our further consideration of the evolution of the early Christian faith, to investigate briefly the evidences of this remarkable occurrence, as presented in the writings of the New Testament. The Triple Tradition says nothing of any miraculous appearance of Jesus after death, nor of his ascension to heaven, the concluding verses of Mark being admittedly a spurious addition to or alteration of the original manuscript. In the account of the oldest Gospel,|| the two Marys and Salome, going to the sepulchre at sunrise on the first day of the week, find the heavy stone rolled away from its entrance, and discover "a young man, . . . clothed in a long white garment," sitting within the sepulchre. He informs them that Jesus is risen, and bids them tell Peter and the other disciples that the Master has gone before them into Galilee, where they shall see him as he had promised.

In Matthew,¶ the "young man in a long white garment" has become "an angel of the Lord," whose "countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow." The two Marys go to the sepulchre, and are addressed by the angel; but no mention is made of Salome. Jesus now appears, first to the women, near the sepulchre, and afterward to the eleven disciples in Galilee. The record of his reappearance is very brief; and it is significantly added, "And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted." This Gospel contains no record of the ascension of Jesus.**

In Luke,†† we find the women, including one

*The Epistle to Timothy is dated "from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana"; but Phrygia was not separated into three divisions, of which Phrygia Pacatiana was one, until the fourth century. See Horne's *Introduction*, ii., 174. The Epistle, however, was of earlier date, though not written by Paul.

†The leading Epistles of Paul were probably written in about the following order: 1, II Thess., about A.D. 52; 2, I Thess., A.D. 53; 3, I Cor., A.D. 57; 4, II Cor., A.D. 57; 5, Gal., A.D. 58; 6, Romans, A.D. 58; 7, Phil., A.D. 62; 8, Col., A.D. 62; 9, Phil., A.D. 63. For a discussion of their authenticity, see Baur, Chadwick (*Bible of To-day*), *Supernatural Religion*, Renan's *Saint Paul*, etc.

‡I. Cor. xv., 3-8; I. Thess. i., 10, etc.

§Ibid., xv., 17.

¶Mark xvi., 1-8.

‡Matt. xxviii.

**On the contrary, the final words, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," would appear to exclude the ascension definitely from the thought of this writer.

††Luke xxiv.

Joanna, not before mentioned, going to the sepulchre as before, but not alone; for "certain others were with them." Instead of a single "young man" or "angel" as in the earlier gospels, we have now "two men in shining garments," who converse, apparently in concert, with the women. Then follows a long and circumstantial account of the appearance of Jesus to the disciples,—not in Galilee, as expressly declared in the earlier Gospels, but at Emmaus near Jerusalem, and afterward in Jerusalem itself. Subsequently, without going to Galilee at all, he parts from them and ascends to heaven from Bethany.

In the Fourth Gospel,* the story is still further altered and exaggerated. Mary Magdalene first discovers the removal of the stone from the sepulchre, and reports it to Peter and John, who run thither in haste. John arrives first, and discovers the sepulchre to be vacant, but with the grave clothes still remaining. In the synoptics, the resurrection is represented as an anticipated event which Jesus himself had prophesied; but here we are informed that Peter and John "as yet knew not the scripture, that he should rise from the dead." The "two men in shining garments" of Luke have here become "two angels in white, the one sitting at the foot and the other at the head of where the body of Jesus had lain." Jesus appears first to Mary and afterward to the disciples, apparently in Jerusalem or the near vicinity, passing mysteriously into their midst, where they sat with closed doors. He shows them his wounded hands and side, and permits doubting Thomas to thrust his finger into the wound. Subsequently, in Galilee, he eats and drinks with the disciples. The Fourth Gospel contains no record of the ascension; but the long and circumstantial account of his reappearances concludes with the remarkable assertion, "There are also many other things that Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."†

The striking and indisputable evidences thus presented in the gospel narratives of the gradual growth and exaggeration of the legend, together with the evident contradictions of the different writers, even were their personalities known and their reliability as witnesses incontestable, would justify us in relegating the entire story to the region of myth and legend, in which there is no substantial basis of actual fact. All that we can rationally infer from these relations is the probability that the sepulchre of Jesus was visited soon after his burial, and discovered to be empty. We can only conjecture in regard to the actual disposition of the body. It may have been removed by friendly hands to prevent the violation of the burial-place by enemies, or by the Roman authorities to thwart the curiosity of the disciples or the inhabitants of the neighboring city. Renan even suggests the theory of a swoon and subsequent resuscitation,‡ noting the fact that the legs were not broken after the body was taken from the cross, as was the custom with crucified malefactors. This hypothesis, however, hardly appears reasonable.

Though the story of the resurrection is thus seen to have no rational foundation, even in the circumstantial accounts of the gospel writers, there

*John xx., xxi. In the Fourth Gospel, Mary does not recognize Jesus when he addresses her, but supposes him to be the gardener; in Luke, the disciples converse with him a long time before they discover his identity,—most improbable circumstances, tending to discredit the entire story.

†John xxi., 25.

‡So also the author of *Supernatural Religion*, who notes that the body remained upon the cross a much shorter time than usual. The question would then rise, however, what became of Jesus after his resuscitation? The difficulties in answering this question consistently with the prevalent belief in a supernatural resurrection are greater than those involved in the other solution.

*Saint Paul, in *Christian History*, vol. i. By Prof. Joseph Henry Allen.

is abundant evidence that the legend obtained very early credence among the disciples and followers of Jesus. Nor is it in any way remarkable that this should be the case. The immediate followers of Jesus were, in the main, a rude, uneducated people, believing in the possibility of all sorts of miraculous occurrences, and especially impressed with the belief in the general resurrection of the just at the advent of the heavenly kingdom. Profoundly influenced by the life and teachings of the Master, confidently regarding him as the expected Messiah of his people, recovering from the first shock of his tragical removal, and informed that his sepulchre had been visited and found vacant,—confirming this assertion, doubtless, with their own vision,—what could be more natural than that the thought should take possession of them that he had risen, becoming, as Paul declares, the “first-fruits”* of the final resurrection? The thought no sooner occurred than it found utterance: “He is risen! He has triumphed over his enemies. He will come again, sustained by the infinite power of the heavenly Father, and complete his work.” If the synoptical tradition is reliable, they had abundant reason for this expectation in the promises of Jesus himself.† It is quite probable, however, that the language here attributed to him had its origin, or suffered material modification, after the belief in the resurrection as an accomplished fact had been generally received among his followers; growing, doubtless, out of some assurance which he had given of the general resurrection at the anticipated advent of the heavenly kingdom.

Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection.

Paul's doctrine of the resurrection, unlike that of the Gospels, did not involve the belief in the resuscitation of the physical body. With him, it presupposed no such reanimation of flesh and blood and bones, of gaping wounds and bodily appetites, as is described to us in the gospel stories. “Flesh and blood,” he declared, “cannot inherit the kingdom of God.”‡ A spiritual body possessing form and substance, doubtless, but of an ethereal nature, and without the fleshly weaknesses and appetites of the present life, was to be the habitation of the soul in the life to come. Paul's conception appears to have been, not that Jesus had been restored bodily to life, but that, in spiritual form, he was “raised from the dead”; that is, that he was released from *sheol*, the resting-place of the dead prior to the general resurrection, and had ascended to paradise, the dwelling-place of God and the angels, whence he would soon return to judge the world and inaugurate the heavenly kingdom.

Paul expressly declares that his own vision of the crucified Jesus was of precisely the same character as that of the other apostles.§ He bases his claim to be an apostle, indeed, upon this fact. From his own account of this vision, we readily gather the conclusion that it was an experience entirely subjective in its character. Paul appears to have had a peculiarly susceptible nervous organization, and to have been subject to visions and ecstasies. This, indeed, he admits and describes, saying of one such experience that he knew not “whether he was in the body or out of the body.”|| The testimony of Paul, therefore, which is the earliest and most reliable testimony to the resurrection of Jesus, appears to be based wholly upon a subjective vision, and cannot be held to substantiate the objective fact of his bodily reanimation and reappearance.

* I. Cor. xv., 20. † Mark ix., 31; Matt. xvii., 23, etc.
‡ I. Cor. xv., 50. Read the entire chapter for a better understanding of Paul's doctrine of the resurrection. Also I. Thess. iv., 13-18.
§ I. Cor. ix., 1; xv., 8; Gal. i., 12, ff. || II. Cor. i., 4.

The Early Life of Paul.

The great Apostle of Christianity to the Gentiles was born at Tarsus, in Cilicia, a province of Asia Minor, about ten years after the commencement of the Christian era, as usually reckoned, or some fourteen years, probably, after the birth of Jesus. His parents were Pharisaic Jews; and they bestowed upon him the name of Saul, after the first king of united Israel. He was brought up, as he declares, “after the strictest sect of the Pharisees.” His education was doubtless superior to that of any of the immediate disciples of Jesus. Among his teachers was the celebrated Rabbi Gamaliel. His writings give evidence of some acquaintance with the Greek poets, and to a greater and notable degree with the Platonic philosophy as well as with the Hebrew Scriptures. Paul's familiarity with the philosophy of Plato has often been recognized, and has recently been made the subject of an interesting essay by Dr. Alexander Wilder, one of our most indefatigable students of ancient philosophy and the Oriental religions.* An able orthodox scholar, Rev. Dr. Storrs, also recognized this fact, incidentally, in a late address, in which he asserted of Saint Augustine that a passage from Cicero led him to Plato, thence naturally to Paul, and thence to the study of the Christian religion.†

The parents of Saul had acquired the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, either as *libertini*, or emancipated slaves, or for some special service rendered the Roman State. In accordance with a prevalent Jewish custom, which required that every youth should be instructed in some useful art, Saul learned that of tent-making; or rather, probably, the weaving of the coarse cloth called “cilicia,”—from the name of his native province,—of which tents and sails were usually made.

The description of his personal appearance can hardly be better given than in the words of Prof. Allen: “Paul, then, according to the legends, was a man little of stature,—under five feet high, they say,—high-shouldered, beetle-browed, with head bent forward, his beard and hair at middle life of an iron gray; his brow wide, his face thin, his eye deep and somewhat sad; the dark eye, the marked features, we may suppose, of the strong Jewish type. His bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible,—so his enemies said. That his speech was hesitating and slow, when not aroused, we may believe easily enough. It was so with Demosthenes; it was so with Mahomet, who, next to Paul, has shown the most burning and effective eloquence of the Semitic race, and in whom, like Paul, that barrier of hesitation gave way on occasion to a hot flood of eager and passionate words, that stirred great floods of popular conviction.”‡

His Advocacy of Judaism: Hebrew Proselytes.

Brought up after the strictest tradition of the Hebrew formalists, he doubtless early became a propagandist of his faith, and a vigorous opponent, not merely of alien religions, but more especially of those false brethren of his own religion who had departed from the faith of their fathers. The Jews of this period, already scattered in diverse quarters of the world, had begun to make proselytes from among the heathen peoples who surrounded them, and were thus extending their faith beyond the boundaries of the Hebrew race. These proselytes, when received into full communion, were circumcised and fulfilled all the ceremonial observances enjoined by the law. Others became partial converts, accepting the Hebrew

* *Paul and Plato*, by Prof. Alexander Wilder.
† Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, in address at anniversary of the Union for Christian Work, Brooklyn, N.Y.
‡ *Christian History*, vol. i.

doctrine of the unity of God, abjuring idolatry, and sometimes attending worship at the synagogues, but without consenting to the rite of circumcision or binding themselves to the minute observances of Pharisaic ritualism. These partial converts to Judaism were termed “proselytes of the gate.” Many of them became early converts to the Christian faith, and differences soon arose between them and those followers of Jesus who were also strict observers of the law.

Stephen's Martyrdom: The Conversion of Saul.

Stephen, one of the earliest martyrs of the new religion, was a Greek-speaking Jew,—the leader of the Hellenic or liberal party in the Christian community before Paul's conversion, as opposed to the mass of the Jews and to the stricter sect of Judaizing Christians. Already, we find the germs of a division of the advocates of the new religion into conflicting parties according to their original status as Jews or Pagans,—a breach which, as we shall see hereafter, ultimately widened into an almost fatal schism. Heretofore, the Christians had been popularly and justly regarded merely as a sect of the Jews,—the sect of the fulfilled Messiahship. “Christianity,” says Dean Milman, “as yet was but an extended Judaism: it was preached by Jews, it was addressed to Jews, it was limited, national, exclusive.”* But with the conversion of “proselytes of the gate,” and of heathen who had never adopted the Jewish faith, a new element, and for the time a troublesome one, was introduced into the infant community. Stephen, a leader or representative of this element, accused of violating the law of Moses in favor of the Hellenists, was stoned to death according to the provisions of that law, Saul withholding and consenting to his martyrdom.†

Fanatic though he was, however, there was doubtless something in this scene—in the nobility and heroism of the martyr—which touched the heart and conscience of the Hebrew propagandist. While travelling toward Damascus, soon after, with the purpose of continuing there the work of purifying the religion of his people by the persecution of its enemies, he saw around him a blinding light, beheld a vision of the crucified Jesus, and became conscious of the peculiar subjective experience which led to his conversion. He entered Damascus, no longer the advocate of Pharisaic Judaism, but a disciple of the Prophet of Nazareth.‡

At what time he signalized his change of faith by substituting the Greek name Paul or Paulus for his original Hebrew designation, we are not informed. He probably assumed the new name soon after his conversion, perhaps at the time of his baptism. It has been thought by some that he adopted it from that of Sergius Paulus,§ the Roman pro-consul of Cyprus, a place visited by Paul early in his missionary career. Sergius Paulus was a man of liberal and enlightened mind, a friend and protector of the Christians, though he was never baptized into the new faith. “Paulus,” however, was a sort of “nickname” in use among the Greeks and Greek-speaking Romans, meaning “the little”; and it may have been first applied to Saul in derision, and finally adopted by him in humble recognition of his insignificant size and appearance.

Paul's Missionary Labors: His Relation to the older Apostles.

About three years elapsed after Paul's conversion before he began his remarkable career as a Christian missionary.|| More than half this time was spent in Arabia; the balance, we know not where,—except that he returned, first, to Damas-

* *History of Christianity*. † Acts vii., viii.
‡ Compare Gal. i., 11-16, with the story of Saul's conversion in Acts ix., 1-9.
§ See Acts xiii., 7. || Gal. i., 18.

cus,*—or in what manner he occupied himself. Doubtless, he was to some degree an invalid during this period; and it is probable that he also felt the necessity of acquainting himself further with the doctrines and traditions of the new faith before he appeared as its public advocate. This period of retirement was perhaps in part devoted to solitary meditation, as was the custom with philosophers and the teachers of religion.

The limits of this discussion will not permit us to follow Paul through all the details of his remarkable career as an advocate of Christianity. After this period of retirement, he visited Peter and James at Jerusalem,† but apparently received little encouragement from them in his new labor. It is not remarkable that the older apostles should hesitate to give full credence to the honesty of purpose of their old-time persecutor, especially as they regarded his claim to be an apostle—a claim which he based, not upon their commission, but upon his own alleged communication with the risen Saviour—as a false and indefensible pretence which conflicted with their proper authority as the chosen companions and representatives of Jesus. Paul made another brief visit to Jerusalem fourteen years later‡ for the purpose of declaring his gospel and maintaining the rights of the Grecian and non-Jewish converts. He also met Peter once at Antioch; but, beyond this, he appears to have had little intercourse with the personal followers of Jesus.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A REPLY TO MR. ANNET.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* for January 15, Mr. Peter Annet takes exception to my statement of Herbert Spencer's views and asks for my authority. I thought that the quotations given, which were in Mr. Spencer's own words, made the matter plain; but Mr. Annet's comments show the need of a fuller statement.

He first objects to my saying that Spencer is an idealist, and asserts that "Mr. Spencer is anxious that he shall be clear from these accusations." It would be interesting to know what his authority is for this assertion of Mr. Spencer's wishes, as I do not find any such expression in his published works. Before quoting Mr. Spencer's own printed statement of his views, let me say that I did not use the word "idealism" in the narrow meaning given it by Stewart, of disbelief in the existence of matter. In that sense, Mr. Spencer is not an idealist; and I doubt whether any man of note is. I used the word in the meaning given it by Hamilton and most other modern writers, according to which materialism is the denial that there is anything but matter. Idealism is the assertion that, underlying all material phenomena, is an ideal noumenon, the infinite and absolute creative power; and Positivism is willing neither to assert nor deny the existence of anything beyond matter, leaving the question wholly negative and blank. In this sense of the word, Mr. Spencer's position is very clear. He does not hold that we can comprehend the Infinite Substance. Very few idealists do. But, in his *First Principles*, p. 551, he says: "We saw that the belief in a Power of which no limit in time or space can be conceived is that fundamental element in religion which survives all its changes of form. We saw that all philosophies avowedly or tacitly recognize this same ultimate truth; that, while the relativist rightly repudiates those definite assertions which the absolutist makes respecting existence transcending perception, he is yet at last compelled to unite with him in predicating existence transcending perception." On p. 110, he calls it the Creative Power; and, on p. 109, he does not deny for it personality, but says the choice is "between personality and something higher." In the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1884, p. 12, he says, "Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that he [man] is ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." In

the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1884, p. 5, he says of that philosophy which limits itself to phenomena: "I have in more than one place and in the most emphatic way declined thus to commit intellectual suicide. So far from regarding that which transcends phenomena as the all-nothingness, I regard it as the All-being." In the very passage which Mr. Annet cites to prove the opposite, from Spencer's last essay (reprinted in *Popular Science* for January, 1885), he says, "We are obliged to be conscious of a reality behind appearances," and "the existence of that which is beyond the phenomena is a necessary datum alike of our thoughts and our words." This view Mr. Spencer has often repeated, and it is difficult to see how he could have expressed the fundamental notion of idealism more clearly. It is true that he has attacked some minor idealist notions, but his essential harmony with the idealist basis is none the less clear.

Mr. Annet thinks that I made a wrongful charge against Mr. Spencer of dickerings with Christianity, because I said that his views approach more nearly to it than the negative views of a large part of his followers. It still seems to me that a positive belief in an Infinite Absolute Substance, a psychic and creative Energy, through which and in which all things exist, is a long step in religious belief beyond those who limit themselves to phenomena, and refuse to go beneath them, as very many evolutionists certainly do. In the *July Nineteenth Century*, p. 6, Mr. Spencer says, "Our consciousness of the Absolute is not negative, but positive," and that he brings "science into sympathy with religion"; and, on pp. 24-25: "I held at the outset and continue to hold that this Inscrutable Existence which science in the last resort is compelled to recognize as unreachd by its deepest analyses of matter, motion, thought, and feeling, stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by theology; and . . . this Reality transcending appearance, . . . standing toward the universe and toward ourselves in the same relation as an anthropomorphic creator was supposed to stand, bears a like relation with it, not only to human thought, but to human feeling. . . . And there must ever survive those [sentiments] which are appropriate to a Power that is omnipresent." The whole purpose of Mr. Spencer's first book on the Unknowable was the reconciliation of religion and science on this basis, and he has never departed from it. That a philosophy which is based on the intuition of an Infinite Creative Being concerning whom "our ideas of possible and impossible are irrelevant," a belief which "has a higher warrant than any other whatsoever," is capable of development into a basis for an orthodox creed, is a suggestion of my own, which is warranted, I think, by Mansel's work. Mr. Annet's incredulous inquiry for my authority for attributing to Spencer "a spiritualistic interpretation of the universe" is easily answered. On p. 10 of the *January Nineteenth Century*, and again on p. 5 of the *July* essay, he will see that Mr. Spencer expressly acknowledges "rather a spiritualistic than a materialistic aspect to the universe."

There are one or two minor points that deserve notice. Mr. Annet thinks that I was wrong in saying that the last few months have done not a little to exhibit Spencer's philosophy in a new light. This is not important enough to differ about; and I will only say that the *Nineteenth Century* articles from which I have quoted aroused quite a storm of comment in England, where people are more interested in philosophy than they are here. And not only Mr. Harrison, but Sir James Stephen, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, and a number of anonymous writers, joined in the discussion; without showing, I admit, that these later sayings of Mr. Spencer's are anything more than a natural development of the principles originally laid down by him. Why Mr. Annet should say that "Frederic Harrison has formulated the doctrine enunciated by Mr. Holland," I cannot guess. It is surely the most unaccountable of all the statements in his letter. It is no discredit to follow the lead of so able a writer as Harrison; but, unfortunately, he took a position not only different, but almost irreconcilable with mine. The whole point of his attack was that Spencer's religion of the Unknowable was not a religion at all, while the point of my essay was that it was capable of being developed into a basis for a religious creed. Where Mr. Annet found the resemblance is beyond my comprehension.

One other remark, and I have done. I do not think that I deserved the fling at the end of Mr. Annet's letter, about disproving things which Mr. Spencer did not say; for I did not attempt to disprove anything in that article. I doubt the possibility of disproving idealism or any other great philosophy in a short newspaper article. I simply stated Mr. Spencer's position in his own words.

HENRY W. HOLLAND.

ERRONEOUS STATISTICS CONSIDERED AS A MEANS OF GRACE.

Editors of The Index:—

The *Christian Union* first published, nearly a year ago, a distorted and erroneous mass of false statistics concerning the ratio which the cost of spirituous liquors bears to other articles of consumption. The prohibitionists distributed the erroneous statement broadcast over the country in the late campaign; and, in the form of a paragraph, it appears in the correspondence of *The Index*, as follows:—

The *Farmer's Union* contains the following article:—

Viewed from merely an economical stand-point, the consumption of intoxicating liquors is a national evil of such gigantic proportions as few people fully realize. Some interesting statistics, recently gathered, show the amounts expended annually by the people of this country for some staple articles of use to be as follows:—

Bread.....	\$505,000,000
Meat.....	303,000,000
Sugar and Molasses.....	155,000,000
Public Instruction.....	85,000,000
Missions.....	5,000,000
Intoxicating liquors.....	\$200,000,000

Here the story is told. Hard times, indeed, when the worse than useless expense for intoxicants is about \$100,000,000 more than the expense of the nation for bread and meat. And look at the utterly insignificant expenses for public instruction and for missions. Away with the accursed thing from the face of the earth!

No intemperance is more to be dreaded than the intemperate zeal for righteousness which misrepresents facts and propagates errors, in order to redeem mankind from sin with a more violent jerk than the actual truth is adequate to impart.

The figures concerning meat consumption are, in fact, merely the total product of the meat-packing houses, as it is given in the census, and cover only therefore about one-sixth the actual meat consumption of the country.

The original author of the statement could not call out honestly from the census the mere figures of the meat-packing houses, and not know in his heart that they represent but a small total compared with all the meat supplies furnished by the 76,241 butchers of the United States, to say nothing of the meat supply killed and consumed on the farms on which it is grown, and the poultry and game supplies which never pass through a packing-house. Here, therefore, is a saint who deliberately sets out to pervert facts in the cause of temperance. We have too many such bogus reformers. The figures given as the total annual meat consumption for 51,500,000 people in the above statement are \$303,000,000, or say \$5 per capita per year, or 10 cents per head per week. Whereas, in all cities, the cost of actual meat consumption in a family is about \$1 per head per week, or ten times the sum stated in this reformatory gospel of deceit. The \$303,000,000, therefore, should be multiplied by at least seven or eight, to bring them to the truth. The consumption of bread, groceries, and vegetables combined costs about half or two-thirds as much as the consumption of meat. The two together, therefore, would amount to about \$3,300,000,000 per year, or a third the gross estimated earnings of industry by the census, and about five times the actual expenditure for liquors. As to the figures for liquors, they represent the amount received by the retailers from the consumers of liquors annually to be \$900,000,000. The census shows that the amount which the retailers pay the brewers and distillers annually for these liquors is \$142,122,048. Of course, the difference—namely, \$757,878,952—would be the annual gross profits of the retailers, if the estimated figures given by the "reformers" are true. The total number of persons among whom these profits are distributed is also shown by the census to be as follows:—

Traders and dealers in liquors and wines.....	13,500
Saloon keepers and bar tenders.....	68,461
Hotel keepers.....	32,543

Total..... 114,404

Dividing up the total alleged profits of the retailers

*Gal. 1.

†Gal. 1, 18, 19.

‡Gal. 11, 1.

among these 114,404 persons, we find it furnishes them a gross average salary of \$8,618.67, out of which a very small margin, say of \$618 per annum each, will probably pay their rent of "saloon," taxes, and insurance. This implies that the average pecuniary inducement to become a liquor-seller is far greater than to enter any other kind of business involving so little capital and so few qualifications. Reformers should remember that there are a large number of young and old men in the country who make their choice of occupations largely with reference to the probable profits they will be able to win in them. As human nature is constituted, it may well be doubted whether any very large number of men would be deterred from going into the liquor traffic by showing them that in it the most inferior talents, the very lightest toil, and the humblest talents are rewarded with an average income of \$8,000 per year, or \$160 per week, or \$23 per day,—a compensation far larger than awaits the average physician, lawyer, editor, or clergyman, or even the average merchant, manufacturer, or railroad man. When we consider that the average compensation paid to the 156,007 officers, clerks, and employees of the fifty-four railways reporting to the Illinois Railway Commissioners is only \$525.14 per annum, it will at once be seen what a tempting bait the reformers hold out to young men to keep out of the railway business and go into the liquor business, when they show to them that in the latter the average reward of comparative idleness and safety is sixteen times as great as in the former awaits both incessant industry and constant danger. The figures for public instruction and missions are alone correct. Those for sugar and molasses are near enough for practical and ethical purposes.

VAN BUREN DENSLOW.

CHICAGO, Jan. 24, 1885.

MR. ALLEN PRINGLE writes from Selby, Ontario: "In your last issue, a correspondent, W. T. Cheney, asks for information as to the working of prohibition in places where it has been or is being tried. As one source of the information he desires, I beg to refer your correspondent to an excellent paper on the subject in a late issue of the *Popular Science Monthly*, showing the condition of Maine under prohibition. Not having the numbers of the *Monthly* before me, I cannot say what particular one contains the article. Permit me to add that all who desire to keep up with the science and advanced thought of these progressive times ought to read the *Popular Science Monthly*. Without being dry or technical in matters of science, it is authoritative and yet practical and popular. In giving the results of modern thought in all departments, it is ingenuous and fearless."

BOOK NOTICES.

POEMS OF SIDNEY LANIER. Edited by his Wife, with a Memorial by William Haves Ward. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. Price \$2.50.

Our slightly outgrown belief in the beneficial effect of the harsh discipline of adversity and suffering upon mind and character is somewhat revived by what seem to us some of the results of the late unhappy war in this country. A section so rich in natural resources as the South, with a servant race to do all its drudgery offers conditions which at first glance seem to be favorable, by giving leisure and pleasant environments, to intellectual effort and inspiration,—but, on the contrary, the apparent effect was to encourage mental apathy as well as physical indolence, since before the war there was no strong evidence of any distinctly Southern literary genius, inventive faculty, or business talent, none at least so unmistakable as that shown by the less favored North. The war, which once seemed like a very "frowning Providence," now begins to show its "smiling face" of prophecy for the best good possible for the Southern people, and through them for humanity at large, by having made exertion and effort in all directions necessary to continued existence, and thus arousing the dormant intellectual as well as business energies. These thoughts are suggested by the volume of poems by Sidney Lanier. Previous to the war there were but few Southern writers of eminence in the world of letters, and some of these are still writing; but, within the last twenty years, the South has given evidence of its awakening genius in the splendid literary ability, purely Southern in tone, of such novelists as George Cable, Charles Egbert Craddock, Joel Harris, the author of the "Uncle Remus" stories, and such a

poet as Sidney Lanier. For the first time in its history, the South is being faithfully portrayed by its own loving offspring in a manner of which it may well be proud. Lanier, in the passionate, vivid opening poem, "Sunrise," in "The Marshes of Glinn," "Song of the Chattahoochee," "From the Flats," "Tampa Robins," "A Florida Sunday," "Nine from Eight," "Corn," and many others, depicts phases of Southern life and scenery in word paintings that are strong, well-defined, poetic, and unique. In the brief Memoir which prefaces this volume, we read that it was his aim in his dual devotion to music and to poetry to ally one with the other; and he has so far succeeded that many of his poems haunt the reader's brain after reading, like some half-forgotten strain in music. His own life was a poetic tragedy. Gifted, ambitious, brave, high-souled, a patriotic Southern soldier at twenty, for months a prisoner of war, a tender husband, son, brother, and father, held to life by many affectional chains, his life, for the most part, was one long, desperate fight against disease and death. It was, however, a manly, courageous struggle; and, when he found himself at the last vanquished, he yielded to the inevitable with a chivalrous, knightly grace as noble as his resistance had been.

The temptation to quote from this rich storehouse of thought jewels in their rich poetic setting is strong, but must be resisted from lack of space; but the reader will find in the poems "Sunrise," "The Revenge of Hamish," "Corn," "The Symphony," "Acknowledgment," "Remonstrance," "How Love looked for Hell," and "The Psalm of the West," sufficient to repay him for the purchase of the whole volume.

S. A. U.

DADDY DARWIN'S DOVECOT. A Country Tale. By Juliana Horatia Ewing, author of *Jackanapes*, etc. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885. Price 35 cts.

The "Daddy Darwin" of this story, though he may be a distant relative of the Darwin,—for the writer explains that Darwin is "an old standard" English name,—has nothing in common with the great naturalist except his love for and observation of the ways of the pigeon family. It is, nevertheless, a very pleasantly told though not exciting story, dealing with the fortunes of an honest and bright-natured English pauper lad, who won the old miser Daddy Darwin's regard, and became heir to his savings and the "dovecot." The charm of the story lies more in the author's way of telling it than in its incidents.

THE STORY HOUR: For Children and Youth. By Susan H. Wixon, author of *Apples of Gold*, *All in a Lifetime*, etc. New York: Truth Seeker Company. Price \$1.25.

This is a collection of between thirty and forty short, pleasant stories of child-life, each "pointing a moral" free from theological bias. All the stories are original, and written by Miss Wixon, who seems to be a true lover of the little ones. These stories are accompanied by nearly one hundred beautiful illustrations, many of them full-page pictures. The book is nicely printed in large, clear type, and is handsomely bound. It is dedicated to the memory of the author's little niece, whose portrait adorns the first page.

PROF. THOMSON, in the February *Popular Science Monthly*, in "The Sight and Hearing of Railway Employés," described the system of tests that has been adopted by the Pennsylvania Railway, which has added vastly to the efficiency of the railway service and the security of passengers. In "The Larger Import of Scientific Education," Major Powell claims preference for such education, because it gives the highest mental culture, is a training in mental integrity and an education in charity. In "Evolution and the Destiny of Man," Mr. W. D. Le Sueur ably reviews Prof. Fiske's book on that subject from the agnostic point of view. Prof. H. P. Armsby, of Wisconsin, contributes a paper carefully defining the conditions essential to make "Field Experiments in Agriculture" successful and instructive. Lucy M. Hall, M.D., offers some observations on the "Physical Training of Girls." Dr. von Pettenkofer writes on "Cholera: Its Home and its Travels." Dr. Cl. T. Campbell presents some interesting figures from the statistics of the Odd Fellows, bearing on the subject of "Sick-rates and Death-rates." Other articles worthy of attention are M. Lucas' curious illustrated paper on "Calculating Machines"; Grant Allen's pungent observations on "Food and Feeding"; Warnford

Locke's practical paper on "Sulphur and its Extraction," with illustrations of apparatus; M. Antoine de Saporta's "Properties and Constitution of Sea Water"; Mattieu Williams' monthly instalment of "The Chemistry of Cookery"; and Mr. Placzek's attempt to solve the problem "Why Birds sing." The portrait and sketch are of Sir David Brewster, whose life as there delineated must have been very happy as well as busy and useful. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 50 cts. a number, \$5 a year.

THE *Atlantic* for February opens with "A Marsh Island." This instalment of the story is a delightful series of pictures of the country and country folk, and in it Miss Jewett is at her very best. Mr. Craddock's "Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains" is continued. A striking episode also occurs in Mrs. Oliphant's "Country Gentleman"; and, in fact, all three of the *Atlantic* serials which began in January are exceedingly interesting. Among the most important articles of a more solid nature are an account of the revival of interest in antique sculpture after the neglect of the Dark Ages, by William Shields Liscomb, under the title of "The Quest for the Grail of Ancient Art"; a second paper on Madame Mohl's Salon; and a clever article of a semi-critical nature on "Vernon Lee," by Harriet W. Preston. Dr. Holmes' charming papers are continued; and, although he says that "The New Portfolio" is not yet opened, it is hard to see how it could be more delightful, if it were. Bradford Torrey contributes a pleasant paper on "Winter Birds about Boston." "A Sheaf of Sonnets," by Helen Gray Cone, and verses by Edith Thomas and E. R. Sill, complete the poetry of this issue; while a crisp and pungent criticism of "Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife," reviews of "Montcalm and Wolfe," and of other volumes, together with the usual Books of the Month and the Contributors' Club, complete an excellent number. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE February *Wide Awake*, in addition to its numerous beautiful and appropriate illustrations, has stories written by Charles Egbert Craddock, Jane Andrews, Edwin D. Mead, Anna Eichberg, Elbridge S. Brooks, Abbie M. Gannett, and Lizzie W. Champney; poems from Hezekiah Butterworth, Dora Read Goodale, Clara Doty Bates, Eleanor Lewis, Clara Louise Burnham, Abby Morton Diaz, "M. E. B.," C. Copeland, and George MacDonald; and other articles from Yan Phou Lee, the Chinaman, Julian B. Arnold, Margaret Bertha Wright, F. E. Saville, Rose Kingsley, Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, Sarah W. Whitman, Harry W. Tyler, Prof. A. B. Palmer, Oscar Fay Adams, and Edward Everett Hale. Published by D. Lothrop & Co., Franklin Street.

FREDERICK W. FREER, whose paintings are fair representations of progressive American art, has designed two ideal heads, brunette and blonde, which have been reproduced on satin by L. Prang & Co., and will be published as valentines. There is a growing tendency to accept, as missives of this kind, genuine art productions in place of the exaggerated representations of Cupid and his victims, which once appealed to popular taste. In the same way, the comic valentines of the past are represented to-day by humorous but artistic productions from the brush of well-known artists, as F. S. Church, Harry Beard, etc.

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October 20.

SCIENTIFIC LECTURES.

PETER ANNET, of England, who lectured very acceptably before the Parker Memorial Science Class on two Sundays recently, will lecture for societies on Astronomy, Geology, Zoölogy, and philosophical subjects, within an easy radius of Boston, upon application. For terms, etc., address

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A CONFERENCE on the disestablishment of the Church of England will meet in London next month.

Says the *Springfield Republican*: "Chili has discarded the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the State, and has announced perfect liberty to all forms of the Christian faith. The oath of the president at his accession to office no longer binds him to the support of the 'Roman Apostolic Catholic Religion.'"

At the recent convention of the Canadian Free Thinkers' Association, now changed to the American Secular Union, held at Toronto, Mr. J. Ick Evans was re-elected president, and Mr. J. A. Risser and R. B. Butland secretaries. The following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the conduct of the customs collectors at Toronto and Montreal in seizing the works of Thomas Paine and other secular publications is contrary to every principle of free and enlightened government, and calculated to lower the standing of Canada in the eyes of the civilized world as a bigoted and non-progressive community."

PRESIDENT BASCOM, of Wisconsin State University, is the author of an article on Inspiration in the *New Englander* for January, which is criticised severely by orthodox papers. The Presbyterian *Banner* has this to say: "The Christian people of Wisconsin are to be commiserated for having a man at the head of their State institution who proclaims such views with respect to the inspiration of the word of God. But what shall we say of Yale College, where Prof. Ladd, of the theological department, teaches and publishes just about the same thing? It is difficult to see how Christian parents can consistently place their sons under such influence."

ENGLISH papers mention the recent death of Dr. Edward Evans, of London, in his ninety-seventh year. The *Christian Life* (London) says: "He retained an unimpaired memory of events covering a great part of a century; and his kind and

genial manner, and the pleasure he had in imparting information about past times and occurrences, gave very much satisfaction to his many friends. He continued to be a reader—and a learner, as he said—to his very last day." Dr. Evans had been many years deeply interested in political and religious liberalism, and we take pleasure in stating that he was a reader and supporter of *The Index* up to the last weeks of his life.

ON the 3d inst., St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church at Hartford, Conn., celebrated the feast of St. Blase, the patron of health. "The church," says a report which we find in one of our daily papers, "was packed, it having been announced that those desiring it could have their throats blessed at mass as a preventive of diphtheria, pneumonia, and kindred diseases. Father Hughes and two assistants first knelt in silent prayer, and then requested the people in turn to approach the altar. The priests repeated the invocation to the patron saint, and, with two lighted candles held in the form of a cross, touched the throat of each person, who also repeated the prayer."

COMMENTING on Bishop Potter's letter explaining that the vow administered by him to two young men is the same substantially as that taken by every woman who joins a sisterhood, the *Christian Register* sensibly remarks: "Nevertheless, he totally fails to demonstrate what advantage such vows confer upon two earnest Episcopalians above those enjoyed by hundreds of equally self-denying missionaries who labor among the poor without taking unnatural vows or connecting themselves with an artificial order. So far from celibacy being a help in this work, we believe that a young man of equal ability and earnestness, blessed with a good wife devoted to the same cause, can do far more good among the poor than could any two young men who take the vow of celibacy."

A FRIEND writes from New York: "Prof. Thomas Davidson is inaugurating a series of Sunday afternoon lectures in New York, having for their ultimate aim the formation of a new society or church. It is unnecessary to say that these lectures will deal with problems of the deepest interest to thinkers. As an introduction to the course, Prof. Davidson gave a *résumé* of the influences and experiences which have led to his present convictions, and in his first lecture explained the scope and functions of a church. In the second (delivered last Sunday), he dwelt upon the conflict between science and religion, and pointed out why this antagonism had necessarily existed in the past and appeared so inevitable in the present, and yet how utterly irreconcilable it is with the true spirit of pure religion and pure science."

THE Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had a conference at Dennisport, Mass., January 31. Representatives were present from Boston, Brockton, North Plymouth, Plainville, Fall River, and New Bedford, Mass., and Providence and Little Compton, R.I. Their reports showed the church to be "in a healthy state,

with an increase of membership during the year. There were more calls for preachers than could be supplied." Mr. F. A. Potter, of Providence, presided; and there was speaking by elders W. H. Kelley and E. L. Kelley of Kirtland, Ohio, M. H. Bond of Michigan, and John Smith of New Bedford. One of the elders writes: "The speakers manifested much earnestness; and the audiences, which numbered several hundred at each service, appreciated the instruction which was given for their good. Sabbath morning was held a testimony meeting, which was marked by the power and gifts of the Spirit mentioned by Paul in I. Cor. xii. and Eph. iv. The spirit of peace, union, and good will prevailed during the entire conference."

REV. DR. J. P. NEWMAN lately gave a lecture in San Francisco on "The Seven Bibles of the World." He made the surprising statement that all scholars agree as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and as to the claim that Moses lived 1500 B.C. He declared that the Hebrew Bible is the oldest of all sacred books, and made a number of astonishingly reckless statements in regard to the date and character of Chinese, Indian, and Egyptian literature. The lecture, which was reported in the San Francisco papers, called out a reply in the *San Francisco Daily Post* from Mr. William Emmett Coleman, who for several years has made the subjects treated a special study. Mr. Coleman showed that Dr. Newman's lecture consisted mainly of perversions of the truth, and that he possessed neither the scholarship nor the fairness to do justice to the subject. He showed by quotations and references that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has been abandoned by many of the most eminent scholars and theologians; that they generally agree that large portions of it could not have been written by Moses; that the best scholarship of all countries has accepted the Exodus as occurring near 1300 B.C.; that even the orthodox Rawlinson puts it no earlier than 1350; that the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, or chapters of it, as is known from inscriptions on monuments, were in use fourteen dynasties before Moses, and dates back at least 1200 before the Jewish law-giver. Dr. Newman having said that the oldest Chinese record is 1100 B.C. and that the Chinese had no written language in 1600 B.C., Mr. Coleman quotes from Prof. Legge's latest work that there are Chinese documents written more than 2000 years B.C., and, from another work by the same author, that writing began in China as far back as 5000 years ago. Dr. Newman had even said that the Chinese had no existence 2000 B.C., at which time Abraham was a "prince, a Christian, and a general"! Mr. Coleman's exposure of Dr. Newman's numerous mistakes and misrepresentations was so obvious and complete that the latter attempted a defence. It was extremely weak; but it gave Mr. Coleman an opportunity to go into the subject a little more fully, and to support his criticism by an array of arguments and authorities which do credit to him as a scholar, while they leave the "Rev. Dr." Newman in a most unenviable position before the public whom he had attempted to instruct.

DR. HOLMES' LIMITATION AS EMERSON'S BIOGRAPHER.

Dr. Holmes, of course, has given us a very readable memoir of Emerson. He could scarcely write anything that would not be readable so long as he retains his characteristic wit and mental vivacity. But, if Dr. Holmes' reputation as a literary man had to rest on his artistic skill in writing biography, as shown in this volume, we fear his fame would be short-lived. The book, however, must be judged from the point of view of the series to which it belongs,—the "American Men of Letters" series. Its size for this reason was limited, and its purpose evidently pretty closely confined to delineating Emerson as a man of letters. Looking at the work thus, as the view given by one eminent literary man of America's most eminent literary man, the memoir is full of interest and, in general, may be satisfying. The chapter on Emerson as a poet seems most complete of all. This, it is plain, was written *con amore*. Dr. Holmes does not debar himself, by any such purely technical definitions of poetry as Matthew Arnold fettered himself with, from placing Emerson among the greatest and most inspiring poets.

But, with all its merits as a presentation of the literary career of Emerson, Dr. Holmes' book, since it attempts at least to touch all sides of its subject's character, betrays certain limitations in its author, which not a little mar his work as a general portraiture. Dr. Holmes has so many virtues that he can afford to have it said that he has never shown himself specially interested in social and religious reform. In religious views, he has progressed with the years as a Unitarian, but always as a Unitarian. He has never seen the need of any larger freedom than that denomination has allowed, never felt any constraining impulse of conscience to break over its—in Boston—eminently respectable bounds. So, with regard to social and political questions, Dr. Holmes has always had a safe and reputable regard for the metes and measures of public opinion that may chance at any time to exist. In his own person, he has probably never known the necessity of espousing an unpopular cause for the sake of a sentiment of justice or for securing the righting of a social wrong. On these accounts, Dr. Holmes is incapacitated for fully understanding and appreciating that moral instinct in Emerson's nature which, from the day he left the pulpit because he could no longer conscientiously administer the communion service to the end of his life, led him to take the side of any persecuted truth, of any cause or individual that represented imperilled freedom of thought, of any oppressed minority struggling for their withheld rights. He had that innate moral chivalry which took him without a question to the defence of the weak and the wronged. He was therefore to be found at certain public meetings, and was interested in objects, of which Dr. Holmes knew nothing except by hearsay or by the highly colored reports of a hostile press. This characteristic of Emerson was so marked that any biography of him that treats it slightly is fatally defective.

Yet it is at this point that the special defect in Dr. Holmes' memoir appears. Not acquainted through personal knowledge or sympathy with this side of Emerson's character, he could not do it justice; and hence, in speaking of it at all, he has done, though unwittingly, the distinguished subject of his memoir a great injustice. He has represented Emerson's relation to social and religious reform as too much like his own,—that is, as that of an amiable and humorous critic rather than as an earnest believer and helper. It seems as if, out

of the very love and admiration which Emerson had won from his own heart, Holmes were trying to make his career acceptable to the average opinion of Harvard College and of Beacon Street a generation ago, when Webster was Boston's idol and the anti-slavery cause was still under ban. He thus appears almost as the apologist for what was most heroic in Emerson's character. He speaks of him as "never identified with the abolitionists," passes over very lightly his relation to New England Transcendentalism, and dwells upon the fact that he saw the weaknesses of special reforms and the foibles of many individual reformers, until his sympathy with them is almost lost sight of.

The *New York Nation*, in its review of the book, points out this defect in respect to the anti-slavery agitation and the Transcendental movement, and says, "In both cases there is an obvious lack of personal knowledge, not filled by any assiduous inquiry." And it instances one statement as showing not only a hasty and prejudiced opinion, but unpardonable carelessness about ascertaining the facts. Dr. Holmes says of Emerson's most elaborate address on slavery,—that given at Concord, Aug. 1, 1844,—that it "would not have satisfied the abolitionists." The writer in the *Nation* says that, by going into the Boston Public Library and consulting a file of the *Liberator* for 1844, he would have seen that the other speakers at the meeting "were of the strictest sect of abolitionists," and that they unanimously desired the address for publication; and, further, that Garrison, after editorially mentioning these facts, added, "All who were at the meeting, so far as we have seen, concur in praising the address as a most satisfactory performance." It would seem, then, that "the abolitionists" were satisfied with this address. Wendell Phillips, in particular, it is said, was so much satisfied with it that he kept for years a supply on hand for special distribution.

A similar false coloring of facts, caused by want of sympathy with Emerson's position as a reformer, we notice in Dr. Holmes' brief mention of the address which Emerson made at the meeting when the Free Religious Association was organized. A few sentences, not continuous, from the close of Emerson's remarks upon that occasion are quoted thus: "What I expected to find here was some practical suggestions by which we were to reanimate and reorganize for ourselves the true church, the pure worship. Pure doctrine always bears fruit in pure benefits. It is only by good works, it is only on the basis of active duty, that worship finds expression.—The interests that grow out of a meeting like this should bind us with new strength to the old eternal duties." This extract Dr. Holmes prefaces with the statement that "nothing could be more wholesome in a meeting of creed-killers than these suggestive remarks." Creed-killing is sometimes an excellent thing, as Dr. Holmes himself will bear witness, when Calvinism is in question. But, by this little sentence concerning that large gathering of earnest men and women,—which from any one but a man of Dr. Holmes' genial amiability we should call a slurring sentence,—the impression is thrown out that it was a convention of mere destructives, whom Emerson criticised more than he endorsed. If Dr. Holmes had read the whole story of that meeting, he would have seen that these remarks were in entire keeping with its general spirit and tenor, and that such suggestions and the actions consequent upon them are not unfamiliar to the class of people who assemble at Free Religious conventions. Moreover, between the sentences which Dr. Holmes quoted were others which he omitted, wherein Emerson, after expressing the wish that "the various beneficent

institutions, which are springing up like joyful plants of wholesomeness all over this country, should all be remembered as within the sphere" of the new organization, added the significant sentence, "Almost all of them are represented here." Emerson's opinion, therefore, of this meeting, and of the Free Religious Association which followed it,—of which, contrary to his usual custom, he became at once a member and allowed himself to be elected one of the vice-presidents as long as he lived,—was quite different from the opinion held by Dr. Holmes.

Other illustrations of the want of sympathetic appreciation on the part of Dr. Holmes for some of the distinguishing traits of Emerson's character might be found. The defect is a serious blemish in an otherwise valuable contribution to the *Emerson Biographica*. The life of the Concord philosopher is being written piecemeal. When the complete biographer comes, he will see and show that this serene, scholarly philosopher, so fond of his books and meditations and living so thoroughly in the spirit, was yet one of the leading heroic reformers of this nineteenth century; a man of too large view not to see and note the limitations of special reformers, and too optimistic in his philosophy to feel that the world's salvation depended on carrying one reform; not, indeed, a reformer by profession and vocation; yet coming continually from his study and his books to plead for every cause of human rights and for every advance in liberty for mind or body which have specially marked the middle half of this century; and, more than all, teaching on platform and in book the key-note of all reform, that the order of nature, in mind and in matter, is a greater and diviner revelation and safer guide than any miracle.

WM. J. POTTER.

CARLYLE'S POLITICS.

Carlyle was himself a peasant by birth, but a peasant of an exceptionally and generally intelligent race. Thus it was that in times of business depression he deeply sympathized with the sufferings, privations, and scanty fare of the poor toilers of the class to which he himself belonged by birth; and thus it was that his indignation was profoundly stirred against the rotten and iniquitous social and industrial systems of European countries. He regarded those systems as surely doomed as there is a providential and retributive Justice, which makes itself manifest in the affairs of the world, to the discomfiture and overthrow of injustice and oppression. In his *Past and Present* and *Latter Day Pamphlets*, he denounced the British industrial system of his time as making of the poor laborer a worse slave than were Gurth and Wamba, the born thralls of Saxon thanes in feudal times. For the honest toiler, at whatever kind of labor, he entertained the utmost respect and compassion. *Per contra*, for moneyed and aristocratic do-nothings, his copious vocabulary of contempt and scorn exhausted itself in terms of denunciation. Idleness and uselessness, however gilded and splendidly environed and privileged, could never dazzle him in the least. The famous Latin epitaph in *Sartor Resartus*, which was written by Teufelsdröckh for a deceased Count Zährdarm, Imperial Councillor, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and black vulture, and which recounts how many thousands of partridges the deceased nobleman had shot in the course of his sublunar career, and how many tens of thousand pounds of food of various sorts he and his attendants and servants, two-footed and four-footed, had succeeded in converting into stercoraceous matter, *haud sine*

tumultu, is in the true vein of Swiftian humor and satire. Now, resting from his labor, concludes the epitaph, his works do follow him. If you seek his monument, behold a dunghill.

But, while Carlyle regarded the old aristocratic caste system of Europe as iniquitous and destined to overthrow, he was no believer in democracy, or majority rule, or elective ballot-box politics. While sympathizing with the immense mass of men in their sorrows, privations, and bootless toils, he still regarded them, according to Mr. Froude, as "poor creatures, poor in heart and intellect, incapable of making any progress at all if left to their own devices, though with a natural loyalty, if not distracted into self-conceit, to those who were wiser and better than themselves. He believed that every advance which humanity had made was due to special individuals supremely gifted in mind and character, whom Providence sent among them at favored epochs." Thus, Carlyle agreed in effect with the old Greek philosopher Plato and his pupil Aristotle, who divided mankind into two classes; namely, the naturally wise, intellectual, and rational, on the one hand, and the naturally irrational, anarchic, and foolish, on the other, the latter class of course constituting the immense majority of the race. Thus, the rational few, by the very appointment of Nature, were the rulers of the stupid and semi-bestial many, who were destitute almost entirely of the regulative or imperial faculty of reason, and grovelled downward in slavery to their animal appetites and baser lower propensities. Cicero somewhere compares the *plebs* of Rome to a furious wild beast. By ancient poets and philosophers alike, the masses, the multitude, were designated as profane, ignoble, turbulent, unreasoning, fickle, creatures of impulse, habit, and prejudice, without steadfastness or elevation of purpose. Homer, the primitive poet, calls majority rule bad. And Aristotle says that, as individual despots have their flatterers and parasites, so the multitude, where its will is the law, have demagogues and smooth-tongued orators to eulogize it, while they seek power and pelf at its hands. Modern men of genius, illustrious poets and thinkers, disgusted with the frivolity, fickleness, perversity, sordidness, stupidity, and animalism of the populace, have been equally uncomplimentary to it. Milton was a stern republican in sentiment; but he puts in his *Paradise Regained* the following words into the mouth of the Saviour:—

"What the people but a herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and, well weighed, scarce worth the praise?
They praise and they admire they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extolled,
To live upon their tongues and be their talk,
Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise?
His lot who dares, he singularly good."

Shakspeare, through the mouth of Coriolanus, pours contempt upon the many-headed throng. Even our own gentle Emerson, who so hated all oppression even of the lowest of his race, and who was a sturdy champion of self-government, speaks of enormous populations of the illiterate, vulgar sort as resembling "moving cheese," or cheese alive with maggots,—*"the more, the worse."* He calls certain races *"the guano-races."* *"Masses!"* exclaims he: *"the calamity is the masses. I do not wish any shovel-handed, narrow-brained, gin-drinking mass at all."* Again, he says, *"The worst of charity is that the lives you are asked to preserve are not worth preserving."* And Emerson was, like Milton, an ardent republican; but his ideal population was such as existed in New England fifty years ago, when there was an intelligent, homogeneous, well-to-do, independent yeomanry, and no extreme wealth or poverty. But, as for an

ignorant populace and proletariat, he evidently had no respect for it or belief in its fitness for self-government, any more than his friend Carlyle had. But, after all that can be said in derision of the people and in denial of their capacity to govern themselves, are they not the crude, raw material out of which have hitherto sprung the world's ablest, wisest, and best? Carlyle himself was by birth one of the people, and so were Luther and Shakspeare. All the elements of mental and moral greatness, then, exist in a crude, undeveloped state in the masses. The civilization of the Grecian and Roman past was exclusive, a caste civilization purely. Humanity, as a whole, was not taken into account by it. Mankind were divided by it into patricians and plebeians.

Labor, of all kinds, was servile. War and politics were the pursuits of the few, so far as leadership was concerned. Feudalism and the old régime in Europe regarded and treated the masses as they had been treated in the pagan past. At length, in the nineteenth century of the vulgar era, we have a new, modern, *popular* civilization, which is bringing the masses to the front, and accustoming them to the assertion and exercise of their social and political rights as *men*, as beings born upon the high plane of reason, thought, will, and feeling, whatever their material circumstances and perversities may be. It is a new, a great departure; but no step backward will be taken, whatever temporary discouragements may happen to cloud the social and political prospects of the multitude. There is infinite time ahead for the evolution of *"the rascal rabble"* or the lowest of the low at last into rational, thoughtful, self-governing men and women. For, as I have said, current civilization is truly popular. It is a universal light-spreader and knowledge-diffuser. The amelioration of the mental, moral, and material condition of the masses has begun; and it will go on from century to century, until the brutishness, ignorance, and poverty of the past shall have been eliminated from human society everywhere. Time, in the course of thousands and millions of years, has been, as we learn from geology and prehistoric investigation, a miraculous transformer of men and things. With time enough, almost any kind of metamorphosis can be accomplished, physical, social, or political. We as yet stand on the threshold of the historic period. As Emerson truly says, *"Geology, a science of forty or fifty summers, has had the effect to throw an air of novelty and mushroom speed over entire history. The oldest empires,—what we called venerable antiquity,—now that we have true measures of duration, show like creations of yesterday."* Go back far enough, and we find the human race, with all its capabilities of indefinite development, dwelling in caves, hairy, prognathous, repulsive, and anthropoid. So say the evolutionists. While gazing at pictorial representations of the primitive *homo* or cave-dweller, we can hardly see how by any possibility of derivation the noble men and beautiful women of the highest civilizations of the last twenty or thirty centuries could have emanated from such a hideous source. In like manner, a thousand years hence, majority rule may have given place to no rule at all in the absence of the necessity of any repressive government, each man spontaneously respecting every other man's rights. What the few have been and are in mental and moral elevation, all men, in the lapse of thousands of years, may become. Barbarism will then have become extinct; and the more and more deeply contriving brain will have made bone, muscle, and animalism of no account or use. The distance from the present to such a social consummation is not so great as it is from the cave-dwellers to

the best specimens of the best races of to-day. Fifty years ago, the people of New England of that date had solved the problem of social and political equality for an entire community successfully, or with sufficient success to show that it is soluble. Ignorance and extreme poverty were unknown, and there was no proletariat here. We had then become, in fact, an ideal community. But the ignorance and poverty which our ancestors of that date had nearly banished from their limits were soon imported from foreign communities, the mass of whose people are still sunk in the social misery and superstition of the past. Thus, we were put to the task of combing and washing and disciplining the poor of Europe to thrift, intelligence, and the business of self-government. It has proved a thankless job, but it will be accomplished. Meantime, the great West is covered with other and larger New Englands, so that New England civilization, popular education and popular rule, are secure, and becoming ever mightier social forces, though the original New England should be submerged beneath a foreign proletariat.

B. W. BALL.

WOMAN AND SCEPTICISM.

The National Woman's Suffrage Association, which demands full suffrage for women to be guaranteed by enactments of both branches of Congress, held its seventeenth annual convention in Washington, D.C., on the 20th, 21st, and 22d of January. The attendance was large, the interest lively, and the harmony undisturbed, until, near the close of the convention, somebody introduced the following startling and boldly radical resolutions:—

Whereas the dogmas incorporated in religious creeds derived from Judaism, teaching that woman was an afterthought in creation, her sex a misfortune, marriage a condition of subordination, and maternity a curse, are contrary to the law of God as revealed in nature and the precepts of Christ; and

Whereas these dogmas are an insidious poison, sapping the vitality of our civilization, blighting woman, and laying their palsying hand upon humanity,—therefore,

Resolved, That we denounce these dogmas wherever they are enunciated, and we will withdraw our personal support from any organization or person so holding and teaching; and

Resolved, That we call upon the Christian ministry, as leaders of thought, to teach and enforce the fundamental idea of creation,—that man was made in the image of God, male and female, and given equal dominion over the earth, but none over each other. And, further, we invite their co-operation in securing the recognition of the cardinal point of our creed, that in true religion there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free, but all are one.

"These arraignments," says the Springfield *Republican*, "gave rise to a lively discussion, in which a woman exculpated Judaism from responsibility for the degradation of women. A minister followed suit, and also defended early Christianity; and an Episcopalian layman declared that—until the Church, Catholic, Episcopal, or Methodist, recognized the right of women to be made bishops and to ordain others to the ministry—the work of equality can never be accomplished. This last speaker had found the pulpit a centre of opposition to woman suffrage; and, later, it was arraigned as a stumbling-block in the way of temperance. But, finally, Mrs. Stanton made a rousing speech, not at all calculated to conciliate people in the churches; for she declared that 'every form of religion that has breathed upon this earth has degraded women.'" The discussion of the resolutions was finally laid over, to be taken up at the next annual meeting,—a wise movement, since the knowledge that such discussion is pending will call

the attention of women to the subject, and they will therefore give some study to it, and be better prepared next year either to defend the resolutions or to bring proof of their unwarrantedness.

Though partly based on truth, these resolutions are, it seems to me, rather unfortunately worded; for the implication conveyed in the opening sentence, that Judaism is alone responsible for the dogmas which "teach that woman was an after-thought," etc., cannot, I think, fairly be maintained. Certainly, the dogmas that woman's sex is "a misfortune, marriage a condition of subordination, and maternity a curse," so far as taught in the Bible at all, are as much a part of the teachings of the New Testament as of the Old. It should be remembered, also, that the "fundamental idea," which the resolutions call upon the Christian ministry to "teach" and "enforce," is, unquestionably, "derived from Judaism"; while it is evident that the passage referred to as "the cardinal point of our creed"—i.e., "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus"—was only intended to be accepted in a spiritual sense, since the context declares this equality to be true only of those who have been "baptized unto Christ." These words of Paul were never intended to touch the secular relations of Christian society, and were never accepted by Christianity as part of its social system; for, except in this spiritual equality through baptism "unto Christ," the Jew remained a Jew, the Greek remained Greek, the enslaved remained in bondage, and male and female retained their respective characteristics and unequal social position. The implication, therefore, in these resolutions that this passage of Scripture was intended to assert the equal social and political rights of men and women here and now is not true, for such equality is opposed to the direct teachings of the New Testament as well as to those of the Old; and the Christian ministry cannot consistently, so long as they hold to the authority of the Bible, "teach" or "enforce" the idea of woman's equality with man, when the New Testament contains such clear and emphatic statements on the subject as are contained in the following passages and in many others like them:—

For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man. (I. Cor. xi., 7, 8, 9.)

Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore, as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything. (Eph. v., 22, 23, 24.)

Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression. Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in child-bearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety. (I. Tim. ii., 11-15.)

Although the discussion of the resolutions was laid over for a year by the women who introduced them, yet the press and people have continued their discussion ever since. In so far, the result of their introduction has been good. One of the tendencies of this public discussion has been to stir up orthodox circles to more or less vigorous protest against the resolutions and the woman's movement.

On the Sunday following the adjournment of the convention, Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., Presi-

dent of the Howard University, preached a sermon on "Woman and Scepticism" in a Congregational church in Washington, taking for his text John xix., 25. The suffrage women who were present, and the journalists who reported his sermon, seem, somehow, to have misapprehended him; for they reported him as having "advanced the proposition that, so soon as women depart from their natural sphere, they become atheistical and immoral." He was accused in the Washington papers of having referred in a condemnatory manner to Hypatia, Madame Roland, Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, Harriet Martineau, Frances Power Cobbe, and George Eliot. But it appears from an explanatory letter, written by him to the *Woman's Journal*, that his hearers wholly misunderstood and misrepresented him; for he declares he did not attack or even mention Woman Suffrage in his discourse. "My position was," he says, "that, when women rush into scepticism, they forsake their best friend and defence,—Jesus Christ and his gospel,—and expose themselves to the most dangerous influences. And this I proved by a multitude of sad facts in the history of the connection of women with scepticism." He declares that he "uttered not a word against the morals of either" Hypatia, Madame Roland, Harriet Martineau, or Frances Power Cobbe. He further says: "The discourse was a defence and glorification of woman in her high moral and religious nature and in her devotion to the gospel, which has so elevated her according to three sceptical witnesses whom I quoted,—to wit, Lecky, Maine, and Renan. Of course, it correspondingly warned her of the dangers arising from sceptical influences."

Although, it seems a little singular that the several distinguished women suffragists present, who listened to this "defence and glorification of woman," should have become so indignant at his utterances that two of them, renowned for the advocacy of the rights of their sex and understood to be always happy to listen to any "defence" of it, felt themselves called upon to express to him personally at the close of the sermon their regret and indignation at his words, yet it seems only fair to believe the Rev. Doctor's own statement.

But I am at a loss to know, since he "uttered not a word against the morals" of those illustrious and gifted benefactresses of our race, to whom he made reference, in what way he made use of their names to illustrate the "multitude of sad facts in the history of the connection of women with scepticism," by which he proved "that, when women rush into scepticism, they forsake their best friend and defence,—Jesus Christ and his gospel."

If Dr. Patton had carefully read the history of those women, he would have known that not one of that noble group whose names he used as illustrative of the evil tendencies of scepticism ever "rushed" into that condition of thought. They were each and all in their youth devoutly religious; and their scepticism was the result of years of intense study, earnest thought, painful investigation, and sincere conviction,—a conviction to which they were as truly devoted as any of those girl-martyrs of whom we read in the early history of the Christian Church were to their faith.

There were no doubt "sad facts" in the story of the lives of some of these women, as there are in the history of all human souls who devote their lives to noble aims and high pursuits. "Sad facts" mark even the lives of the most devout women. If Dr. Patton doubts this, let him read the authentic portions of the lives of the Christian female saints. Are there not "sad facts" to be found in the stories of such religious enthusiasts as Joan

of Arc, of Queen Mary of England, of Mother Ann Lee, of Madame Guyon, and of Catherine de Medici?

Dr. Patton says he quoted from "Lecky, Maine, and Renan" in support of his position, that the gospel has elevated woman. It is doubtless true that these writers give due credit to Christianity in certain of its aspects in its relation to human progress, but it is not probable that these writers claim, as among the causes of woman's progress, the theological teachings of the Bible respecting woman; and I doubt whether the following passages from Lecky and Maine were among those quoted by the reverend gentleman on the occasion of his most notable sermon. Mr. Lecky—in describing the influence of the doctrine of the inferiority of woman, and that through her sin came into the world, which is certainly a part of the New Testament teachings—says:—

Woman was represented as the door of hell, as the mother of all human ills. She should be ashamed of the very thought that she is a woman! She should live in continual penance on account of the curses she had brought upon the world. She should be ashamed of her dress, for it is the memorial of her fall. She should especially be ashamed of her beauty, for it is the most potent instrument of the demon. . . . Women were even forbidden by a provincial council, in the sixth century, on account of their impurity, to receive the eucharist in their naked hands. Their essentially subordinate position was continually maintained.

It is probable that this teaching had its part in determining the principles of legislation concerning the sex. The pagan laws during the Empire had been continually repealing the old disabilities of women; and the legislative movement in their favor continued with unabated force from Constantine to Justinian, and appeared also in some of the early laws of the barbarians. But, in the whole feudal legislation, women were placed in a much lower legal position than in the pagan Empire. In addition to the personal restrictions which grew necessarily out of the Catholic Christian doctrines concerning divorce, and the subordination of the weaker sex, we find numerous and stringent enactments, which rendered it impossible for women to succeed to any considerable amount of property, and which almost reduced them to the alternative of marriage or a nunnery. The complete inferiority of the sex was continually maintained by law; and that generous public opinion which in Rome had frequently revolted against the injustice done to girls, in depriving them of the greater part of the inheritance of their fathers, totally disappeared. Wherever the canon law has been the basis of legislation, we find laws of succession sacrificing the interests of daughters and of wives, and a state of public opinion which has been formed and regulated by these laws; nor was any serious attempt made to abolish them till the close of the last century. The French Revolutionists, though rejecting the proposal of Sleyès and Condorcet to accord political emancipation to women, established at least an equal succession of sons and daughters, and thus initiated a great reformation of both law and opinion, which sooner or later must traverse the world. (Lecky's *Hist. Morals*, vol. ii., pp. 357-359.)

"No society," says Maine, "which preserves any tincture of Christian institutions is likely to restore to married women the personal liberty conferred on them by the middle Roman law." (*Ancient Law*, p. 158.)

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THE BROTHERS GRIMM.

This Sunday morning, January 4, the fine hall of the University of Berlin was the scene of an impressive celebration. It is the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jacob Grimm; and his brother Wilhelm, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth comes next year (February 25), was included in the homage. The noble faces and busts of the Brothers Grimm—partners in one great service, made professors of this university at the same time (1840, by Friedrich Wilhelm IV.)

The Index.

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

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE term "sweetness and light" did not originate with Matthew Arnold. Dean Swift, in *The Battle of the Books*, compares the ancient and the modern writers as follows: "The difference is that, instead of dirt and poison, we have rather chosen to fill our hives with honey and wax, thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest of things, which are sweetness and light."—*The Critic*.

R. HEBER NEWTON observes: "Men there are who can admire the plea of reason when urged five hundred years ago, but who now call such a test of truth rationalism; who swear by the heretics of yesterday, and swear at the heretics of to-day; who do homage to the right of private judgment as exercised by Luther, but who would silence it as exercised in our churches to-day."

It is a singular coincidence that Mr. H. G. Atkinson, whose name has again been so prominently brought forward in the recent controversy about the life of Harriet Martineau, died on Sunday, December 8, at Boulogne, where he had resided since the year 1870. He was one of the very earliest contributors to the *National Reformer*, and was a prolific writer for every journal belonging to any shade of advanced free thought. He was a devoted admirer of Bacon, and many years ago was specially prominent for his part in the famous Atkinson-Martineau letters.—*London Inquirer*.

SINCE the *Commonwealth* is pleased to refer to us repeatedly as "the sub-editor of *The Index*," it may be well to state for its information that our position on this paper is not and never has been that of a "sub-editor" in any respect whatever. *The Index* is under a joint editorship, in which the two editors have equal voice and authority in its editorial management; and the individual responsibility of each for what appears in the paper is clearly stated in the prospectus. The abuse of us and *The Index* by the *Commonwealth* is so silly in its spiteful feebleness that it does not rise even

—welcomed the audience from amid their bower of evergreens. The Faculty were present in their robes; and many other distinguished men were present, among them some of exalted position, the Crown Prince being there of course, for he rarely fails to pay homage to literary men. The university choir, composed of students, sang finely.

A fine review, which is to be printed, of the life and labors of the Brothers was read by Prof. Schoerer, who fills the chair of philology, in which he showed that Jacob and Wilhelm were patriarchs of all exact and scientific study in philology and mythology. It was pleasant to see in the audience two more "Brothers Grimm," sons of Wilhelm, the one a Regierungsrath, the other, Herman, professor of literature, well known to the world by his noble works on Michel Angelo, Albert Dürer, and Goethe (whose friend Bettina's daughter, Gisela, he married), and especially dear to Americans for his two beautiful essays on Emerson, the latter written since Emerson's death. Herman Grimm studied English in order to read Emerson, as Emerson studied German in order to read Goethe. Unfortunately, however, he cannot speak the language he has learned to read so well; and, when—twelve years ago—he met Emerson at Florence, he could only listen. He has told me that Emerson remains to him the unique man of his time; and, in my opinion, Herman Grimm is the only European who has ever been able to understand or appreciate the genius or spirit of Emerson. I cannot help feeling that such appreciation of the great New World thinker by a man brought up amid studies of the immemorial and legendary past is in itself a sign of the liberalizing tendencies which lay in the discoveries of the Brothers Grimm. Emerson remarked how many useful hints Goethe, though "a modern of the moderns," had given to the archaeologists; and the converse is equally true,—there are no better promotives of free thought than the explorers of ancient thought, especially as embodied in tradition and mythology. To have shown that the good and evil fairies of folklore are the gods and demons of a mighty religion, diminished in size and performance by relegation to the hut and the nursery, is a discovery by the Brothers, which points out their inevitable fate to the imposing deities and devils of our time who have not yet reached their fairy phase. Grimms' *Fairy Tales* have gone round the world, and with them have been sown seeds of scepticism, little suspected by many of the parents who have presented the charming volume to their little ones.

Which reminds me of a story told by Wilhelm Grimm to a friend, which will be new to your readers. One day, a little girl, bearing a book in her hand, sounded the bell at the door of the Brothers, and asked to see "Mr. Grimm." Wilhelm having seen her, the following colloquy occurred: "Are you the Mr. Grimm who wrote the pretty tales?" "Yes, I and my brother." "And about the clever little tailor who married the princess?" "Yes, certainly." "Well," said the child, producing the book and opening at a certain page, "it stands here that every one who doesn't believe it must pay him a thaler. Now, I don't believe a princess ever married a tailor. I haven't so much as a thaler yet; but I have brought a groschen, and please tell him I hope to get the rest by and by." Whereupon, she laid the silver groschen on the table. Just then, Jacob came up, and the brothers had an interesting interview with the little dame; but they could not persuade her to take back with her the silver groschen.

The tributes which the Brothers received from children were many; and, had each been represented by a silver groschen, the sum would have

been considerable. Interesting as the occasion of this morning was, a better celebration can be easily imagined, wherein multitudes of children should gather to witness representations and tableaux of Grimms' *Fairy Tales*. Unfortunately, among the Christmas pantomimes and spectacles of the Berlin theatres, this season none of the German tales have been included. However, I do not know that this is to be deplored, if the heroes and heroines of our childhood are liable to be paraded in caricature here, as they are in the English pantomimes. At the present moment, in the largest theatre of Berlin, Lucifer is one of the characters in a play called "Sulphurina." He is used as a fairly respectable fairy, working evil. That is one step toward properly placing some figures of popular faith. They can never be understood if they are ridiculed. The mantle of the Brothers Grimm, who treated folklore with as much sympathy as learning, does not appear to have fallen on any one in Germany or elsewhere. They have not even a folklore society, such as that which flourishes in England. But in the coming university of civilization there will be a professor of fairy tales and folklore; and there will be no want of materials at his hand, thanks to the as yet but half-recognized labors of those dear Brothers. It was pleasant to hear the student Männerchor to-day, after the address of the philologist, with their prophetic hymn:—

"Der Samen edler Lehren trägt
Ein Sturmwind Gottes übers Reich der Manen
Auf Lebensflügeln fort und legt
Ihn nieder, wo's die Lehrer selbst nicht ahnen.
"Wer sich dem Dienst der Wahrheit weiht
Dess Werk lebt fort, und wurd' er auch vergessen;
Die Saat bringt Frucht, die er gestreut,
Der Menschheit Erbe wird, was er besessen.
"Doch wenn's durch Gelsteskraft geglickt
Auf neuen Pfad die Leuchte vorzutragen,
Der Irt der Zeiten Strom entrückt,
Es glänzt sein Name noch in späten Tagen."

M. D. CONWAY.

REFERRING to the work of the Commission for the investigation of Spiritualism, appointed under the will of Henry Seybert, who left \$60,000 to establish a chair of mental philosophy, subject to the condition that the phenomena of Spiritualism should be thoroughly examined, the *Springfield Republican* says: "Seybert was a dupe of the Blisses and the Katie King sensation which so abused the confidence of that excellent man, the late Robert Dale Owen; but the exposure of the humbugs to which he had given implicit credence did not shake his faith in the reality of spirit communication, any more than it did that of Mr. Owen. The Commission appointed to carry out his intentions have already been visited by several of the most noted mediums in the country, who have been paid liberally for their services; and the latest of these is Dr. Henry Slade, who has just concluded a series of what are called 'remarkable manifestations' before the Commission. Slade is a very able man in his profession; but he is not always conscientious, as many who have had private sessions with him know. The magician Heller has contracted with the Seybert Commission to duplicate everything Slade has shown them, and to reveal to them after he has done it his whole mode of operation. The inquiry into mediumship will without a doubt bring to light a deal of trickery, which those who believe in the agency of spirits commonly explain by one of two hypotheses: that the medium, when his power is deficient, resorts to trickery to counterfeit the genuine effects; or that malicious spirits interfere to injure the medium's reputation. Perhaps the scientific investigators may be able to distinguish fraud from fact."

to the level of our contempt. A paper whose editorial columns are open to anonymous vindictive assaults upon a journal and an editor by one who makes pretended criticism a mere pretext for gratifying feelings of personal ill-will and revenge is so far below the standard of fair and honorable journalism that it deserves no attention whatever.

We have often seen Henry Ward Beecher classed among those who believe in modern Spiritualism; but it seems from the following, which is taken from one of Mr. Beecher's recent discourses, that he is not a Spiritualist:—

Now, in regard to this question, Do spirits ever revisit this earth? I want to say that I would be happy to believe they did, but I have failed to discover it. The communications I have received, purporting to be from my parents, were of such a weak, milk-and-watery nature that they ought to have been put in an infirmary. I have been at séances perhaps a dozen times in the course of my life, and have seen many things I could not understand, but nothing to convince me that communication with a spirit-world is open to us.

The *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, commenting on this declaration, remarks: "His brothers have been convinced of the truth of spirit intercourse. Charles Beecher has written a book on the subject, in which, on Biblical grounds, he supports his belief in the same. His sisters have arrived at the same conclusion. Mrs. Stowe gladly accepts it, and Mrs. Hooker is an ardent advocate. The Beecher family are a family of Spiritualists; and it is passing strange that, while other members receive satisfactory communications from their spirit friends, to Henry Ward alone they give instructions 'of such a weak, milk-and-watery nature that they ought to be put in an infirmary.'" The *Journal* adds: "At one time, Mr. Beecher inclined to Spiritualism, and his sermons were for a time replete with its philosophy," and intimates that the great preacher is endeavoring to "curry popular favor by denouncing what he knows to be true." Mr. Beecher is an emotional man, whose beliefs are largely determined by his feelings and influenced by his surrounding, and who is subject to variable moods. Supposing it true, as is likely, that Mr. Beecher was at one time "inclined to Spiritualism," it does not follow that in his recent utterances in regard to it he was guilty of the hypocrisy of "denouncing what he knows to be true."

THE *Presbyterian* says, "The Rev. A. N. Alcott, pastor of the Unitarian church in Kalamazoo, has resigned his pastorate and withdrawn from the Unitarian body, because the last session of the State Conference 'declined by a majority vote to recognize either Jesus or Christianity, or even Theism, in a proposed new constitution.'" We are reliably informed by a gentleman who was present at the Conference that Mr. Alcott with two others wanted the Conference to make a distinct and formal declaration of its Christian faith. This the Conference generally was not prepared to do. The discussion came up in connection with the report of a committee which had been appointed at the previous annual meeting to draft a new constitution, and present it for the consideration of the Conference. The chairman of this committee, Mr. Forbush of Detroit, reported a constitution, with two drafts of a preamble differing somewhat from each other in phraseology. One of them stated, generally, the religious and moral purpose of the Conference simply, without naming God, Jesus, or Christianity; while the other defined the religion of Jesus as the love of God and man. The Conference preferred the former draft; but Mr. Alcott, Mr. Sunderland, and a layman were strenuous for the second. When it was found that

these three gentlemen were likely to be much grieved if the Conference insisted that the former draft of the preamble should go into the constitution, all action was suspended, and the subject was by unanimous vote indefinitely postponed. Nothing was done at the meeting to change in any way the organization of the Conference; but our informant says: "It is doubtless true that, if any action had been taken, it would not have been satisfactory to Mr. Alcott. It should be added, however, that not one person who spoke in favor of the first preamble admitted for a moment that it was open to the interpretation which Mr. Alcott put upon it. It was atheistic, antichristian, and anti-Jesus only in the conception of those who can find no religion and morality outside historical Christianity. . . . What we want is to keep all questions open, and not allow a creed of any sort to be imposed upon our Conference."

Who shall decide what Agnosticism is? Mr. Huxley wrote in 1884: "Some twenty years ago or thereabouts, I invented the word 'Agnostic' to denote people who, like myself, confess themselves to be hopelessly ignorant concerning a variety of matters about which metaphysicians and theologians, both orthodox and heterodox, dogmatize with the utmost confidence; and it has been a source of some amusement to me to watch the gradual acceptance of the term and its correlate, 'Agnosticism.' . . . Thus, it will be seen that I have a sort of patent right in 'Agnostic' (it is my trade-mark); and I am entitled to say that I can state authentically what was originally meant by Agnosticism. . . . Agnosticism simply says that we know nothing of what may be beyond phenomena." With this view, Prof. Ernst Haeckel writes, "I believe that my monistic convictions agree in all essential points with that natural philosophy which in England is represented by Agnosticism." It was with this view of the subject, probably, that Mr. Darwin late in life wrote, "I think that generally (and more and more, as I grow older), but not always, an Agnostic would be the more correct description of my state of mind." And certain it is that, when Herbert Spencer maintains, as he does with tiresome repetition through whole pages and chapters of his works, that the Reality underlying phenomena is inscrutable and unknowable, his position is that of an Agnostic. The word "Agnosticism," since it came into use, has been applied both to those who question whether there is any existence beyond phenomena and those who affirm such an existence, but declare that it is unknowable. Thus, Mr. Spencer, in reply to Mr. Harrison, says: "I might enlarge on the fact that, though the name 'Agnosticism' fully expresses the confessed inability to know or conceive the nature of the Power manifested through phenomena, it fails to indicate the confessed ability to recognize the existence of that Power as of all things the most certain. I might make clear the contrast between that Comtean Agnosticism which says that 'Theology and Ontology alike end in the Everlasting No, with which science confronts all their assertions,' and the Agnosticism set forth in *First Principles*, which along with its denials, emphatically utters an Everlasting Yes"; i.e., as to the existence of the Unknowable behind phenomena. The recognition of the Unknowable Mr. Spencer makes the basis of religion. Instead of disclaiming Agnosticism, he complains that Mr. Harrison "was seeking to reduce, as he would say, to a ghostly form that surviving element of religion which, as I had contended, Agnosticism contains." Thus, Mr. Spencer refers to his own philosophy as Agnosticism, while pointing out with his usual discrimination the difference between the "Agnosticism set forth in *First Principles*" and that of Comte.

For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VII.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF PAUL.

The Two Parties in the Early Church.

In the discussion which arose between Peter and Paul and their respective adherents, in reference to the necessity of submitting to the rites and ordinances of Judaism as a preliminary to Christian baptism, Paul finally announced the principle that the acceptance of the gospel abrogated the necessity for the formal observances required by the law,* and claimed complete freedom for the convert as to the adoption of the rite of circumcision, and other points in dispute between the Judaizing and the Gentile Christians. The "Acts of the Apostles," which evidently perverts the facts of history in the interest of its obvious overmastering purpose, endeavors to convey the impression that compromise and agreement were successfully accomplished during the lifetime of the apostles. The probability is, however, that the conflict continued, and was transmitted to later generations. We have Paul's own declaration, on the occasion of his interview with Peter at Antioch, that he "withstood" him "to his very face."†

The evidences of this conflict in the writings of Paul, and on the opposing side in the Apocalypse and Petrine Epistles, as well as in the writings of Hegisippus and others of the early Fathers of the Church, are very numerous. In the Book of Revelations, the followers of Paul are doubtless denounced under the names of Balaamites and Nicolaites,‡ and are charged with various offences, including the eating of meats offered to idols. Paul himself discouraged the use of such meats when their character and connection with pagan sacrifices were known; but he allows exceptions in certain cases, and doubtless some of his Gentile followers were even more liberal than he was in their disregard of the injunctions of the Jewish law. The author of the Apocalypse, who was probably the Apostle John, doubtless regarded Paul as the instigator of these "false doctrines"; for he expressly excludes him in his enumeration of the twelve apostles,§ and elsewhere commends the church at Ephesus because it could not bear "those who said they were apostles, and were not, but tried them and found them false apostles,"||—an evident allusion to Paul. Heathenism and Judaism were world-wide antipodes in the thought of the writer of the Apocalypse. The former is denounced as the kingdom of Antichrist, and the Gentiles exist only to share the final fate of this arch enemy of the heavenly kingdom.

The early Fathers of the Church generally ignored Paul or discredited his authority. Clement of Rome and Polycarp possibly allude to him, once each, in passages of doubtful authenticity.¶ Papias, who wrote about the middle of the second century, nowhere mentions Paul or any of his followers, though he speaks of the other apostles. Justin Martyr, who must have been acquainted with the labors and writings of Paul, studiously avoids any allusion to him; and Hegisippus refers to him, though not mentioning his name, only to contradict one of his assertions. He quotes against Paul's statement, "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard,

* Rom. vii., 4-6; II. Cor. iii., 6-18; Gal. iii., 22-29; iv., 5, etc.
† Gal. ii., 11.

‡ Rev. ii., 14-20.

§ Rev. ii., 2.

¶ The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is adjudged by the author of *Supernatural Religion* and other able critics to be largely interpolated. The passage in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians in which Paul's name occurs is found only in a Latin text of doubtful reliability.

neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for those that love him,"* the seemingly contradictory assertion of Jesus, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear."† The earlier recognized leaders in the Church appear to have sympathized rather with the Judaizing Christians than with the followers of Paul. In the final result, as we know, there were compromise and reconciliation, and upon essentially Pauline ground; but Paul himself obtained little recognition from the early Church. The Catholic hierarchy appropriated his theology, but traced back its credentials to the name and authority of his antagonist, the Apostle Peter. Of the two parties, the Petrine or Judaizing Christians, early known as the Nazarenes, and afterward as the Ebionites, whose tenets and peculiarities will be further described in a subsequent lecture, were finally absorbed into the great current of orthodox Christian life or died out for want of a further *raison d'être*; ‡ while the extreme Paulinists evolved into the heretical sect of the Marcionites, who, with their Gnostic coadjutors, ultimately succumbed also to the widening and deepening current of Christian Orthodoxy.

The Conclusion of Paul's Labors; his Death.

The missionary labors of Paul extended to all the great capitals of the west,—to Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, and Rome, to the barbarian neighborhoods of Lystra, Galatia, and Melita. We hear of him in Cyprus, Salamis, and Paphos, in Pamphylia in Asia Minor, at Iconium, Philippi, and Thessalonica. Everywhere, he found colonies of Jews and proselytes. He taught in their synagogues, converted many, especially of the Hellenic proselytes, and established congregations of the new religion. Often, he met with encouragement; oftener, perhaps, with distrust, abuse, or violent opposition. "Of the Jews," he says, "five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a day and a night I have been in the deep. In journeyings often, in perils by my own countrymen, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."§

Charged with stirring up public dissensions, and carried finally to Rome for trial by reason of his appeal to his rights as a Roman citizen, he remained there about three years, and then passed forever from the light of history. The traditions of his subsequent journeyings and labors in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, are, doubtless, wholly unreliable. The probable termination of his stay in Rome nearly approximates to the period of the Christian persecutions, instigated by the infamous Nero. Some have supposed that both Paul and Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome at this time. It is hardly probable, however, that Peter ever visited Rome at all. Tradition declares that Paul suffered death by the sword instead of the ordinary modes of crucifixion or burning,—a privilege to which he would have been entitled by reason of his Roman citizenship. All this, however, is purely conjectural: we really know nothing certainly in regard to the time or manner of his death.||

* I. Cor. ii., 9.

† Matt. xiii., 16.

‡ The growth of a Christian Orthodoxy, based upon the dogmas of the miraculous birth of Jesus and of his practical equality with God, soon put an end to Christian proselyting among the Jews, since these dogmas were abhorrent to and wholly irreconcilable with the principles of Judaism. The sects who rejected these dogmas were denounced as heretics, and ultimately excluded from the Christian communion. Thus was Jesus crucified anew in the person of his own followers, in the name of the ideal Christ.

§ II. Cor. xi., 24-27.

|| See Baur, *History of the Church in the First Three Christian Centuries*; also, Renan, "The Antichrist" (vol. iv. of *The Origins of Christianity*).

The Doctrines of Paul: his Christology.

It remains now for us to consider the character of Paul's teaching, and its influence upon the subsequent development of the Christian faith. In his Christology there is a manifest advance from the earlier tradition of the Synoptical Gospels. "In trying to understand this phase of his opinion," says Prof. Allen, "we must bear in mind that Paul had never known Jesus as a man,—after the flesh, as he phrases it. If he had, we should probably have never known anything of his Christology." In his earlier writings, we have the clear expression of his belief, held in common with the other disciples, that Jesus had "risen from the dead," and ascended to paradise, soon to return and establish his eternal kingdom upon the regenerated earth. "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout," he says, "with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord."*

Paul appears to accept the synoptical doctrine of a final judgment and eternal punishment for the sinner, † though certain passages in his writings have been held by some to suggest the belief in the ultimate salvation of all men. "Jesus," he says, "shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, . . . who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power."‡ As the earliest belief in the advent of the heavenly kingdom was gradually dimmed by disappointment and long-waiting for the anticipated catastrophe, Paul's views of Christ become less objective and real, more subjective and mystical. "In the Corinthians," says Allen, "Christ is first of all a spiritual Lord and Chief, 'the head of every man,' soul of a body having many members, the mystic 'rock' of the old Covenant, the source of doctrine and authority." "Even though we have known Christ after the flesh," says the apostle, "yet now know we him no more."§ He is represented as the deliverer, who has "redeemed us from the curse of the law." He is the "second Adam," who gives us life, as the first Adam brought us death.

Later, Paul's thought of Christ becomes still more vague and visionary, retaining scarcely a feature of the man Jesus of the simple narrative of the Synoptical Gospels. He is a type of the divine energy,—a personified idea, similar to the wisdom of the Cabalists and the Apocryphal writers; "the brightness of the Father's glory, and express image of his person"; "in the form of God, though not claiming equality with God"; "image of the invisible, first-born of the whole creation." Here we are on the very verge of the mystic doctrine of the Logos, which subsequently appears in the Fourth Gospel, and finds its exaggerated reflection in the mysticism of the Gnostic schools.

Paul's Doctrine of the Atonement.

Though Paul himself does not expressly teach the doctrine of a sacrificial atonement,—a doctrine which, as we have seen, is wholly absent from the Synoptical Gospels,—we may yet trace the first de-

* I. Thess. iv., 16, 17.

† The punishment, however, is characterized as "eternal destruction" or "eternal death" instead of "eternal fire" or "torment," and may not necessarily indicate a belief in eternal conscious suffering. The "eternal life" on earth in the heavenly kingdom for the righteous appears to be contrasted with the "eternal death" of the wicked. See Romans ii., 5-14; iii., 5-8, 22; vi., 23; viii., 9-14, 20, 30; ix., 14-18, 27, 28; x., 1-18; xi., 13, 14, 20-22; xii., 4, 5; xiv., 10-12; I. Cor. i., 18-27; iii., 12-17; vi., 9-11; ix., 22-27; II. Cor. ii., 15, 16; v., 10; xiii., 5-7; Gal. vi., 8-9; Phil. i., 27-30; iii., 17-21; Col. iii., 12, 25; II. Thess. ii., 8-12.

‡ II. Thess. i., 6-9.

§ II. Cor. v., 16.

cided steps toward its development in his writings. "Paul," says Matthew Arnold, "knows nothing of the sacrificial atonement: what Paul knows of is a *reconciling sacrifice*.* The true substitute for Paul is not the substitute of Christ in men's stead as a victim on the cross to God's offended justice: it is the substitute by which the believer in his own person repeats Christ's dying to sin."† Yet in the language, and doubtless also in the thought of Paul, we cannot fail to note an evident step in the direction of the doctrine of the atonement. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Paul is almost certainly not the author, this doctrine is announced in much plainer terms than we can discover in any of the genuine Pauline Epistles; while it reaches its full development in the Fourth Gospel, wherein Christ appears as a substitute for the paschal lamb, an atoning sacrifice for human sins. The manifest exaggeration of Paul's doctrine of the atonement by both Catholic and Protestant theologians is doubtless a legacy of misunderstanding derived from the misinterpretations of Augustine. Writing in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era and trained in the rigid school of Latin scholasticism, probably neither speaking nor writing the Greek language, he appears to have put his own exact and unyielding dogmatical conceptions in the place of the Oriental and symbolical expressions of the apostle to the Gentiles, thus petrifying symbol into dogma and substituting the rigid distortion of death for the suggestive and flowing life of the original thought.

The Doctrine of Salvation by Faith.

Throughout the later and more important period of its development, the religion of the Hebrews made righteousness the foundation stone of its spiritual edifice. The sense of personal sin, of violation of the law of God, was ever present with the true follower of Judaism. Even the formalities of latter-day Pharisaism did not wholly obscure the strong ethical principle involved in the ancient Hebrew faith and pre-eminently emphasized in the writings of the prophets. With Paul, this sense of "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," this striving after personal righteousness, was probably always present. In it, doubtless, lay the secret of his sudden conversion. In it, also, lay the root of his Christian theology. As a Jew, the escape from sin and its penalties had been possible to him only through strict and rigid obedience to the law. As a Christian, emancipated from the law, he found the means of escape in the acceptance of the doctrine of "salvation by faith."‡

Sin, to Paul, was something more than the negation of good, a mere phase of moral experience: it was an objective reality. It was an actual entity which obtained a lodgement in man, and controlled his actions in antagonism to all that was right,—in antagonism, even, to his own will. "Now, then," he says, "it is no more I that do it, but sin (*ἡμαρτία*) that dwelleth in me."§ Paul had assimilated from the Oriental philosophies that doctrine of the eternal antagonism between matter and God, between body and spirit, which is still more clearly expressed in the mystical dualism of the Fourth Gospel, and reached its highest contemporaneous development in the doctrines of the various Gnostic sects. With this Oriental dualism, he had combined the Hebrew notion of the inheritance of sin from the original transgression of Adam. He had also derived from the Eastern or Greek philosophies the metaphysical conception of the three-fold nature of man, comprising body, soul, and spirit.|| He *entified* or objectified these metaphysical conceptions, and they became to him realities.

* See II. Cor. v., 14-21.

† "Saint Paul and Protestantism," by Matthew Arnold.

‡ See Rom. iv.-viii.; Gal. ii.-vi., etc. § Rom. vii., 17.

|| I. Cor. xv., 35-54, especially verses 40, 44, 45.

The Ethics of Paul: His Doctrine of the Crucifixion.

The ethics of the Gospels were purely ideal and personal, adapted to the perfect society of the ideal kingdom of heaven, aiming to prepare individuals for it by the closest possible approximation to its conditions under the existing social order. The associations of Jesus were limited and personal, and his ethical system bore the impress of these environing limitations. The associations of Paul, on the contrary, were varied and cosmopolitan. His ethics, therefore, were naturally social and organic, less personal and ideal than those of Jesus, and adapted to the existing relations of a more varied and complex society. Nevertheless, his appeal to men, though on a less ideal plane, was essentially direct and personal, based as it was upon his own strong conviction of sin. He did not speak to men as one above them, but as one of them. His conception of Jesus was to him, and through him to others, an inspiration to right living, chiefly because he saw in the Master "a man tempted in all respects like as we are, yet without sin."

Paul's doctrine of "salvation by faith," accordingly, was no hard and fast dogma, as interpreted by the preachers of the orthodox creed. He preached "Christ and him crucified," indeed, as the foundation of his faith; but, when he says, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me,"* we perceive that he regarded the crucifixion as somewhat more than a personal and objective fact,—as a symbol, rather, of a subjective experience of Jesus which might be repeated in every human soul. Christ, in his conception, as Matthew Arnold has so ably shown, was already "crucified in the flesh" before the final agony of Calvary: he was crucified in the process of putting under foot the temptations of the flesh,—those tendencies to sin with which he was beset, in common with all other men, but which he, unlike all other men, had successfully overcome.

The "faith" advocated by Paul, therefore, was no mere acceptance of irrational dogma, but the surety that by a like process of subjecting the body to the spirit, the lusts of the flesh to the demands of an ideal righteousness, all men, like him, could be "crucified with Christ," and yet live the higher and nobler life of the spiritual man. His conception of spirituality is no mere product of a sublimated mysticism: it is rooted firmly in the ethical principle. It is in this sense of spiritual unity with Christ through triumph over sin that he exultingly exclaims, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God, and, if children, then heirs,—heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ,—that, if we suffer with him, we may also be glorified together."†

Paul's Dualism.—Predestination and Election.—The Secret of Jesus.

There is much in Paul's phraseology, doubtless, that gives comfort to the devotees of modern Orthodoxy. The philosophical statement of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and election is certainly there.‡ The dualistic conception of the eternal conflict between the flesh and the spirit, the antagonism of God and matter, announced by Paul, is not consistent with a profound philosophy of the universe, or even with an intelligent theism. The God of Paul is less

fatherly and more despotic than the heavenly Father of Jesus. In other respects, however, he approximated closely to the thought of the Nazarene prophet. The "dead works" which he discredited were not alone or chiefly the natural fruits of righteous endeavor, but rather the formal observances of the ceremonial law.* The "faith" that he advocated was faith that the experience and triumph of Jesus were possible, in some degree, to all men; that any man, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, by being crucified with Jesus, by subjecting the selfish and animal impulses of his nature to the moral and spiritual demands of the higher law, as Jesus had done, would be raised with him into the higher life of the spirit. In this belief, which based salvation upon inner motive rather than outer act, consciously or unconsciously he caught the very secret of Jesus, and justified his claim to the title of an apostle.

Paul the Type of Protestantism.—His Relation to Existing Society.

If in our present study we have not discovered the Paul of the Puritan theology, neither, I think, have we found precisely the Paul of Matthew Arnold. If the Christ of Paul is seen to be an ideal Christ rather than the man of Nazareth, so in lesser degree, perhaps, the Paul of Matthew Arnold is an idealized Paul. If the apostle to the Gentiles clothes his philosophy in Orientalisms, as the great critic declares, the philosophy is nevertheless there beneath the garment, and in it the germs of much that is harsh and irrational in the later Christian creeds. As he stands revealed to the rational investigator, Paul is, I think, Mr. Arnold to the contrary notwithstanding, the natural prototype and apostle of Protestantism, even of dissenting Protestantism. The great apostle would have been quite out of place in the fold of a conventional body of believers like the modern Church of England. He protested against the close communion and legal literalism of the Judaizing Christians. He protested against the formal and external righteousness of the ceremonial law. His protests were always "vigorous," if not "rigorous"; and division and sectarianism followed in their wake, as they have followed the late protests of Luther and Calvin.

In the Christianity of Paul, the primitive social communism of the Gospels was already somewhat modified.† We hear less of a community of goods, less of the exaltation of poverty. With a wider social horizon, a less ideal and more practical ethical system than that of Jesus, Paul rendered himself liable to a more exacting and less favorable criticism by the exigent social standards of a later time and a higher civilization. Like Jesus, he uttered no word against the existing institution of slavery. He even recognized its legality and binding force by returning to Philemon the slave Onesimus, though with the qualifying injunction to receive him as a brother in Christ as well as a legal bond-servant.‡ His views of marriage and of woman were ignoble and unsocial, bearing the degrading impress of the Orientalism which gave them birth, and which tinged all his philosophy.§ The pessimistic conception of the existing world, implicit in the thought of Jesus, was explicit in the dualistic philosophy of Paul. Yet, with all his faults and imperfections, Paul as well as Jesus was a man of men.

Under the influence of the great apostle and his co-laborers, Christianity burst the bonds of nationality and race, and became a movement which

aimed at nothing less than the spiritual conquest of the world. The religion of Jesus, as taught by Paul, still contained within it an emphasis and purpose supremely ethical. It retained the doctrine that man is to be judged by motive rather than by act, by inward intention rather than outward and formal observances. In this conception was latent the inevitable and logical sequence of a belief in human equality, ultimating in the reorganization of society under the form of a spiritual democracy; and in the promise of this social revolution lay the secret of the eager acceptance of the new religion by the masses of the toiling poor.

Free from the necessary limitations of the ethnic religions, emancipated from Judaism through the influence of Paul, Christianity contained within itself some of the germs of a universal religion. To what extent these germs were fertilized by contact with a congenial soil and atmosphere, in what manner their growth was thwarted and prevented by the assimilation of incongruous elements from the surrounding Paganism and by their own internal imperfections, it is our purpose to consider hereafter.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HERBERT SPENCER DEFENDED FROM MISCONCEPTIONS.

Editors of The Index:—

Mr. Holland insists that Spencer is an idealist. He says that "idealism is the assertion that, underlying all material phenomena, is an ideal noumenon, the infinite and absolute creative power." Is Mr. Holland quite sure that this definition will include the systems of all the great representatives of idealism? But, without stopping to discuss this point, I may remark that Mr. Spencer does not hold to an ideal noumenon. He maintains that phenomena are the manifestations of a real noumenon, the nature of which is inconceivable and inscrutable. He does not call himself an idealist. He is not classed among idealists. In *Principles of Psychology*, he criticises all the systems of idealism, and endeavors to show their philosophical inadequacy. Out of "crude realism," "hypothetical realism," "absolute idealism," and "scepticism," he constructs a synthetic system which he calls "Transfigured Realism." He finds elements of truth both in realism and idealism. "The adherents of either doctrine," he says, "believing that it is entirely true or entirely false, are averse to a conciliation which requires any sacrifice. Surrender of a part of their doctrine is almost as offensive to their *amour propre* as surrender of the whole, and the proposer of it is censured all round. Recognizing thus the disfavor with which both realists and idealists naturally regard that Transfigured Realism which accepts from each a moiety of his doctrine, but rejects the rest, I scarcely expect that, where they before discovered only incongruities, this new division will show them that there are congruities." (*Principles of Psychology*, preface.)

Mr. Holland endeavors to make rather more of Spencer's use of the word "creative" than he is fairly warranted in doing. Mr. Spencer, in one of his articles, wrote originally "created and sustained" (as he subsequently stated), and substituted for it the more colorless word "proceed," because "the ideas associated with these words might mislead"; because he "wished to avoid those theological implications which Mr. Harrison said were suggested." He afterward complains: "Yet Mr. Harrison speaks of these erased words as though I had finally adopted them, and saddles me with the ordinary connotations. If Mr. Harrison defends himself by quoting my words to the effect that the Inscrutable Existence manifested through phenomena 'stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by theology,' then I point to all my arguments as clearly meaning that, when the attributes and the mode of operation ordinarily ascribed to 'that which lies beyond the sphere of sense' cease to be ascribed, 'that which lies beyond the sphere of sense' will bear the same relation as be-

* Gal. ii., 20.

† Romans viii., 16, 17.

‡ Romans viii., 29, 30; xi., 5-7; II. Cor. xiii., 5, 6; Col. iii., 12; I. Thess. v., 9; II. Thess. ii., 10-12. The first chapter of Ephesians, doubtfully Pauline, contains a yet clearer statement of this doctrine.

* Romans iii., 20, 27, 28, etc.

† There is a suggestion of it in II. Cor. viii., 10-15, and in the references to the *agape*, or "love-feast," the primitive communal meal of the early Christians (I. Cor. xi., 17-34, etc.).

‡ Philemon. See also Col. iii., 22.

§ I. Cor. vii., xi.; Col. iii., 18, etc.

fore to that which lies within it, in so far that it will occupy the same relative position in the totality of our consciousness; no assertion being made concerning the mode of connection of the one with the other. Surely, when I had deliberately avoided the word 'create' to express the connection between noumenal cause and the phenomenal effect, because it might suggest the ordinary idea of a creating power separate from the created thing, Mr. Harrison was not justified in basing arguments against me on the assumption that I had used it."

Mr. Holland repeats the unfounded statement made by some other writers in Boston papers of late, that Mr. Spencer holds that the unknown and unknowable cause of phenomena is "psychic" in its nature. Certainly, if one affirms that the Absolute Reality is "psychic," he cannot say consistently that it is unknowable. But the truth is, Mr. Spencer teaches that we can ascribe neither material nor mental attributes to the Unknowable. In *First Principles*, closing paragraph, he says of the reasonings contained in the previous pages: "Their implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic, and no more spiritualistic than they are materialistic. Any argument which is apparently furnished to either hypothesis is neutralized by as good an argument furnished to the other. . . . Though the relation of subject and object renders necessary to us these antithetical conceptions of Spirit and Matter, the one is no less than the other to be regarded as but a sign of the Unknown Reality which underlies both." This position is repeatedly reaffirmed in his later writings, including his late articles in reply to Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Holland does well to mention his authority for attributing to Mr. Spencer "a spiritualistic interpretation of the universe." He refers to an article in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and says that "Mr. Spencer expressly acknowledges rather a spiritualistic than a material aspect to the universe." Now, the fact is, Mr. Spencer, instead of giving "a spiritualistic interpretation of the universe," merely states that the "necessity we are under to think of the external energy in terms of the internal energy gives rather a spiritualistic aspect to the universe; further thought, however [mark this], obliging us to recognize the truth that a conception given in phenomenal manifestations of this ultimate energy can in no wise show us what it is." So, in *Principles of Psychology*, Mr. Spencer argues that the necessity of thinking of mind in terms of matter gives a materialistic aspect to mind. "But we can," he says, "form no notion of a substance of mind absolutely divested of attributes connoted by the word 'substance'; and all such attributes are abstracted from our experiences of material phenomena. . . . See, then, our predicament. We can think of matter only in terms of mind. We can think of mind only in terms of matter. . . . We find the value of x in the terms of y , then we find the value of y in terms of x ; and so on we may continue forever without coming nearer to a solution. The antithesis of subject and object, never to be transcended while consciousness lasts, renders impossible all knowledge of that Ultimate Reality in which subject and object are united."*

In the article on "Religious Retrospect and Prospect," in the *Popular Science Monthly* for January, 1884, Mr. Spencer claims that we cannot logically ascribe intelligence, will, or consciousness to the Absolute; and that all the higher anthropomorphic characters now attributed to the First Cause will be dropped, as the lower ones long have been.

The errors here pointed out have been thoroughly exposed by Mr. Underwood, but since they are repeated it is necessary to expose them again.

Mr. Holland complains that we unfairly confound his criticism of Spencer with that of Harrison's, when "Harrison's point of attack was that the religion of the Unknowable was no religion at all," while the point of his essay was that "it was capable of being developed into a basis of a religious creed." I will reply to this only by a quotation from Harrison: "Ten years ago, I warned Mr. Herbert Spencer that his Religion of the Unknowable was certain to lead him into strange company. 'To invoke the Unknowable,' I said, 'is to reopen the whole range of metaphysics, and the entire apparatus of theology will follow through the breach.'" This is identical with Mr. Holland's claim, which is only a repetition of what Harrison said ten years ago.

PETER ANNET.

* *Psychology*, vol. 1., pp. 626, 627.

READ BETWEEN THE LINES.

Editors of The Index:—

I cannot agree with my friend C. K. W., when, in *The Index* of January 29, he says, "Jesus taught his disciples not to work, not even to plan how their bodily wants might be supplied, but to depend upon God for food, clothing, and shelter." Now take Luke xvi.: herein those opposed to the philosophy of Jesus have taught to the contrary of my friend, and have charged that here is taught too much worldly wisdom. It is, however, a parable, as we are told all his sayings likewise are, and herein is inculcated: "Make unto yourselves friends of the mammon of this world; for, if you have not been faithful herein, who will commit to your trust the true riches?" Now, if we interpret the parable in this chapter literally, its ethics are doubtful; but we must read between the lines, "for without a parable spake he not unto them."

I am a disciple of the Man of Nazareth, and largely because he is the most manly man God has raised up and endowed with the fulness of his spirit. All the wisdom of the ages are to be found in his "sayings." He was "the carpenter's son," not only in relation to his natural father, but he is also in a pre-eminent degree the son of the great Architect of the universe. He spoke to them of "earthly things," and he spoke to them of "heavenly things" (John iii., 12). He taught them to render unto this world those things which are the world's due; and Justin Martyr says that in his day the evidences of his handicraft were still in existence in the shape of ox-yokes, by which he taught worldly and heavenly wisdom!

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, PA., 2d mo., 1st, 1885.

DEDICATION SONG.*

I.

There are old-time faiths lingering still all around,
Though their forms are but vain and their creeds are but sound;

There are temples and altars which gather great gain,
Though the God whom their worshippers call on is slain.
But we sing of the time when these remnants of right
Shall be transformed by sunbeams of reason's pure light;
When the priests shall be men and their robes deeds of love,
When from earnest truth-seeking no footstep shall rove.

II.

There are rulers unjust; there are laws that make wrong;
There are men who are kept down by vile hands and strong;
There are tyrants and despots still firm on the throne,
And e'en millions of men from oppression yet groan.
But we sing of the time when oppressions shall cease,
When the object of ruling shall be to bring peace;
When all men shall rejoice in the ruler's strong arm,
For the law's spreading mantle shall cover from harm.

III.

There are poverty's rags; there is crime's gilded robe;
There is vice, taint of blood everywhere on our globe;
The bold robber still prospers; e'en murder succeeds;
And no man can number inhumanity's deeds.
But we sing of the time when no wrong can have birth,
When all want, woe, and crime are quite banished from earth;

And when all men are just and are truthful and wise,
And when only love's spirit shall shine from all eyes.

IV.

There is knowledge enough men from error to free,
What we need is to praise it till all men shall see;
There is justice enough all the world's wrongs to right,
What we need is to test every deed by its light.
So we sing of the time when truth, justice, and love
Shall all dwell here on earth, not be sought for above;
When so firmly enthroned shall they be, and so bright,
That the world shall be governed by sweetness and light.

BEWARE how you allow words to pass for more than they are worth, and bear in mind what altera-

* Sung at the dedication of the new Unitarian church at East Saginaw, Mich., having been written for the occasion by a member of Mr. Rowland Connor's society.

tion is sometimes produced in their current value by the course of time.—*R. Southey*.

WHEN I quit business [of a binder] and took to science as a career, I thought I had left behind me all the petty meanness and small jealousies which hinder man in his moral progress. But I found myself raised into another sphere, only to find poor human nature just the same everywhere,—subject to the same weakness and the same self-seeking, however exalted the intellect.—*Prof. Faraday*.

BOOK NOTICES.

ORIENTAL RELIGIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS TO UNIVERSAL RELIGION: *Persia*. With Introduction by Rev. O. B. Frothingham. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. 8vo. Price \$5.00.

Those who know Mr. Johnson's writings will not fail in recognition of the care and labor with which this unfinished book has been edited. Only clear intelligence and unwearied attention, aided by knowledge of Mr. Johnson's methods and of the field in which he worked, could have achieved the publication of this volume. The faithfulness of the editor, Mr. Haskell, must not be forgotten by those to whom he has opened its treasures. And the Introduction by Mr. Frothingham gives us a clear, concise statement of the character and scope of Mr. Johnson's whole work of *Oriental Religions*, of his attitude as a student, his resources as a scholar, his genius for discovering profoundest meanings, his powers as a writer. It shows also the order in which the three great volumes, *India*, *China*, and *Persia*, stand related one to another and to their common subject of Universal Religion.

And by no means uncalled for is Mr. Frothingham's defence of these books against certain objections which, to those who occupy the author's point of view, seem groundless, but which have been urged with some persistency from other positions. One of these objections is that Mr. Johnson's qualification for his task was impaired by his want of first-hand acquaintance with Oriental languages and scriptures.

To this, it is replied that he was fully possessed of the results of Oriental study as gathered by specialists in all departments, and that he had an extraordinary gift of insight, whereby he was able to divine the essence of things often imperfectly made known even through the work of the best scholars. Max Müller, who has criticised Mr. Johnson's "second-hand" knowledge, himself somewhere says that, "when a new science is to be created, the imagination of the poet is wanted even more than the accuracy of the scholar." Much more than, when a new philosophy of religion is to be found. Another objection made is that Mr. Johnson was committed to a theory which was fatal to impartial investigation or conclusions. Mr. Frothingham admits that he had a theory,—as all great writers in such departments must have,—but observes that it "was broad, large, elastic in its character." This, however, does not appear to meet the charge in the most effectual way. In the sense in which it has most commonly been made, it implies that Mr. Johnson brought general facts to the support of a particular theory of his own. Now, such a charge might be justly made against one who, for instance, should compel the facts of universal religion to speak for the claims of a specific faith. But Mr. Johnson reversed this process. Through him, the particular, the special facts of religious history are shown, "in an essentially scientific way, in illustration of universal religious evolution. His "theory," then, was simply the perception that religion is a universal element in the life and history of man, whereof a proper study in its special forms, upon lines of historical development, yields proof of essential identity. A candid study of *Oriental Religions*, with clear perception of the author's point of view, above that of race or sect or specific faith, should show that in no other sense did he entertain a theory. Without a theory in this sense, he could not have written his books at all. Let any one read these three volumes in the spirit of a true student, as he would read the book of nature, "seeking that which is, not that which touches him," and then let him read, for example, an article in the *Nation* of January 8, curtly dismissing them as books which "have the fatal defect of being constructed on a theory." The critic in this case brings nothing to prove his charge. He shows no understanding of Mr. Johnson's position or work. Thus, criticism, in a journal of importance, becomes mere cavilling, and

does nothing to display the riches of this great contribution to the literature of the world.

In the *Persia*, which Mr. Frothingham calls "the masterpiece of the series," Mr. Johnson deals with phases of history and philosophy which peculiarly interested him. Naturally at home as he was in the speculative subtleties of the Hindu mind, he proved himself equally master of the practical utilitarian aspects of Chinese civilization. And here, in old Iran, he found what even more thoroughly kindled his genius and enthusiasm,—a vast historical example of the birth and growth of the moral sense, the beginnings of personality in man, "the advent of the Will as a positive power." As he neared the completion of this volume, he often spoke of the clearness with which he saw, at the culminating point of his studies, the worship of personal will as the common ground of positive faiths. The advance of these, by steps of science, by growth of spiritual perception, and of ethical ideas and experience, to Universal Religion, was the fulfilling of his vision of man's religious evolution. And his study of these aspects of spiritual development in the field of Iranian history lends a new interest to that ancient battle-ground of intellectual and moral forces.

The first chapter, on Symbolism, opens into a realm which never has been explored before with such interpretation of specific facts in the light of universal laws of mind. Symbolism is "mediation between inward and outward, person and performance, man and his environment." Its basis is personality. Its two poles are the will and the act. The Hindu failed to grasp the concrete side of its process. The Chinese did not grasp its abstract side. The Aryan mind seized both, and hence its history is an illustration of the laws of symbolism. This interpretation is the key to the present volume. It admits us to a vast range of exposition and discussion, which changes many old judgments of history upon mythology, philosophy, worship, ideal and practical tendencies. Meanings in the fire-symbol are brought out of transcendent depth and beauty. It grew naturally from the very physical peculiarities of Iran, "the true fire-temple of Nature, bespread with naphtha springs, meteoric lights, and burning mountains. The mystery of the flame brooded over it, and burst from its bosom." And the Persian developed qualities which caught up these suggestions of Nature, and translated the lessons of the earth into meanings of the sky. In the light of Mr. Johnson's interpretation, the whole subject of Avestan Dualism takes on a new appearance. Here, again, the connection between natural phenomena and the mind itself is brought out; and the office of symbolism in this phase of Persian development receives full recognition. The rude strife of powers assumes the dignity and grandeur of a world epos, wherein man plays his part with the vast elemental forces which are past his finding out. This sort of religion made strong, heroic men. It produced no ascetics. Its believers faced the dark problems of the world and the actual difficulties of existence with a courage such as only hand-to-hand encounter with terrible powers can beget or sustain. The influence of Avestan Dualism upon Hebrew thought and Christian theology is traced with fitting illustration and suggestive comparison.

Political forces are dealt with in the same original way as mythological and ethical, with many reversals of long-accepted historical verdicts and many an opening into places where inquiry had not penetrated. The chapter on Babylon, Cyrus, Persia, as a mere summary of political and military facts, is of fascinating interest; and its vindication of the mighty city, "key of history," against Hebrew prophet and Christian seer and the curse of ages, is a rectification of historical lines in that quarter. Babylon, "the prophecy of unity, of culture, of universal religion," educator of Judaism, benefactor of Christianity before its birth!

Alexander the Great, although his worse side is not hidden, yet, as filling the old type of ideal personality, is here no ruthless destroyer, but a deliverer and restorer, opening the way for Aristotle's free thought, for intellectual and religious progress, for new civilizations and broader humanities. From page 440 to the close of the book, more than three hundred pages, the interest is deepened by the study of problems which, in the light of the modern scientific spirit, pervading all of Mr. Johnson's work, are found to have a present practical importance. So is it with the discussion of philosophies, Manichæism

and Gnosticism, and with the treatment of Islam. To Mahomet is given the longest chapter of the book, and one of the grandest. Last of all comes the *Shāh Nāmeh*, or Book of Kings, of which the exposition breaks off abruptly, ending the volume. The Interrupter of all human labors stayed the hand which alone could have completed this work of a scholar than whom none more heroic, more devoted, more sincere has ever toiled in pure love of learning, of truth, of humanity.

It is too much to expect that a work so large as *Oriental Religions*, and so far above the common paths of research and the ordinary modes of interpretation in studies of this kind, will meet with very wide recognition or fair treatment, even among scholars,—until the day when its prophecy shall be fulfilled. Whether the work itself shall contribute directly or not in any great measure to this result, certain it seems that future investigation more and more will follow the lines which it so clearly marks out to the goal of its sublime conclusions,—perception of the essential unity of the spirit of man in the evolution of his nature, his thought, his aspiration, his ethical purpose, his brotherhood, his divine kingdom in this world. J. H. C.

RECORD OF ELLEN WATSON. By Anna Buckland. London, 1884.

I would like to call the attention of those interested in "the study of the religious nature in man" to a little volume, the *Life of Ellen Watson*. This young girl, who died at the early age of twenty-four, was a beautiful example of the results of the higher education and scientific study on a thoroughly womanly and beautiful mind. She was the daughter of a tutor in the University of London, and so was born under academic influences. She was especially attracted to mathematics, in which she took a distinguished rank at college examinations. She was a woman of sensitive and affectionate disposition, and very conscientious. She fulfilled all domestic duties with zeal and delight, and became the teacher of the younger children. So great was her enjoyment of intellectual study, and especially of science, that in her early youth she felt it was quite sufficient to fill her life; and, while she never was flippant or aggressive in her remarks to her friends who urged her to give attention to religious views, she felt no need of them. She seemed to have absorbed the philosophy of evolution into her very nature, not so much to believe it as to live and work by it.

As her whole nature developed, and as the insidious disease which cut short her life made progress, she began to extend her investigations beyond material things into spiritual realms; and her whole soul became filled with religious emotions and ideas. With a rapture of devotion which recalls Madame de Guyon or Madame Adorna, she dwelt on the love of God and of Jesus, and was made rich and happy by this mystic affection.

Surrounded by the atmosphere of the Church of England, her feelings took expression in the rites and symbols of that Church; and she loved its sacraments and communions. One of the papers which she prepared for her classes was on Savonarola, showing the turn of her thoughts.

But the fact that interests us is the evident influence of her intellectual training and scientific studies on the breadth and sanity of her religious life. She recognizes evolution in religious history as in geology; and, while loving her own Church best, she has no word of contempt or condemnation for any other, even beyond Christianity. She is like a true man, whose love for humanity is only broader and deeper because he has found a bride who embodies his ideal and satisfies his heart. Let those who believe that women will not forward the work of free religion, because they are full of religious emotion and affection, study the thoughts of this young woman, to see how she needs only intellectual education to free her from the trammels of superstition. Let those who believe that scientific study blights the religious affections learn here how it deepens and restrains them, but gives them greater breadth of application and health and wisdom in relation to daily life.

E. D. C.

THE February ("Midwinter") number of the *Century*, the first edition of which is one hundred and eighty thousand copies (the largest number of *Centuries* ever published), contains the beginning of a novel by Henry James, entitled "The Bostonians,"

which introduces the reader to a characteristic group of the "strong-minded" of both sexes; Mr. Howells' descriptive papers, entitled "A Florentine Mosaic"; Dr. Beers' paper on "Canada as a Winter Resort," with Sandham's graphic and spirited pictures. Mr. Howells' novel, "The Rise of Silas Lapham," is continued; and Miss Litchfield's "The Knight of the Black Forest" is concluded. The "short story" of the number is a long story by Mark Twain, entitled "Royalty on the Mississippi," which, with Kemble's humorous illustrations, covers twenty-four pages of the magazine. Mr. Stedman writes about Dr. Holmes in his critical series on the American Poets. With this article is printed a full-page engraving of an old daguerreotype of the "Autocrat." Mr. Stillman has a brief illustrated paper on Dutch portraiture. Poems are given by C. W. Stoddard, Henry Tyrrell, Edgar Fawcett, and (in the "Bric-à-Brac" department) by F. D. Sherman and Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus). The illustrations of Gen. Grant's paper on Shiloh are more profuse than those of the other war papers already published. Articles in the same number by Col. Johnston, son of Albert Sidney Johnston, and by Col. Jordan, of Gen. Beauregard's staff, tell the story of the Confederate side of Shiloh. A letter from Gen. Fitz-John Porter describes interestingly the circumstances of the offer of a high Federal command to Gen. A. S. Johnston, who, at the breaking out of the war, was in charge of the department of the Pacific. Gen. Porter declares that the assertion that Gen. Johnston intended to turn over to the secessionists the defences of California, or any part of the regular army, is false and absurd. Sold by Cupples, Upham & Co.

"MIND" for January commences its tenth volume with a series of essays of the most profound interest to thinkers, and fully sustains its well-earned reputation as standing at the head of periodicals devoted to mental and psychological subjects in the English language. C. Mercier concludes his essays on the "Classification of Feelings," based on the principles of natural evolution; and it seems to be the most complete and successful effort in this direction that has yet been made. Prof. William James, of Harvard University, contributes an essay on "The Function of Cognition," in which he takes strong ground against the old metaphysical standpoint of solipsism, and argues for the reality of the objects of our sensations and of our sensible percepts, as "the only realities we ever directly know." There is no writer on psychology who surpasses Prof. James in power of introspective observation, and his conclusions must challenge the attention of all inquirers into the phenomena of our sentient life and experiences. J. Hutchison Stirling continues to argue that "Kant has not answered Hume." Prof. H. Calderhood furnishes "Another View of Green's Last Work," which has been ably criticised in former numbers of *Mind*. J. T. Punnett discourses on "Ethical Alternatives." Extensive critical notices of new works,—by Prof. R. Adamson on Lotze's *Logic*, by T. Whittaker on Thomson's *System of Psychology*, and of works by T. Davidson, James Sully, and D. G. Ritchie are given. Also, notices of most of the new works connected with psychology and mental science, foreign as well as English, besides correspondence and notes of interest.

THE *Freethinkers' Magazine* for January is the best number of this publication that has appeared. It contains a readable paper on "Dr. Hammond vs. Women," by H. H. Gardner; an article on "Religion and Morals," by Hon. R. S. McCormick; an address by Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee on "The Function of an Ethical Society"; and a report of a lecture by T. B. Wakeman on "Liberalism,—its Mission"; an original poem on "Immortality," by W. O. Spencer; an editorial on "A Free Thought School," "Editorial Notes," "Book Reviews," etc. We are pleased to see the marked improvement in the magazine, and to note the promise of further improvement in the future. (H. L. Green, Salamanca, N.Y., editor and publisher.)

A DIRECTORY of writers for the literary press has been compiled by Mr. W. M. Griswold. It contains three hundred and fifty names, by no means a full list; but every printed page is faced by a blank one on which additional entries can be made. The number for 1885 will be more complete. Issued by P. Q. Index, Bangor, Me.

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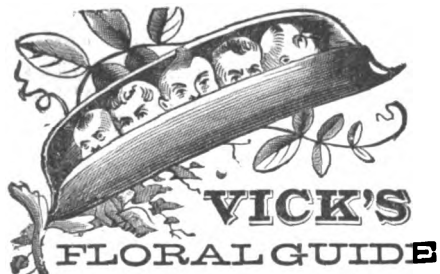
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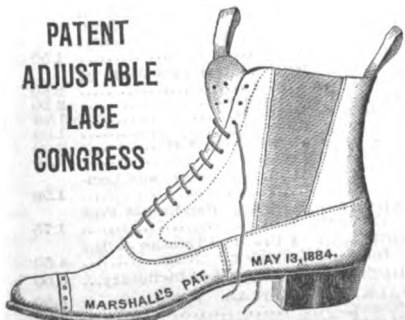
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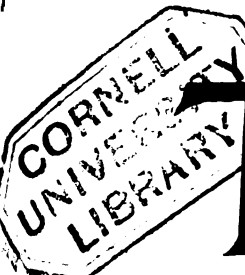
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A BAPTIST clergyman down in Maine, says the *New York Herald*, praying for rain in a dry time, said, "We do not presume to advise, O Lord, but only to suggest."

MGR. CAPEL thinks, so the papers report, that the fight in this country is to be between Agnosticism and Catholicism, that the Protestant Church will go one way or the other.

THE *Philadelphia Record* thinks that by the time that R. G. Ingersoll, Henry Ward Beecher, and R. Heber Newton get through with the Westminster Catechism there won't be much left of it.

THE *Rundschau*, a monthly newspaper, published in German by that veteran in the cause of free thought, Fritz Schütz of Carver, Minn., has reached its ninth year. The record of monthly events, at the beginning of each number, is extremely well written; and the contents throughout show rare capacity for looking at passing events from an enlightened stand-point.

SAYS the *Boston Sunday Herald*: "The restrictions placed upon atheists as witnesses in this Commonwealth are relics of barbarism, and we are glad to see that the Senate judiciary committee has reported a bill to remove them. There might be a case in which justice would suffer by excluding the evidence of honest men who are no more likely to lie than their neighbors."

MR. COLVILLE, an inspirational medium, in reply to the question, "How can one become a medium?" says: "Mediums are born, not made. Persons with holy desires may be developed, but they must have a natural desire and talent." Are those who have been "developed" into mediums, then, pre-eminently "persons of holy desires," raised by their aspirations far above the level of ordinary uninspired, undeveloped, and "unmediumistic" humanity?

THE Board of Directors of the Columbia (S.C.) Seminary find difficulty in selecting a professor to lecture upon the relations between science and revelation in the place of Dr. Woodrow. They want a man whose scientific teachings will in no way conflict with the Bible. It is stated that Dr. Woodrow has suggested that Rev. John Jasper, of

"de sun do move" notoriety, and whose theories can be abundantly supported by Scripture citations, is a suitable man to fill the chair now vacant.

MR. JOHN VERITY, of Lynn, active for several years in various reform movements, died last week. His funeral at Paine Hall, where Mr. Verity had long been prominent in the Sunday discussions, was largely attended; and Mr. Horace Seaver gave a discourse, in which he paid an eloquent and touching tribute to the character of the deceased. Mr. Verity was a man whose honesty commanded the respect of all who knew him, and his earnestness and generosity made him many friends.

THE *Evening Traveller* of this city, after mentioning that in Mexico lotteries are sanctioned both by the Church and the government, says, "The principal institution in the City of Mexico is 'The Lottery of Divine Providence'; and the dead walls were lately covered with placards announcing that the anniversary of the appearance of the Holy Virgin to the shepherd, at Guadalupe, would be celebrated by great religious ceremonies, with cock-fights, bull-fights, games of chance, and other attractions."

HOW LONG are the wrongs of unhappy Poland to last? Since the Czar issued his latest edict, a Polish prince thus refers to the condition of his country: "The times are terrible. Our liberty and our land are gone; our language is threatened; our religion is attacked; our bishops forbidden to make visitations; our priests liable to be banished to Siberia any moment, if they hear confession or give absolution without authorization of the police. There is no fear of a Polish revolution. All we ask now is leave to live."

THE *Springfield Republican* will begin early next month publishing a series of short stories by eminent English writers of fiction. The first will be a novelette, entitled "A Rainy Day," by Ouida; and this will be followed by stories by William Black, Mrs. Braddon-Maxwell, Rhoda Broughton, Wilkie Collins, Thomas Hardy, Joseph Hatton, and Mrs. Oliphant. This notable series, which no other paper in New England will have, promises to be a great addition to the attractions of a paper which is now justly regarded as among the best dailies published in this country.

STEPHEN FENNIS, fourteen years old, an orphan, has filed a bill in the circuit court for an injunction restraining the teacher and school directors at Rogers Park, Chicago, Ill., from expelling him from the public school for refusing to take part in the forms of prayer and worship in use there. He states that he and his family are all Catholics, do not believe in the forms of worship used in the school, and that he refuses to take part in them; that, although he has during the service behaved with propriety, on February 5 the teacher ordered him to take his books and leave, and forbade his ever returning until he was willing to take part in the school's prayer and worship.

THE appeal of the Soldier's Home at Chelsea is one to which a generous response should be

made. Last year, the treasurer received from the State \$15,000, from the Grand Army Posts \$1,968, from interest \$1,850, from individuals \$168, and from the sons of veterans \$152. It supports a hundred veterans a year, at a cost of a little more than \$3 a week for each man. Neither its income nor its quarters are adequate. There were, its annual report states, January 1, twenty-five applications for admission on file; and the hospital is insufficient for the accommodation of all the inmates that require treatment. The trustees are arranging for a grand carnival to be held in the Institute Building, Boston, to begin April 7, and to continue ten days, hoping to realize a fund large enough to enable them to make additions to the hospital and provision for the increasing number of sick and disabled veterans who apply for its protection.

SAYS the *Woman's Journal*: "By a unanimous vote of the New York Senate, the Senate Chamber was opened on the evening of last week Thursday for a lecture by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, on the disabilities and limitations of sex. A large and attentive audience was present. Mrs. Stanton was introduced by Mrs. Mary Seymour Howell, president of the Political Equality Club of Albany, and accompanied by Mrs. Caroline Gilkie Rogers, of Lansingburg, secretary of the same club. The *Albany Press* says: 'During the evening, this unwonted sight of three ladies occupying the president's desk to preside over and address the occupants of the Senate Chamber was one few who saw it will soon forget. Not one person there, probably, as they listened to the speaker, doubted that she and her associates were every way qualified to take part, not only in the election of legislatures, but in making proper laws for this republic themselves.'"

THE Washington correspondent of the *Congressionalist*, referring to Rev. Dr. Patton's recent discourse in that city on "Woman and Scepticism," says: "At the conclusion of the sermon, I mounted the platform to ask the loan of the discourse. Before the preacher had time to grant the request, two ladies of some national reputation rapidly ascended the platform, one of whom told him that his mother, if he had one, ought to spank him: the other thanked him for the sermon, as proving that the great enemy of the woman's cause was to be found in the ministry." This correspondent says that Dr. Patton did not say any of the things which have been attributed to him, that he "spoke well of Harriet Martineau and highly of Miss Cobbe and not a word of liberty as leading to immorality." What on earth were Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony thinking of, when they "ascended the platform," and talked in the manner reported to an unoffending minister, who "hadn't done nuthin'" but praise their sex! But a private letter, from a very prominent and reliable person who was present, alludes to the discourse as "a very unworthy sermon which he [Dr. Patton] is now trying to repudiate. The sophistry and tergiversation of the orthodox pulpit surpass all understanding."

WHICH IS THE HONEST CREED?

Among the various missionary works for advancing liberal ideas which Western Unitarians are doing through the agency of "Unity Office," Chicago, is the regular publication of a series of Tracts called "Unity Mission." The eleventh in number of this series, recently issued, is a collection, with their tunes, of fifty liberal hymns; and a very good collection it is. It will answer a need in many meetings of liberal people, and may even serve as a hymn-book for liberal societies in the days of their small beginnings. But what we wish particularly to refer to now is a statement of Unitarian beliefs printed on one of the pages of the pamphlet's cover. This is headed simply as what "Unitarians Assert"; and above it stand the words which have been adopted by the Western Unitarian Conference as a motto,—"Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion." The statement is as follows:—

Unitarians Assert:

The Naturalness of Religion to the Human Soul;
The Supremacy of Character above Belief in Religion;

The Ultimate Authority of Reason in Matters of Belief;

The Dignity as against the Depravity of Human Nature.

They worship the One-in-All, and name that One "Our Father."

They trust the Universe as Beautiful, Beneficent, Unswerving Order, to know whose laws is Truth, to obey whose laws is Liberty and stronger life.

They revere Jesus as the greatest of the historic Prophets of Religion.

They honor the Bible, and all Bibles, so far as each accords with Reason and Right.

They rejoice in the Hope of Immortality.

They believe that all things work together for good; that no good thing is failure, and no evil thing success; and that no evil can befall a good man, whether he be alive or dead.

And they believe that we ought to join hands and joyfully work to make the good things better and the worse good, deeming nothing good for ourselves that is not good for all.

They trust free thought, and trust it everywhere: they only fear thought bound. Therefore, their beliefs are still growing and widening, as science, history, and life reveal new truth; while their increasing emphasis is still on Ethics and the Great Faith to which Ethics leads,—Faith in the Moral Order of the Universe, Faith in All-ruling Righteousness.

All names that divide "Religion" are to them of comparatively little consequence. Whoever loves truth and lives it is, in a broad sense, of their religious fellowship: whoever loves it and lives it better than themselves is their teacher, whatever Church or age he may belong to. So their Church is wide, their teachers many, and their holy writings large.

Now, this in its substance is a good creed; but is it what "Unitarians assert"? We doubt not that there are some, even many, Unitarians who would be satisfied with this statement of their faith. But would it be accepted as sufficient by the majority of Unitarians? A majority of the ministers of the Western Conference and probably of the churches of that Conference might subscribe to this statement. But these are a comparatively small part of the Unitarian body. The strength of the denomination in America is in New England. Of the 340 churches of the denomination all through the country (counting even the few in Canada), 229 are in New England; and, of the 79 reckoned as belonging to the Western States, a considerable number are little more than missionary posts, and have but small congregations. Can it be reasonably supposed that anything like a majority of the older Unitarian societies in the Eastern and Middle States, or of their ministers, would accept the above assertions as an adequate

representation of their beliefs? Is it true that a majority of Unitarians regard Jesus as only "the greatest of the historic Prophets of Religion"? Do a majority of them, as yet, place all Bibles, of all Religions, together, to be judged alike by the standards of "Reason and Right"? If so, how happens it that the Unitarian churches in which any other Scriptures than the Hebrew and Christian are read in their religious services can be almost counted on one's fingers? Would the majority of Unitarians be content to say that they only rejoice in "the Hope of Immortality"? Do they not affirm a *faith* in it? While individual Unitarians profess to "trust free thought everywhere," has any general representative body of Unitarians ever expressed this trust to the extent of declaring that the limits of their religious fellowship should be as wide as freedom of thought in the search for truth? And can it be a fact that "all names that divide 'Religion' are of comparatively little consequence to Unitarians"? If it be, as the above statement asserts, then why should the National Unitarian Conference and the American Unitarian Association, the two most widely representative bodies of Unitarians that exist in this country, have been so tenacious of the Christian name?

But there is one authoritative statement, and but one that we know of, which ought to settle this question as to what the majority of Unitarians believe. The National Unitarian Conference is a body which represents the churches of the denomination throughout the country. It is a delegate body, consisting of the minister and two appointed laymen from each of the various churches; and almost all of the churches are actually represented in the Conference. Now, the National Conference has a Constitution which states certain doctrinal beliefs and purposes; and these, so long as they stand, must be assumed to express the sentiments of the majority of Unitarians in this country. These statements, omitting the articles which do not concern the point in question, are as follows:—

PREAMBLE.—Whereas the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God, and the building up of the kingdom of his Son,—

ARTICLE I.—Therefore the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work. . . .

ART. IX.—Reaffirming our allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and desiring to secure the largest unity of the spirit, and the widest practical co-operation, we invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ.

ART. X.—While we believe that the Preamble and Articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

If these articles give an honest representation of Unitarian beliefs, we submit that the statement made on the cover of "Unity Mission, No. 11," needs amendment. Both of them cannot be true of the generality of Unitarians. It will be noticed that Article X. just quoted, which was adopted as late as the session of 1882, and was an attempt to widen the fellowship of the National Conference, expresses the belief that the Preamble and Arti-

cles as they previously stood, "*fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches.*" And this was declared by a large and distinctly representative body of the Unitarian denomination, with but a single dissenting voice. It must therefore be regarded as, up to date, the most authoritative utterance that has been made among Unitarians concerning their beliefs.

We have a strong impression, and rejoice in it, that the Unitarians are advancing toward the positions stated in the "Unity" creed. But we cannot believe, in the face of evidence like that just presented, that the majority of them are already there. We fear, therefore, that our Western friends have been a little "too previous" in their declaration of what Unitarians assert. They seem to us to have taken counsel of their own hopes and desires rather than of facts. In a prefatory note concerning the little pamphlet of hymns, they refer to this statement of beliefs on the cover and to some verses of similar purport that follow it as an attempt "to hint in other forms the outlooks and inspirations of Liberal Faith." And this is a correct characterization. If the statement had accordingly been framed as affirmations of a liberal faith, no objections could have been raised. But, as a statement, without qualification or explanation, of what Unitarians affirm, it must, in our opinion, convey to readers not otherwise well acquainted with Unitarian views a very erroneous idea of the real doctrinal position of the majority of the Unitarian body; and very many prominent Unitarians, we are sure, if they are sincere in their habitual utterances and methods, can but feel that the statement does them an injustice. We know, indeed, that of its author it might almost be said that he is the honestest man in the denomination; and that he has applied a pure conscience to this little piece of work, as to everything that he does, cannot be doubted for a moment. Yet would not the statement present an honest front, if it only purported to give what *some* Unitarians assert?

WM. J. POTTER.

ATHEISTS AS WITNESSES.

The statutes of Massachusetts stand almost alone in their method of dealing with this question. While the statute makes atheists competent as witnesses, it points them out as unworthy of the same credit as others, unworthy in the same way as persons convicted of a crime are unworthy.

This statute changed the rule of the common law by which atheists were rendered absolutely incompetent. The reason on which the common-law rule was based probably led to the establishment of the present law in Massachusetts. An investigation of the theory of the former will lead to a better understanding of the latter.

Whatever may have determined some judges, as Lord Coke, for instance, in concluding that infidels, meaning thereby all persons not Christians, were incompetent as witnesses, the celebrated case of Omichund against Barker decided that a belief in a God who would punish perjury was sufficient to render a witness competent. The rule did not require a belief in the established religion, or a belief in what the people of England or the judges or the legislators regarded as the true God. A belief in false gods was quite as good for the purposes of the law of evidence. The reason for this was simply that in the opinion of the judges a person who believed that he was answerable to a Superior Being for the truth of his testimony was less apt to perjure himself than one who was not under the influence of such a belief. Of the sanc-

tions which gave value to an oath, the moral, the natural, and the legal sanctions were present; but the religious sanction was lacking. Logically, if the position taken was correct, the absence of this fourth sanction would merely tend to lessen the credibility of the witness. But certain circumstances, which we now regard as affecting the credibility of a witness, under the common law went to his competency. Interest in the result of the suit was thus one ground of incompetency, disbelief in a God was another. Now, the Massachusetts statutes have changed the common-law rule in the same way in both these cases.

It will be noticed that theological questions do not enter into this reasoning; for, to the Christian, the worshipper of false gods must be as abhorrent as one who is not convinced of the existence of a Supreme Being. This was the view of Lord Coke. He approached the question from a theological stand-point. To him, all persons not Christians were infidels and equally incompetent. But his view was distinctly declared to be erroneous in the leading case already referred to. The law which admitted the fire worshipper while excluding the agnostic (he is an atheist for the purposes of this question) cannot rest on a theological foundation. It is well to bear this in mind; for many who are inclined to admit the logical correctness of the position of those who oppose the present law are yet fearful of a change, dreading lest they should be endangering all religion and encouraging atheism.

The objections to the present statute are very numerous. The reasoning on which the rule rests is essentially false. The laws of evidence in regard to credibility are based on the ordinary experience of mankind, and they are framed with the purpose of aiding the jury in arriving at the truth. But the law allowing a witness's religious belief to be given in evidence to affect his credibility is not only at variance with our daily experience, but tends to mislead the jury.

It is certainly our experience that men will act so as to favor their interests, even at a sacrifice of their honor; and it is therefore proper that the interest of a witness should be shown in evidence. There are few men who would give the same credit to a convicted felon as they would to a man who had never violated the laws; and this, therefore, is a proper matter for the jury to consider. But who will say that, in the affairs of every-day life, he will be governed by the religious beliefs of a man as to the credit he will give him? If a man is told something that he does not wish to believe, he is very apt to consider whether his informant has not reasons for lying. If the matter is of sufficient importance, and he has no other source of information, he may try to learn something of the character of his informant; but is there one man in ten thousand who would ever think of inquiring into the religious propensities of his informant? Men intrust their substance and their honor to the keeping of those whose life gives promise of honest action, without ever thinking of probing their religious beliefs; but, when these same men are put on the witness-stand, they are asked to discredit them.

But why, it will be asked, should the evidence of disbelief have any effect on the jury, if their ordinary experience has taught them to trust and believe atheists equally with other men? The answer brings us to the second objection to the rule as a rule of evidence. Men are affected by such evidence, not because it appeals to their reason, but because it appeals to their prejudices. Can anything have a stronger tendency to warp the judgment of the average juror than an appeal to his religious prejudices? A case in point occurred

not very long ago. The will of an old lady was contested on the ground of mental weakness. The family physician, a man whose character is beyond suspicion, testified positively to her incapacity. But this physician, trusted and honored by all his neighbors, by those who knew him best, was shown to have no belief in a God. A skilful appeal to the jury was successful in utterly discrediting the witness, and the will stands to-day. Is a statute which can thus defeat the ends of justice a wise one? Does it accord with the well-considered principles of the law of evidence?

But, granting that the rule is sound as far as the principles of evidence involved are concerned, the objections to the law are none the less strong. It is decidedly wrong and incompatible with our institutions to raise in a court of law theological questions. Imagine a case in which the most important witnesses on each side of a great litigation are atheists. It will be necessary to examine most minutely into the exact belief of the witnesses, so that the jury can determine properly to which side the less credit should be given. It may be found advisable to bring experts to testify to the difference between an agnostic of one type and an agnostic of another; and, in the resulting strife and squabbles, the law and religion equally will be brought into disrepute. The mere possibility of a jury becoming a theological tribunal under this statute ought to be sufficient to condemn it.

Another objection not unworthy of consideration is that the present law does not reach the right persons. Confessedly, an honest atheist should not be discredited; while the fiercest opponents of the present law are willing to admit that a dishonest atheist should stand on the same footing as any one else who is dishonest. Now, a man's religious beliefs can only be determined by his own utterances. Society generally has thrown sufficient obloquy on atheism to deter most men from expressing their religious views, if they tend in that direction; and, if a person is in the slightest degree dishonest, it is a matter of absolute impossibility to show against his will that he is an atheist. He therefore cannot, frame your laws as you will, be discredited for his atheism. But the honest atheist—who not only openly in the face of the world lays himself open to the social stigma, but in court, notwithstanding the statute, admits his belief—is discredited before a jury of intelligent men. The statute fails utterly of its real object, while offering an inducement to men to conceal their opinions, if it does not actually bring about that result in many cases.

The statute is a flagrant violation, not only of the spirit of the Bill of Rights, but of its very words, "No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for his religious profession or sentiments." The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which declared by a liberal construction that the Bill of Rights prohibited slavery in Massachusetts, could hardly fail to see the violation of the constitution which the present statute brings about. While, perhaps, the exclusion of atheists may have been constitutional as being a rule of the common law in force in Massachusetts at the time of the adoption of the Bill of Rights, and not abrogated by that instrument, the present law can find no warrant from such a view. It introduced a principle as foreign to the common law as it is to justice. In a case where a party to the action appears as a witness, the life, liberty, and estate of the witness may depend entirely on the religious prejudice of the jury. It must frequently be a question with a person accused of a crime, who is an atheist, whether it will not endanger his position more to have his atheism put in evidence than to give an explanation which,

under ordinary circumstances, might lead to his acquittal.* From this point of view, the law is one of the most outrageous ones which has ever disgraced the statute-book. No one, who for a moment considers what it means to the person interested, can hesitate to decide what should be the fate of the law.

At the side of this objection, the objection taken to the form of the present statute, in itself sufficiently weighty, appears insignificant. The statute points to the atheist with the same finger of scorn with which it marks the convicted felon. It puts Huxley and Spencer at the side of Pomeroy and Guiteau in point of decredibility!

If the statute was intended to punish atheists for their belief, it is a most flagrant injustice as well as unconstitutional; and, if that be its purpose, it fails utterly to carry it out, for the injury is most likely to fall on third persons. The proper course to take is simply to strike the objectionable clause from the statute-book. No substitution would seem desirable. Even the rule that the religious belief of a witness shall not be put in evidence is objectionable, for such evidence is quite necessary occasionally to determine the weight to be given to testimony. Such would be the case, for instance, where church property was in controversy.

The great majority of our States as well as Great Britain have shown the way to this much-needed reform. Not one of the States which has admitted the testimony of atheists unquestioned has ever retraced its steps. Massachusetts still lags behind, unfaithful to her traditions; but the belief seems justified that she will soon step over to the majority.

H. W. MACK.

THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE.

Its Apparent Insolvability.

II.

The perception that the objective compass of this problem outreaches the domain of experience insinuates the belief that it cannot be solved, and this belief is favored by the further consideration that all attempts to solve it hitherto have seemed rather to aggravate the mystery of its subject. Nevertheless, there is an opposite belief, of dominant prestige, obtaining as it does upon evidence adduced in the preceding section of this essay, yet admitting of confirmation by the discovery that the non-solution of the problem heretofore is due to other and weightier reasons than are predicable of its inherent reconditeness. The most obtrusive of these reasons is the historic fact that no would-be expounder of the problem has hit upon the proper method, every essayist to this end having been either exclusively scientific or mainly metaphysical. But the problem is not amenable to science, as will by and by appear. Let us first see its repugnance to metaphysics. The reader may not have wasted time enough to have learned what that is, and so I will describe it here.

Metaphysics may be defined as the subject-matter of speculation as to the purport of consciousness, whether the components of its objective counterpart are real or imaginary. It thus questions the trustworthiness of our intellectual faculties and postulates the uncertainty of all intelligence, as well as the possible unreality of existence itself. It is antagonistic to both science and philosophy,

*Suppose an innocent man is accused of a crime. Circumstances point against him. He goes on the stand, tells a straightforward story, and the jury are convinced of his innocence. Then the prosecuting attorney shows the atheism of the witness,—the accused,—succeeds in his dextrous appeal to the jury, not only in discrediting the witness, but in arousing the feelings of the jury against a man so abandoned as to be an atheist, and a conviction is more likely to follow than the proper verdict of "Not guilty."

tending as it does to skepticism and intellectual embarrassment, based also as it is upon unwarrantable assumption such as makes the pith of the following assertions: That none of the senses conveys any intimation of the existing physical world (Mansel); that we cannot be properly said to see any distant body, such as the sun (*ibid.*); that the presented object of sight is inverted (Berkeley); that time and space are fabrics of intuition (Kant); that what we call matter is a group of qualities which have no existence apart from our minds (Fiske); that we are conscious of nothing but mental states (Hume); that pure being is pure nothing (Hegel); that there is no substance but a cluster of attributes without a nucleus (Cousin); that there may be a world wherein two and two do not make four (Mill); that whether there is or is not a real corresponding to our fiction (*sic*) of pure space cannot be answered (Lewes); and so on.

If all achievements of speculation were as valueless as these, I should say it ought to be suppressed. But such products of its misuse are pertinent to metaphysics, whose theme is always some *inutile quodlibet*, such as "How can the one be many, or the many one?" In other words, "How can a variety of attributes constitute a single object?" a question which Mansel says "has puzzled the metaphysicians of all ages," but which no person of good sense, well-employed, deems worthy of a moment's consideration. Why? Because it has nothing to do with the art of living well, and no bearing upon the problem of existence or *what we live for*. Besides, speculation upon such finical conceits involves a loss of time and waste of talent, since it ends just where it begins, as appears from the experiments of Mansel himself, who, in the end of his dabbling with the obfuscating merits of his subject, concludes thus: "There still remains the question, Do things as they are resemble things as they appear to us? [an exceedingly important question, but alas!] a question which we cannot answer, either in the affirmative or in the negative." But the impotence of speculation in this case is chargeable not to its use, but to its abuse. It is metaphysical speculation that shows itself here as it does elsewhere to be dogmatic, quizzical, and preposterous. No wonder that such a method of pseudo-inquiry should have proved abortive. But many an earnest investigator has failed in past times to solve the problem of existence for another reason.

2. Because, in those times science was undeveloped, though science itself is incompetent for this work. It is important to the purpose of this discussion to keep in view the truth that the problem of existence is not scientific, but philosophic; that is to say, it pertains not to existence only, but to that *and* the cause and use of existence. Were it otherwise, were the problem merely scientific, it would be pertinent to inquire why, since the modern advance of science, its method has either not been employed or else has failed in its application to the problem. But this question is forestalled by discernment of the need of science to tutor the animus of investigation preparatory to the birth of philosophy; it being requisite for intellectual success, in whatever direction the bent of inquiry propends, to ply the norm of science (which was not before Bacon) as that of intelligence in general, to discard assumption, and argue nothing but upon data of experience, which, in fact, is no other than common sense rationalized or complemented by reason. And is not the age of reason just now dawning? The ancient but obsolescent sway of metaphysics is explicable on the same principle as that of other antiquated systems of thought or categories of speculation, such as alchemy and astrology, whose relation to science is

precisely that of metaphysics to philosophy. And this reflection is suggestive of another general reason why the problem of existence has not as yet been solved, with no implication that it is insolvable, namely,—

3. Because it is a problem of philosophy, and philosophy is yet to be born. For not only are the proceeds of philosophy adjunctive to those of science, but philosophy itself is in a manner the offspring of science. Science is first in order of development; and, without it, philosophy would never obtain. This does not supersede that, but follows it, not only as a broader and deeper ken of Nature, but as the rational apperception of Nature's antecedent and consequent. Inasmuch as mundane existence, the objective matter of science, is the fulcrum of supermundane verities, science is the parent of philosophy. Nevertheless, in another and more obvious sense, philosophy is the educator of science. The arena of science is sensible experience, the objective world of sight: that of philosophy is subjective, the world of insight. Science is definite knowledge of natural phenomena and of the order in which they may occur. Philosophy is qualitative knowledge of the cause and use of existence as deduced from the synthetic science of extant existence itself. The arena of science is narrower than that of philosophy; otherwise, the two are partly identical. Each is built upon truisms or elements of natural faith, of which the scope of philosophy embraces some that science ignores. Yet the consensus of science and philosophy is perfect. Neither can abnegate an item of truth which the other affiliates. What science grasps in detail, philosophy compasses only in general terms. The one collates facts, the other digests principles. Apart from these specifications of difference, science and philosophy resemble each other; conviction, the gist of intellection, being one and the same for all grades of intelligence.

These reflections verge to the foregone conclusion. Science and philosophy are issues of human development. The problem of existence is incidental to the growth of human intelligence. Human intelligence is the outcome of human experience. The capacity for experience relevant to rational development is progressive, a thing of evolution. Man was for ages capable of thinking and bound to think at random. Hence metaphysics, astrology, alchemy, and all forms of superstition. His science, though more shapely than centuries ago, is still immature and fragmentary; and what philosophy may be he only conjectures. When science becomes synthetic, and philosophy having obtained a footing grows conscious of its forte, the problem of existence will not remain long unsolved. Failure to solve it hitherto is imputable to the same negative cause as that which formerly postponed the development of science and still postpones that of philosophy.

The first step toward the solution of any problem is to formulate it. But the problem of existence is as yet unwritten, and but vaguely conceived as an equivocal sentiment concerning the personal destiny of mankind, expressible in dubious terms of belief or unbelief. It is in this sense that I have employed the phrase so far; though, in my own mind, the question has assumed a definite form which I am about to announce for what I conceive to be the problem's true formula, the want of which, or the want of an equivalent of which, has been the prime cause of failure to solve it.

The prescriptive sentiment whence the problem emerges is compassed by three words,—*What, Whence, Wherefore?* Carlyle noted it as dual, with express regard to human nature or the collective

apparition of mankind, who to his mental vision "emerge from the inane, haste stormfully across the Earth, then plunge again into the inane.... But whence? O heaven, whither? Sense knows not; faith knows not; only that it is through Mystery to Mystery, from God and to God." Thus, many a thinker has overlooked the fact that problems are amenable only to reason. Prof. Diman, who made the same unwritten problem the gist of his lectures on the *Theistic Argument*, framed his conception of it with three predicaments of selfhood, thus: "What can I know? What ought I to do? and For what may I hope?—Whence am I? For what was I made? Whither am I going?" My version of the same conventional inquest, though objectively broader, is also triune by logical analysis.

It is impossible to ascertain how much I am indebted to other probers of its subject for my ability to translate the terms of its partial explanation as given above, and the following original statement is made with less assurance of its adequateness than of its probable fitness to suggest a better. In the spirit of this avowal, the reader's candid criticism is coveted. What is the problem of existence, if not this?—

To find the rational purport of mundane existence regarded as the process of natural causation,—

1. As to the intrinsic character of its Supernal Agent;

2. As to the ulterior use thereof as predetermined by the purpose of its Inaugurator and Conductor;

3. As to the occult spiritual nature and consequent superhuman destiny of mankind, viewed as corollaries from the Cause and Use thereof.

GEORGE STEARNS.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP LYNCH.*

Sir,—I have read your circular of May 9, addressed to the Catholic clergy of Toronto and published in the daily papers, animadverting on the Free Thought Association of this city, and on free thinkers generally, and warning your people to avoid all contact with them, their lectures, and their writings. Since you have stated that "this society of free thinkers from time to time bring from the United States lecturers to blaspheme God, his holy religion, and to turn into ridicule all the mysteries of our faith," and since I am the only person this society has ever brought from the United States to speak from its platform, I am guilty, I trust, of no discourtesy in addressing you this open letter in reply to some of the strange assumptions and fallacies contained in your circular.

That circular indicates, no doubt, the present attitude of the leaders of your Church to free thought and their disposition and spirit toward free thinkers. Its opposition to the right of private judgment, its intolerance of dissent, its insistence on unquestioning belief in the dogmas of the Church, and unhesitating submission to your authority, is in entire harmony with the ecclesiastical despotism which you represent.

Because the members of the Toronto Free Thought Association exercise the right of thinking for themselves as individuals rather than in herds, and coming to conclusions such as reason and common sense compel them to accept instead of bowing down to men like themselves and slavishly adopting creeds written for them before they were born, you attempt to make the public believe that "those people claim the right also of acting as well as thinking as they please." Free thinkers are not so superficial as to think that belief is a

* Reprinted by Request from the Toronto Graphic of May, 1880.

matter of choice, and that they can "believe as they please." They claim only the right to believe as evidence forces them to believe, and the right to utter and advocate their beliefs on religion as freely as any other subject. They claim to do as they please only when they please to do right; and, while they do not recognize the authority of priest, bishop, archbishop, or pope, they acknowledge those great principles of right and duty held in common by the civilized world, and are ever ready to submit to the authority of the social reason in all social concerns, as expressed by the laws and through the courts and tribunals of the land, claiming, of course, the right to work, by discussion and agitation, for the abrogation of bad laws as well as the emancipation of the mind from enslaving superstitions. You speak of free thinkers as "disbelieving in the Ten Commandments," but will hardly succeed in convincing intelligent readers that there is a class in this community who would favor the abolition of laws against murder, theft, adultery, etc. So much of the moral code as is included in the so-called Ten Commandments is a part of the free thinker's as well as the Christian's belief and standard. Because I do not believe that these commandments were given to the world by a direct revelation,—especially when I know that nations like Egypt flourished long before the alleged date of Moses, and understood the principles of justice and right ages before the date of the oldest book of the Bible,—it does not follow that I reject moral principles involved in these "commandments."

True to the policy and traditions of your Church, you seek to prejudice the people against free thinkers by comparing them or rather identifying them with the Nihilists of Russia, when you know, or ought to know, that Nihilism is a *political* movement, whether wise or unwise, against the despotic and corrupt government of Russia, and that its adherents are of various religious beliefs,—Jews, free thinkers, and Christians. The word "Nihilist," as used by these political workers, has no reference whatever to that with which you connect it,—*"nothing after this life, reward or punishment."* But you think, if free thought were to prevail, it would render a country uninhabitable. Since, however, you gave no reason for this notion, it may be passed with the remark that it is but natural that men who have lived their entire lives with no higher motives than fear of hell and hope of a crown of glory as incentives to duty should think the earth would become a pandemonium, if these beliefs should be outgrown.

There is as little disposition to vice and crime among free thinkers as among Christians, even Christians of the "holy" Catholic Church. Free thinkers are now numerous in all the advanced nations of Christendom, and yet I challenge you to prove that they are more addicted to wrongdoing than the devotees of your own faith. The men and women who figure in the police courts of this city, those who fill the jails and penitentiaries, those who expiate their crimes on the gallows, after confessing to a priest and receiving the assurance of pardon and salvation through a great bankrupt scheme, called the atonement, are not free thinkers. The men who spend their time in low dens, who engage in prize fights, who get up riots at Montreal and Toronto, are not free thinkers.

You say that "persons who do not believe in God, in his Son Jesus Christ, or the Bible, cannot take an oath on it, and consequently cannot testify in court, or act as jurymen, magistrates, members of parliament, or in any capacity in a Christian country where an oath is required." I wish to inform you, however, that the laws of enlightened

countries are being modified, and disqualifications on account of religious belief are being removed. By the *Evidence Amendment Act* of 1869, in England an atheist is allowed to affirm (instead of swearing) on the pains and penalties of perjury. The Constitution of the United States says, "Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion"; and it requires no religious belief as a qualification for office. In the State of Massachusetts, an atheist can testify in any court of justice; and the same is true of Illinois and several other States of the Union.

But, sir, if your Church were in the ascendancy in England or the United States, this gradual removal of disabilities and increasing toleration would give way to a renewal of the persecution, not only of free thinkers, but all Protestants; such persecution as has deluged the earth with blood in the past; such as led to the extermination of the Albigenes; such as led to the expatriation of the Moriscos, the unfortunate remnant of the Moorish nation that your predecessors robbed and murdered; such as led to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and afterwards from Portugal; such as led to the massacre of St. Bartholomew (which was celebrated by Gregory XIII. by a solemn procession); such as the destruction of fifty thousand lives in the Netherlands, when the ferocity of the Church was shown by the circumstance that, "upon Feb. 16, 1568, a sentence of the Holy Office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics." "From this universal doom," says Motley, "only a few persons specially named were excepted. A proclamation of the king, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition and ordered it carried into instant execution. . . . Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines." (*Dutch Republic*, vol. ii., p. 55.)

You foolishly observe that the "lies and sophistry of those wicked men" (such as the Toronto Free Thought Association brings to Canada from that benighted region, the United States) "have been exposed and answered by the most learned men of all ages." *Mirabile dictu*. You have said it; and, since you are an archbishop of an infallible Church, it must be so, and to dispute your statement is, no doubt, in your estimation, to blaspheme God, his holy religion, and to turn into ridicule all the "mysteries of our faith." Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Colenso, Renan, and Newman may as well stop publishing the results of their study and researches; for the whole thing has been answered by "the learned men of all ages," and it is nonsense to pay attention to their views or arguments! But, seriously, since you say the arguments of the free thinkers have been answered triumphantly, it is evident that you have no doubt that you can answer them. And now I suggest that you, or some person you may designate, meet a representative of the Free Thought Association of Toronto in this city in public debate, and let the people judge whether your claims and representation are true or false. Until you do this, many intelligent persons, judging you by your circular, will continue to doubt, not simply whether you can refute the arguments of the free thinkers, but whether you are sufficiently acquainted with modern free thought even to state its principles accurately.

You warn your people, especially young men, to avoid us and our lectures and writings. Thus it is that you, representing the spirit of the Nazarene (?), encourage charity and fraternity among men! In my lectures, I encourage men and women to become familiar with the various schools and phases of thought, with all the arguments for and against them, and to make character and conduct, not belief, a test of moral worth. Our motto is,

"In things that can be demonstrated, unity; in things that admit of doubt, free diversity; in all things, charity."

Your comparison of the works of free thinkers with obscene literature is in keeping with the general character of your circular. The most obscene book I ever read was written for the Roman Catholic priesthood, with the sanction and indorsement of your Church. Long after men of your order and spirit, and their circulars against the progressive tendencies of the age shall have been forgotten, the names of the free thinkers, whom you by implication slander and insult,—Humboldt, Haeckel, Spencer, Mill, Buckle, Victor Hugo, George Eliot, Harriet Martineau, Emerson, Parker,—will be respected and honored by the masses as they now are by the cultivated and thoughtful of all nations and climes.

Assuming the authority and arrogating to yourself the prerogative of a God, you not only forbid your people reading the works of advanced thinkers of the age and attending lectures in exposition and defence of their views, but declare that, if they do, they commit a grievous sin, "the absolution of which we reserve to ourselves." A thief, a forger, a robber, a murderer perhaps, any "common sinner" on whom the Church looks with comparative lenity, may be absolved by a priest; but the sin of listening to a free-thought lecture is one the absolution of which the great archbishop reserves to himself! It is a sad commentary on the intelligence of a people that it can be influenced and deceived by such assumptions of authority and such threats as these. After reading your remarkable letter, I can easily believe the story of the bandit who murdered a traveller, taking his money, clothes, and the lunch he had in his pocket, all but the *meat*, which he threw away, as the day on which the murder was committed was Friday.

Yours truly,

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

The Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature on Taxation gave a hearing last Thursday forenoon to petitioners for repeal of the law exempting church property from taxation. The first speaker was Mr. R. P. Halliwell, who claimed that all corporations ought to bear their proportionate part of the burden of government. The value of church property exempt from taxation in Massachusetts exceeds in value by over \$6,000,000 that of all scientific, charitable, and agricultural associations. The exemption is in effect a subsidy. It involves a direct tax on the people for the support of religion, and is a clear violation of the principle and spirit of religious freedom. No property, the speaker thought, should be exempt, except the property of the State. He was opposed to any discrimination or compromise in this matter. Mr. F. M. Holland said that the petition had been signed by 1,060 citizens, including several clergymen, though but little effort had been made to obtain signatures. Of these names, 461 were collected in Newburyport by a gentleman who wrote, "If the case were left to the people, I think there would be a vote of four to one in favor of it." A letter was read from Dr. Stebbins, of San Francisco, saying of the taxation of all property there the past twenty years, "I do not think that the law has any effect to hinder the churches in any work or influence for the human welfare." Mr. Holland read also a concise argument for taxation, drawn up by Rev. J. S. Bush, an Episcopal clergyman of Concord, Mass., formerly of San Francisco. One of the committee, interrupting Mr. Holland, inquired, "Who do you think are

the best citizens, those who attend churches or those who do not?" "Well," said Mr. Holland, "in Concord where I live, I think the average of the non-church goers is a little the best." Rev. William I. Gill said he was in favor of taxing church property on broad, statesman-like principles. Every institution not controlled by the State and for State purposes should be taxed for the public good. Men and women who believe that churches and religion are good should show their belief by supporting them; and, in most cases, the taxation of church property would make but the difference of a few hundred dollars each year. If churches could not support themselves under a system of taxation, they ought to go out of existence. He was in favor of a general law taxing all church property on grounds of justice and in the interests of the public good. B. F. Underwood said that the exemption of church property from taxation originated when the Church was a department of the State, and was consistent with the ancient order of things, but is now an anomaly where there is no State religion. What is the difference in principle between compelling a man to support any one church and compelling him to support them all? Exemption cannot be maintained on the ground that the influence of the churches is good; for so is the influence of mercantile, manufacturing, and industrial enterprises, which are all taxed none the less. Exemption cannot be maintained on the ground that churches yield no income, supposing it true; for the government never exempts depreciated stocks or wild lands, because the owner derives no income from them. Rev. F. Frothingham made the concluding speech, in which he said that this was a simple case of justice, and the attitude of equal justice to all is the theory of the State. Suppose, in a large community, one institution acquires property to the extent of millions of dollars, and holds that property exempt from taxation: that particular body is at a great advantage, the rest of the community has to pay a very much higher rate of taxation. Such a case is not a mere supposition. A serious injustice results in such cases; and the principle is the same, whether the religious body is large or small, rich or poor. As a minister, he could see how desirable it would be to have some small churches exempted; but, after all, there is the principle at stake, and he was bound to stand for principle and right. He admitted, in reply to a question from Mr. Cummings of the committee, that there is a possibility of bringing religion into politics, through Protestant assessors valuing Catholic churches high and Catholic assessors valuing Protestant churches high. The speaker, on the other hand, thought this a minor evil compared with the great principle at stake. He thought the taxation of churches would prevent the building of such costly churches, in which the poor can have no part and are practically excluded from worshipping. u.

Mr. W. G. BABCOCK thinks that Washington's Birthday may well be associated with the happiness of children; and his society has provided an entertainment for them at Odd Fellows' Hall, Monday forenoon, next.

FRANG & Co. evidently desire that St. Valentine's Day shall be celebrated in good style. Some of their chromo cards carrying flower groups or single flowers are hardly to be distinguished from the real drawings. Among the designs are some pretty bird subjects nesting and mating among blossoms. Assisted by well-known artists, Prang & Co. have served up their work in a variety of styles; and, it is needless to say, it is most artistically done.

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF HUMANITY.

Address delivered December 28 at Chickering Hall before the Society of Ethical Culture of New York.

BY W. L. SHELTON.

"Thou art smitten, thou God, thou art smitten, thy death is upon thee, O Lord;
And the love-song of Earth as thou diest resounds through the wind of her wings,
Glory to man in the highest, for man is the master of things!"

We are told of a sanctuary in the city of Paris that was altogether unlike the sanctuaries of the churches: indeed, had we been able to visit it ourselves, I presume we should not have thought of it as a place of religious devotion at all. And yet, to the one who worshipped there, that spot was probably as sacred as any altar would be to the suppliants in the churches. It was in that secluded sanctuary, by the dim light of the early morning, already before the mass of people had arisen for the labors of the day, that a man was kneeling in the attitude of prayer. It was an old man, we would have said, at an age when sentiment has begun to wither in the heart, when the interests of life begin to grow cold, materialistic, and indifferent, save now and then when a thought of the grave and its beyond suddenly blows up the flame of life into momentary agitation at a time when it was almost extinct; but there was no sign of withering decay just now on that old man's face. On the contrary, it wore an expression, as it is said, of "rapt and mystical expansion"; for he was praying. All the ecstasy of religious devotion was aroused in his soul, and still the character of his prayer must have been something very different from what we are familiar with. Most of us who have grown up in associations with churches and temples think only of prayer as the language of devotion to a personal God; but this man could not have been praying to such a God, for he did

not believe in one. Those of you who are familiar with the vagaries of Oriental mysticism may perhaps be reminded of the Sufi saints of Persia, and you may think that he supposed himself in rapt communion with some great spirit of the universe. But he did not believe in any metaphysical spirit of the universe. On the contrary, he had a profound contempt for all metaphysical entities, as he called them. Those of you who have studied the peculiarities of the Catholic Church in Europe may presume that he was in devotion to the glorified saints of immortal personality; but that was not possible, as he did not believe in a personal immortality. Hence, the canonized saints of the Church could have no meaning to him. But he was praying, nevertheless. Another thought, another conviction, lay at the basis of his worship. It was not to a personal God, not to any great spirit of the universe, not to any canonized saint of the Church, but to humanity that he was praying. Humanity was the great and supreme spirit at whose altar he was rendering up his religious devotion. Am I not right, when I say that no sanctuary had been the scene of such a strange and novel worship? But it had its meaning, nevertheless. This man was no erratic visionary. Who would dare smile at genius? And this man had genius,—not only genius, but enormous mental capacity and a vast extent of knowledge. By the scope of his study, he had swept the whole domain of science and philosophy. He it was whose knowledge had been so complete that he was able to gather up the facts which had been discovered by the ages, and out of that nebulous mass of material to construct a complete and systematic science of the sciences, a regularly co-ordinated hierarchy of knowledge. I would like, if I had time, to give you an account in detail of his great theory of development. I will, however, try just to sketch it for you in outline, though you must pardon me if it be a little abstract and condensed: it will require but a moment.

He claimed to have discovered three phases through which all knowledge and history must pass. His manner of naming them was a little unfortunate and misleading. He called them the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive stages of knowledge. The theological stage dates back from the earliest eras of primitive thought, and comes down, alas! even to our century. It represents that habit of mind which is always inclined to put a personal will back of all phenomena in the world. Its grossest form, of course, is African fetichism,—the worship of sticks and stones and amulets, as though they had a human will of their own; but it is the very same character of mind that ascends to the lofty theory of monotheism, and assumes a providential dispensation in arbitrary control of all nature. Gradually, the human mind has been weaning itself from such an unscientific notion, as though, indeed, any will could interfere with the great law of cause and effect. But, as the chain of causation must have some explanation, we have a new metaphysical epoch, when men attribute all physical activity to some mysterious entities, quiddities, chemical affinities, vital forces, spiritual personalities, etc. The crude use of our modern term of electricity is an illustration of the same thing, as though giving a name to something unexplainable was an explanation of it. Any one can see that such phrases are only mental abstractions, synonyms for an unknowable. There are no such things as essences, quiddities, vital forces, and the like. Such an epoch of thought can only be a transitional one; hence must arise out of this metaphysical stage the last and final epoch of human knowledge. Ultimate

knowledge we have discovered to be an illusion. We do not know God, we do not know nature, we do not know causes. We are only conscious of a series of evanescent changes in the world. Whence they come, as to the spirit that moves them, to what they are tending, we can know nothing. We will only study that of which we have any positive knowledge, and we can only have such a knowledge of these sequences of changes. They alone must constitute the material of our science and philosophy, and thus we have the positive stage of human thought.

These were the three phases which he claimed to be the three laws of human evolution. By the great extent of his knowledge, he was able to trace out these stages in our human history, and copiously to illustrate every point in the course of the evolution. I have no intention of discussing the truth of this new theory of development. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the great synthesis would stand the test of an elaborate criticism. I only wish to bring out before you the basis of his new theory of religion, for it may be that we shall discover that this religion has a deeper significance in our own lives than we would at first suspect. This philosopher believed that this last and final epoch was approaching, to this all knowledge was tending. He felt, I think, that he alone of all men was emancipated from theology and metaphysics. He stood out alone in advance of the world as the sole representative of that stage of thought that was to prevail throughout all the future existence of our race. Was he not justified, then, in his own mind in presuming to revise the theories of religious thought as well, to construct a new religion of positivism, that should be appropriate to this stage of development to which humanity was approaching? The religious outcome of such a philosophy was plain. If it be true that science can only teach us of the passing movements of unknowable phenomena, then knowledge of them as such can have no purpose in itself. We really can have no actual knowledge of them. We study these transitory phases only so far as they can become serviceable to our own convenience. We ourselves become the sole aim and purpose of knowledge. Religion must be based on a knowledge of something; and, hence, the horizon of ourselves becomes the horizon of knowledge,—nay, of religion itself. We become the very basis and purpose of our own religion. It is not a religion of God and not a religion of nature, but a religion of humanity. And now can you appreciate what I mean, when I say that the man whom I have been telling you of was praying to humanity,—on his knees, with his eyes closed, in an attitude of supreme devotion? Of course, he had modified the conception of worship and prayer. The humanity that he was praying to was no mental abstraction. It comprehended all the dead, the living, and those who shall live in time to come. All the souls who struggled to be good and true went to make up that humanity. "The living are always and necessarily under the government of the dead," was his saying. He was not praying in the sense of petitioning for his daily bread. Prayer to him was a kind of subjective devotion, an effusion of gratitude and love to the dead and the living for what they have been to us, an aspiration to that humanity that should awaken in us a sense of union with that humanity and a devotion to its cause. He had arranged also upon this basis an entire system of public worship. This new religion was to have its sacraments and its feast days, its Bibles and its music, its rituals and its ceremonies. Nothing was to be wanting to make it complete. Everything was designed to glorify humanity in our hearts. Public devotion

and private worship had the cause of humanity as its only basis of religion. That cause was all the God that was left to us. It must be our God.

I know that such a scheme of religion must appear very novel and strange. And yet, in spite of that novelty and strangeness, there is something pleasing and attractive about it. We feel somehow that it is a religion of ourselves, for our hearts are touched by it. It does appeal to our sympathy, for we do love our race, and we do wish to see that race join hands in aspiration toward something higher; but there is a mistake in it, nevertheless. It does appeal to our sympathies, but it does not satisfy the natural sense of religion: there is something wanting there. And yet I am convinced that this man has touched the core of the religious spirit of the nineteenth century. Men as a rule do not have a definite sense of the religious spirit which actuates them, and so they may not recognize in this new religion anything akin to their own convictions. There is much about it that is weird and curious, I know. He made the mistake of swathing it in a mass of ceremonial paraphernalia, which even his own disciples do not accept; but the spirit of it is just the same. I would like to unsweat this strange new birth to-day, and to tell you its significance,—not as a scheme of religion, you understand, but as a religious spirit that is in various ways, widely, though half unconsciously, actuating the minds of men at the present time. We could wish that that spirit would manifest itself in as pure and noble a way as this new scheme of religion would have led us to expect. But we shall meet with it in very different aspects, when we come to study it in the world; for the life in the world makes sad havoc of the systems of religion. But I shall endeavor to give you a picture of it just as it actually exists.

I believe that the religious spirit of the nineteenth century is an apotheosis of man. I take the phrase, as you know, from the custom in ancient Rome of consecrating their emperors into gods. It was very natural of course, as a reaction from the dogma of monotheism, which had crushed the human mind for ages beneath a wheel of abject awe and fear, that, when once the human spirit should set itself free, it would assert itself with an emphasis that could not be mistaken,—humanity would make itself the basis of its own religion, and man would become his own God. The revolution did come. The pent-up personality of man threw off its submission to the myth of a personal will that was outside and above it: it laughed the gods to scorn, and avowed its own sovereignty before the assembled universe. Shall I give you a picture of the curious revolution in religion which thus took place? The throne of the Almighty had become vacant: who then should ascend that throne and assume that august position? The multitude stood waiting and watching. And, while the cloud was about the throne and the smoke of the incense was arising on every side, behold a new form was seen to make itself visible within that cloud. The multitude exultingly recognizes a reflection of itself upon that throne of Heaven. It is the figure of a glorified humanity. The trumpets sound, the cloud clears away, the incense rises, and the multitude falls down in adoration. And then they lift up their voice in their hymn of praise: "All power, dominion, and majesty be given unto thee, O humanity, in heaven and upon earth: we praise thee, we glorify thee, we acknowledge thee to be our God!" And thus humanity has its new religion. Do you think that I am giving you a caricature of religion? I tell you it is the heart of a great mass of the civilized world that I am holding up to your judgment. Of course,

they will not acknowledge it. One almost hesitates to put it into language. We scarcely know whether to call it puerile or blasphemous, but that it is a truthful picture I do most assuredly believe. There are of course, as I have already intimated, very different aspects to such an apotheosis. Systems of theological faiths may have their origin in the cells of monks or in the studies of philosophers; but the religious spirit of an age will be born of the life of the people in the world, and will look very different from the elaborate creeds and rituals of the churches. I want to show you two such different aspects, and to leave you to judge of their mistake as a basis of religion.

On the one hand, we have a curious apotheosis of our human power and greatness. We have done so much in manipulating the forces of nature by our own unaided effort, we have made such new discoveries as to our supreme position in the universe, that we have actually been thrown into awe at our own majesty. It is not the God-man of Christian theocracy, but the man-God of modern democracy. The feeling is a prevalent one throughout our daily life. You may think you know at least where this new conviction does not exist. You may tell me of churches and temples that will be thronged to-day by a multitude of men and women who have come together to bow in reverential devotion before a will that is outside and above them. I tell you I do not trust in their reverential devotion. When they approach their churches with liveried teams and in royal array, when they walk up to the altar clad in jewels and magnificent apparel, think you they have a definite sense that they have come to bow in reverence before the majesty of their God? Do you remember the way that the prophet Micah summarized the pure religion of Jehovah? "To do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before thy God." No: it is with a self-conscious spirit that they approach their altars; it is with a self-conscious spirit that they pray: it is this spirit of self-consciousness that constitutes the basis of their religion. Here and there, it is true, there will be some genuine worshippers of their Jehovah. And where they are is holy ground. But their number is becoming very few. The Church does not seek so much the glory of God as the security of its personal power, for the glory of their God is on the decline. Its maxim has become, Listen to me; but the early Church would have said, Listen to God. And so even the Church has come to set up an apotheosis of itself on earth.

The real spirit of this exaltation of our own majesty would seek its legitimate basis upon the new discoveries of science. It is true that science does appear to give a specious justification to this sense of our human superiority. They have begun to construe nature not as a number of fragmentary processes, but as a unit of evolving forces; and thus they have elaborated the great new law of evolution. Providence has been thrown out of the régime, and man was left to gravitate to his natural position in the hierarchy. The friends of theology had been afraid that this new law would affect the superior position of man in nature. But science would seem to have done just the contrary. The scheme of evolution appears to close with the development of man,—the last, the highest, the most complete effort of nature in all its phases of development. We stand at the top of nature, we alone are supreme. What a stimulus to our self-admiration! What a ground for our self-apotheosis! We forget, however, that we are judging of the universe from our own stand-point. In the same way, the tiny crystal that makes up the granite of our mountains, the microscopic coral insect that builds the islands of the Pacific, might as

sume in their consciousness, if they had one, that they stood at the top of evolution. What do they know of man? And what, I ask, does man know of that great extent of life that may lie altogether outside of his sphere of relations? If we stand so much above the crystal and the polyp that at least we can know what we do not know, why, then let that superiority display itself by our humility. We have to remember that, if there is a sublimity in the consciousness of power, there is also sublimity in the consciousness of weakness.

But the greatest stimulus to this apotheosis of human greatness does not come so much from the decay of the Church as from the new discoveries of science. It is not our position in nature, but our power over nature, that leads us to magnify ourselves. This it is that makes this aspect of our apotheosis so congenial to America. We have accomplished so much in a single century! We span the rivers with our bridges, we thread our continent with railways, we girdle the oceans with our telegraphs, we handle the forces of nature almost as though we held the reins of the universe itself. In weight of mass, complexity of detail, unity of design, we seem to outdo nature itself. It is the spirit of the self-made man and the man-made earth; but what about the forces we use? Have they no claim to recognition? Whence comes the material with which you construct your machines? What is the electricity with which you girdle the oceans? Whose is the steam by which you thread the continent? Did you make them, that in your pride of power you claim this universal sovereignty? Before you put yourself in comparison with nature, let me give you some illustrations of what that nature means. Do you think that we can have any notion of the extent of space, when we spread our power over its surface? Ask the astronomer what he knows about space. He has undertaken to gauge the star depths, to measure the shape and extent of the universe itself; and, to some extent, he has succeeded. He has found that these millions of stars to which our sun belongs lie in a great flat disk or plane, with our planetary system somewhere near the centre. And, in order to make us appreciate the distance across that universe of stars, he thinks of the time it would take a ray of light to sweep from our sun to the outmost boundary. A ray of light starting from our sun at the centre and moving at the rate of nearly two hundred thousand miles a second, leaping from planet to planet, and from sun to sun,—hours, days, weeks, months, years, and centuries, even to a thousand years, still it would not be at that boundary. And then another thousand, and another and another and another, all the time moving at the rate of two hundred thousand miles a second, in vain would it be seeking the outmost limits. And then, as though to stun us with our own insignificance, he turns and tells us that even this universe of stars is only one of the islands in the ocean of space. But do you think that we have even a conception of a point of space? The mathematician has taken a single drop of water: he has accurately calculated the number of separate atoms in that minute bit of space. And then, to give us a sense of that number, he thinks of each one of those atoms magnified to the size of a small pebble stone, when that one drop of water, with its mass of pebble stones, would equal the size of the solid globe of earth itself. But do you think that we can have a measure in our lives of a moment of time? Again, the scientist comes in. He has caught the sound of an insect's wing by an apparatus of his own: he has counted the number of separate vibrations in a single second, and he discovered them to be something like ten thou-

sand. And, of those ten thousand vibrations in every second, he assumes that that living organism must be conscious of every one. I have not given you these illustrations for the sake of showing you what science can do, but that we may have a true sense of our material insignificance. It was a curious piece of credulity that ever led us to an apotheosis of our material power and greatness. For the sake of truth,—yes, for the sake of religion,—I say, give up this self-conscious spirit that is so weak and vain, put aside this sense of our human superiority that is so crude and unauthorized, humble this sense of our human majesty that is so unwise. We but mock ourselves with such a puerile presumption. We can have no basis for religion in such an apotheosis of ourselves.

There is, however, another and very different aspect to this apotheosis of humanity. We have not simply an exaltation of our power into an apotheosis of ourselves, which is one phase, but we have also a consecration of our moral personality into a real religion of humanity; and that is a very different phase. We recognize the beauty and worth of such a religion: it is to its spirit that we must attribute the glorious humanitarian movements in the cause of justice and a true equality which have been arising in our century. Do you realize what it means,—that assertion of a moral personality? It is that doctrine of a man within the man, that the leaders of our new moral movements have been teaching so plainly,—the notion of moral personality in every one of us, which has a dignity and a worth and a purpose of its own, however stupendous and overwhelming the outside forces may be. We feel that we have a right to that personality, that we ought to live it out, even though it be against the universe itself. Before Deity itself, if such there be, we would assert that right and that duty. There is no vanity in such a consciousness of our moral worth: we would not be men, if we did not have it. I can tell you, indeed, of one expression of it in the language of poetry, which seems even to come from a disciple of a supernatural religion. I refer to the "In Memoriam" of Alfred Tennyson. It is when the heart is wrung with grief for one that is dead that it begins to realize the worth of the friend we have lost. We have then a dawning sense of what it is to be a man. I doubt, indeed, whether those who have not their dead to mourn for can ever have a full sense of the worth of a human soul. And Tennyson, in his great love and agony at the thought of his dead friend standing before the final judgment seat, and liable to condemnation, ventures to raise his voice, and to remind the Almighty himself what justice was; and he was right. No religion can ever shake our faith in the positive worth of our moral personality as individuals. Whatever may be our material insignificance before the universe at large, within our own sphere we still have a right to ourselves and our own nature, and a duty to ourselves to live that nature out.

But a religion of humanity includes more than that: it tells us not simply of a moral personality in ourselves as individuals, but of a moral unity in our race as well. It has lifted the religious aspect from the individual to the race. It conceives not of you and me simply, but of a spirit of humanity that lives in you and in me, and gives a unity to our race and a universality to our religion. It is that beautiful notion of a universal brotherhood. It may appear surprising to some, when I say that this is essentially a pagan conception, but, though pagan, profoundly religious nevertheless. It is true that Christianity did teach such a doctrine, but it contradicted its own teaching by pro-

claiming a doctrine of everlasting doom for a great portion of our race. One-half in heaven and one-half in hell, with a great gulf between them, and still all were brothers! Neither Judaism nor Christianity has ever been able to teach a scientific conception of our mutual moral relations as a race. "Personal salvation" has always been their watchword. It is true they have wrought nobly for the salvation of humanity; but they have done it not so much on the ground of our human fellowship as because we were creatures of one Creator, and that Creator willed it. The aspect is changed. By no command of any majesty, by no power that is laid upon us from without, do we strive after one another's moral salvation. There is no such a thing as a working out of our moral aim by ourselves as isolated individuals. The great writer whom I have told you about at the beginning expressed it very plainly, when he said, "Man is an abstraction: there is nothing real but humanity." Some one of us perhaps may think that he is moving on alone to the height of his moral aspirations; but, at the close, he will find that the movements of the race will have pushed that height onward, and he will find himself beneath another pole than he anticipated.

There is something glorious, nevertheless, in this sense of a universal fellowship. It is due, indeed, chiefly to a religion of humanity that for the first time we have been able to put this unity of our race upon a scientific basis. It was true, as the positivist said, not to the living only do we stand connected, but we are bound also by a law of continuity with the dead. Not to ourselves only, but to the ones who have gone before us, do we owe all that we have and are. As a race, we hang together not simply by a sense of fellowship, but by the regularity of law. The movements of our race appear to be evolving upward by an invariable law of their own, just as the movements of nature go on by their own law of evolution. I know, at first, it does seem as though there had been something almost merciless in the encroachments of law upon the domain of arbitrary will. Only a few centuries ago, and somehow it was thought that the heavens themselves had something capricious about them. But the law of their movements was accurately discovered; and Newton could have said, if he had wished, Give me the law of gravitation, and I will construct the scheme of the heavens as well as the Creator. Chemical phenomena were supposed subject to arbitrary transmutations, if only men could discover the secret of the process, until finally it was discovered there were no transmutations, and the romance of alchemy under the new theory of atoms became the science of chemistry. But these bones and sinews, these moving organisms, they must be above all law: they act only by vital forces, as it was said. But the scientist said, No: give me the plan of a single living cellule, and I will construct all physical life. And then finally came the thunderbolt into our own lives,—science and philosophy combined. And they have startled the civilized world by saying, Give us the laws of our spiritual life and its physical environment, and we will construct all society; and it looks as though they could do it, too. They have gone back into history; they have taken up its stages one by one; they have studied all the phases of each separate stage; they have seen how those phases combine to give a new stage with its new phases; they have caught the processes of the changes, until they have discovered that history, too, is not a creation, but a growth. One society grows out of another, one age grows out of another, the chain of causation runs through them all; and so we have an evolution in history as well.

And does all this make us afraid? Have we lost our freedom, and are we sunk in the mire of an outside force? We forget that we are the agents of that evolution. It is the laws of our own nature that we are carrying out, and not the laws of something that is outside of us. It would be the stream of our own acts and our own nature that we would be afraid to follow. It is not something that is outside of us that explains us. The laws of astronomy cannot explain the facts of chemistry; atoms and molecules cannot explain physical life; the living cell cannot explain our spiritual soul-life. We may have the crystal life and the cell-life: we have also the soul-life, and that is our own. Let us welcome, then, this new discovery of science. We learn that we, too, are not fragments of moral forces, as it was formerly supposed, but that we belong to a unit of moral evolution which is going on throughout the race. No longer strangers and pilgrims, moving up and down in an unknown world like fleeting spectres dancing in the wind, but a great phalanx of living men moving on to a given goal by the law of their own natures and by the submission of their own wills,—such would be the conception of this new scientific basis of religion. We throw ourselves into this stream of tendency, we accept its end as our end, its law as our law: we have become one with our race, and the religion of humanity has achieved its end.

But a religion of humanity stops right there, and there lies its mistake. It builds a great dome about the unity of our race, with its pillars resting upon time and its arches within a boundary of space, and then it exclaims, Within this temple of humanity must be the basis of all religion and the seat of all worship! I believe that is a mistake. We speak of a personality within that belongs to ourselves, and that continues the same in spite of the changes in our lives; and we say it is the very same I which began with us in the cradle and goes down with us to the grave. We think of the race to which we belong. We speak of its unity; and we say, It is the very same race which began with the first origin of soul and goes down to its grave in eternity. But what, I ask, about that universal life to which our race belongs, and which has no birth and no grave at all? There lies the defect of a religion of humanity. It does not take into account the thought of a something outside of ourselves. There is a Life beyond our life, a Power outside of our power, a Majesty above all human majesty. I am not teaching any doctrine of theism, for I do not myself believe in any personal God; but I do most assuredly believe that we make a mistake in making a God out of humanity. If you will worship, reserve your worship for something outside of yourselves. Acknowledge the dignity and worth of an existence which is not comprised in you, but in which you may be comprised. I do not propose to define that existence. It is only the fact of that existence that I wish to emphasize. I do not intend to-day to give you any new theory of religion. I am only suggesting the first thought that must lie at the basis of all religion. About a century and a half ago, just after the French monarchy had been at the pinnacle of its glory, the great King Louis XIV. lay dead. No monarch in history had been so worshipped and adored. Majesty itself could not ask for greater adulation. He had become the very type of greatness to his people; and, when they had come together at the Sainte Chappelle to pay the last respects to his glory, Massillon, the funeral orator, with the robes of the Church about him, raised his voice above the remains of their adored Louis the Great, and exclaimed, "My brothers, God alone is great." To-day, amid the dying

creeds and smitten gods, we venture to raise our voice and say, The universe and its law alone is great. That is the single thought that I wish to leave with you to-day,—the thought that there is a something besides humanity, a life and a law, we may call it, that is larger, more extensive, and more complete than anything we can think of in ourselves. There is a yearning in almost every human heart after something that men call God, and yet we have no knowledge of such an existence. And shall the human heart go a-begging for its religion, seeking through the wide wastes of thought and finding nothing? I tell you, No! I point you to something more genuine and real than anything which the dreams of mythology can give. Instead of a God that is outside of nature and of us, I point you to a universal life to which we and nature all belong. Instead of a command that comes upon us from without, I point you to a law and a process that is going on within. This universal life is not as the clay to an outside potter. The potter and the clay are one. I bid you look at the universal life that is going on all about you,—the flowers at your feet, the stars overhead, the crystal, the polyp, and the living soul,—and ask yourself whether they may not have a common life and a common law. Study these things of earth as well as the things of heaven: they, too, have their worth, for they belong to our existence. Every new fact discovered, every new law established, adds another verse of truth and another psalm of praise to the great tomes of the world's Bibles. We shall approach nearer and nearer and nearer to that life and that law to which we all belong, and which must give us the basis of our religion.

The poet from whose hymn of man I have read you selections to-day was wrong, then, I believe. It may be true that the God of our fathers is smitten, and his throne may be vacant; but it is not true that we have any claim to assume that position. Thou, too, O man, art smitten! Thy death may be upon thee as well. When that time shall come which has been mentioned by the prophet,—“when all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, when their host shall fall down as a leaf falleth from the vine and a fig falleth from the fig-tree,”—then, too, our spiritual dust may fall away into the general dissolution. But it will not be wasted. Out of that dust may arise new existences as much transcending us as we transcend the clod at our feet. They, too, will sing their *Gloria in Excelsis*. Lift up your heads then, ye gates, be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in. Who is that King of glory? Not the Lord, the Lord that was so strong and mighty, and not the humanity now so great in its Titanic majesty, but the Universe with its law, the Life of all lives, the Source of all power,—that universal Life must be our King of glory. Glorify humanity, if you will, make all of it that you can. Work for humanity,—work for humanity with every bone and sinew. The time is short, the work is great, and it must be done. Though it be for an hour, that one hour may be of unspeakable worth. Only do not make an apotheosis of it. The religion of the future, when it arises, must arise on universal foundations. God may have been a chimera, man may have only the life of an hour; but religion at least must have its foundation upon truth, and its spirit must reach out into eternity.

In opinions look not always back:
Your wake is nothing, mind the coming track;
Leave what you've done for what you have to do;
Don't be "consistent," but be simply true.

—O. W. Holmes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"FREEDOM OF WORSHIP BILL" IN NEW YORK.

Editors of The Index:—

The usual orthodox bigotry, though somewhat more intelligent, is exhibited by the *Independent* in its consideration of a misnamed "Freedom of Worship Bill" introduced in the New York legislature a month ago. Similar bills have been before the legislature for years, but have never become laws. Last week, a second bill even "more favorable" to Roman Catholics and "more objectionable" to the *Independent* was introduced. The *Independent* of February 5 says of this bill: "Not only must sectarian services be allowed in public reformatories where now are taught only those doctrines common to all Christians; but, if the managers thought it desirable to have a Roman Catholic chaplain, they could not select him themselves, but must open their doors and provide 'the use of a proper room' for 'any clergyman' whom Cardinal McCloskey or 'other proper authority' might designate. The bill is absurd as well as sectarian; but, nevertheless, there is great danger that it will be made a law."

I pointed out to the *Independent* that it inconsistently desired the State to teach "doctrines common to all Christians," and that those "common to all Christians" were not common to all civilians; but, as it has seen fit not to publish my criticism, I offer the letter to the public through *The Index*.

A. L. L.

State Taxation: Shall it be for Sectarian or for Secular Purposes?

Editor of the Independent:—

Sir,—In the *Independent* of January 22, which was handed me by a friend, I find an editorial article entitled "A Sectarian Bill at Albany." Your criticism of this measure is wise and broad, but it does not go deep enough. You overlook the significant fact that *Christianity is itself a religious sect*, and, as a sect, falls under your condemnation of sectarian sacraments in public institutions. And you are inconsistent in urging Catholics to acquiesce in purely Christian sacraments, telling them that the "Lord's Prayer" and the "Ten Commandments" are no more Protestant than they are Catholic, and that, therefore, they have no right to protest. The Romanist justly demands that, if Christian sacraments, such as you have mentioned, be administered at all, they receive the authoritative interpretation and sanction of his Church. These ceremonies are considered valuable mainly because of their supposed sacramental character. You, however, in effect maintain that the Catholic subject should not see these doctrines through the eyes of his Church, but through his own eyes, which is a Protestant mode of procedure. And you further inconsistently and unrighteously demand that the public, which is composed of many sects of religion besides the Christian, should all acquiesce in Christian sacraments, ceremonies, or worship!

To restate what seems to me your glaring inconsistency, you would not be satisfied with the State establishment of Jewish sacraments for public institutions; and yet you expect secularists—and not merely Romanists—to be satisfied with the obtrusion of ceremonies that are clearly Christian.

All true secularists object to the obtrusion of any sectarian sacraments—Christian, Mormon, Jewish, or other—on State subjects or democratic citizens. Let the Church "mind her own affairs," and the State "will attend its proper cares."

The benighted ones in reformatories, penitentiaries, etc., may properly be enlightened by the State concerning secular, and not sectarian, needs, interests, privileges, rights, duties, laws, etc.; and such enlightenment would of itself tend to the altruistic development of their spiritual life, without the fear of fire or the cant of creeds. The care of the State is enlightened discipline, not ecclesiastical doctrine.

But this will never suit the sectarian spirit. The *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the sectarianization of this government, demands that the Constitution of the United States be changed so as to make this nation unequivocally Christian and the Bible the source of laws. I know not what stand you take concerning this demand, but I do know that the position you took in your criticism of the "Freedom of

Worship Bill" is the same in principle as this demand. You want *Christian* worship and services,—not Protestant nor Romanist, it is true, but still "Christian."

The taxation of citizens for the employment at present of chaplains in the army, navy, legislature, and various public institutions; the indirect taxation of citizens for church property; the churches, as has been well said, pharisaically shaking the publican (tax-collector) from their skirts by shirking the taxation of their vast amount of real estate; the violation of the rights of non-Christian children in our public schools by the sacramental reading of the Christian Bible and the singing or chanting of Christian hymns,—all this is a monstrous injustice to the equal rights of all. So does the State, whose ideal is a national secularism, still patronize the loyalty of a sect and pauperize the liberty of the soul.

The Church's aggressive sectarian spirit even sways our courts of justice into unjust discrimination in regard to the credibility of witnesses. One may be a non-Christian, and may believe that natural law is not God's *fiat*, but his faith to truth (everlasting faithfulness), and that such faith by man may be shown in the righteous life; yet, though he hold to this belief, and from this belief have a strong conviction that his own untruthfulness would render him spiritually destitute, and that such a classification among the destitute is a darker death than an orthodox hell can possibly be, he would still, in consequence of such noble belief, be dishonored or disbelieved in many of our courts of justice, while the veriest hypocrite, believing in the validity of *future* justice, would be honored and believed!

In short, a man may have the best character,—may ever in his undertakings be swayed by true faith, and never by fear; may be unable to subscribe to the delusion of post-mundane punishment; may be willing to give his testimony under the pains and penalties of perjury, and his evidence may be of the utmost importance to justice,—yet the Church, beckoning to the State, directs that his testimony be excluded, thus laying a heavy tax on his credit as a witness. Behold sectarianism and secularism face to face!

ALBERT L. LEUBUSCHER.

WATER MILLS, SUFFOLK CO., N.Y., Jan. 28, 1885.

BOOK NOTICES.

HARRIET MARTINEAU. "Famous Women" Series. By Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price \$1.00.

This is the tenth volume in this popular series. It is somewhat remarkable that so many of the famous women thus far selected as the subjects of these biographies are women whose views on religious matters were and are considered decidedly heterodox, among them being George Eliot, George Sand, Mary Wollstonecraft, Margaret Fuller, and Harriet Martineau; while the next issue will be the Life of Madame Roland. The reading world, while not yet ready to indorse the broad theological conclusions of these thinkers, cannot refuse to acknowledge their resplendent genius in other departments of investigation and thought.

The present volume has already shared the fate of several of the recent biographies of the distinguished dead, and has been well advertised by the public contradiction of more or less important points in the relation by the living friends of the dead genius. One of Mrs. Miller's chief concerns in writing this life seems to have been to redeem the character of Harriet Martineau from the appearance of hardness and unamiability with which her own autobiography impresses the reader. In her faithful endeavors to do this, she felt obliged to give her impressions, gained from reading family and personal letters of Miss Martineau, and from familiar converse with relatives and other friends who knew her heroine intimately, that the repression forced upon her by a mother's sternness, and her favorite brother's lack of sympathy with and even coldness toward her in later years, were dominating causes of much that seemed, but was not, harsh and stern in her nature. Naturally, that brother, still living, with other near relatives, is resenting this imputation on the memory of one upon whose character even Mrs. Miller does not attempt to cast a reflection, save that she was lacking in sympathy with the work and appreciation of the worth of her talented daughter. Other representations, made in all honesty by Mrs. Miller in regard to Miss Marti-

neau's relations toward other members of her family, are also denied and explained by those whom they most concern. But with these matters the public, who of the Martineau family knew and cared only for Harriet and her most distinguished brother, is not particularly interested. It is, however, something worth while to know that Mrs. Miller's more softened portraiture of her in this volume is confessed to be, even by these indignant relatives, nearer like the real Harriet Martineau than is shown in the self-portrayal in the autobiography. The reason for the acrid spirit manifest in that Mrs. Miller explains by showing under what peculiar and unhappy circumstances it was written.

Among those circumstances were the facts that it was written hastily immediately after the skillful physicians, whom she had consulted in regard to her failing health, had given it as their opinion that death was imminent; and at the time, hurrying to complete it before it was too late (although she lived more than twenty years thereafter), she was in a sensitive state of mind, caused, among other things, by the following circumstances, as related by Mrs. Miller:—

"The announcement in the press that her illness was fatal revived the discussion of her infidelity, and brought down upon her a whole avalanche of signed and anonymous letters, of little tracts, awe-inspiring hymns, and manuals of divinity. The letters were controversial, admonishing, minatory, or entreating; but, whatever their character, they were all agreed upon one point,—namely, that her unbelief in Christianity was a frightful sin of which she had been guilty. They all agreed in supposing that it was within her own volition to resume her previous faith, and that she would not only go to eternal perdition, if she did not put on again her old beliefs, but that she would richly deserve to do so for her wilful wickedness. . . . Conscious as she was of the purity of her motives in uttering her philosophical opinions, she found herself suddenly spoken to by a multitude, whom she could not but know were mentally and morally incapable of judging her, as a sinner worthy of their pity and reprobation. Knowing that she had long been a teacher in advance of the mass of society in knowledge and power of thought, here were a crowd of people talking to her in the tones which they might have adopted toward some ignorant inmate of a prison. What wonder that her wounded self-esteem seemed for a little while to pass into vanity, when she had to remind the world, from which such insults were pouring in, of all that she had done for its instruction in the past! What wonder that the strength which was summed up to bear with fortitude this species of modern martyrdom seemed to give a tone of coldness and hardness to writing of so personal a kind!"

Mrs. Miller, however, succeeds in this volume in showing us an altogether different side to her character,—a home-loving, neighborly, bright-natured, tender-hearted, witty, lovable, and altogether womanly woman, as well as the clear thinker, the philosophical reasoner, and comprehensive writer whom we already knew.

It is interesting to note in the order of her earlier writing the natural bent of her sympathies and the progressive development of her intellectual powers. Her first published essay, written for the *Monthly Repository* in 1822, under a masculine signature, was one in behalf of her own sex, on the subject of "Female Writers of Practical Divinity"; and all through her life she was a consistent and earnest pleader for the rights of woman. The first published volume was a religious work, entitled *Devotional Exercises*. After these two subjects of womanhood and religion came her studies of political economy, embodied in the short stories in tract-form which first made her famous. Except in the development of the softer and more domestic phases of Miss Martineau's character, there is not much that is essentially new in this work; but this in itself was a work well worth doing, and it has been well done by Mrs. Miller. S. A. U.

EDGAR ALLAN POE. "American Men of Letters" Series. By George E. Woodberry. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. Price \$1.25.

There is nothing very inspiring in this biography. One closes it with a sense of pain. It is the calm, unsparing record of an undisciplined, unbalanced, sorrowful life. Mr. Woodberry is an excellent biographer, since he "nothing extenuates nor sets down aught in malice," but goes to work conscientiously to

describe an anomalous character in the details of his business and social relations in the most just but prosaic manner.

To the student of the laws of heredity, the trivial details of Poe's many shortcomings, as shown in this volume, can only elicit a sigh of pity and regret for the poor victim of an unbalanced inherited nature. His parents were poverty-stricken actors, who died in comparative youth. Poe's adoption by a wealthy family, who were more proud of his talents and childish beauty than careful to curb his worst tendencies, did him no good, except in giving him an education which made his poems of a higher character than they would otherwise have been.

It would enhance the value of his poems, not to know so well the true character of the poet. He seems to have been one of the most erratic of geniuses. He deliberately threw away every chance of success open to him. Mr. Allan, his adoptive father, forgave his eccentric, ungrateful, and costly waywardness over and over again; but Poe seems to have been a born Bohemian, and was never contented to "let well enough alone."

The one bright rift in his self-ruined life was his attachment to his aunt and mother-in-law, Mrs. Clem, and her daughter Virginia, his cousin and child-wife. But even this attachment was abnormal, and it seems to us in the recital was abnormally returned. That a young man, finely educated, reared amid wealth, luxury, and culture, should deliberately and for an apparent whim ruin all his best prospects in life, outrage the feelings of his benefactors, rush into the hard life of a soldier, then, leaving this by dishonorable methods, find his best satisfaction as the *protégé* of a poor aunt, whose dainty, thirteen-year-old daughter he is permitted, strangely enough, to marry when he was twice her age, sounds, in its truth, as strangely weird a romance as any of those he wrote. And stranger still it is to learn that in both mother and daughter, his aunt and his wife, he found his most adoring admirers. This fact is the strongest evidence the book affords in his praise. Selfish, unreliable, ungrateful, and erratic, it seems almost incredible that he could ever have kept any friends; and yet he had many. In a rhapsodical sort of letter addressed to his whilom friend, James Russell Lowell, Poe pretty accurately sums up his own character: "My life," he writes, "has been whim, impulse, passion, a longing for solitude, a scorn of all things present in an earnest desire for the future." Even to the last sad days of his life, his nature remained unchanged; and with a prosperous career still open to him, with the hope of a brilliant woman's love and care made possible for him, he died the death of a drunkard in a city hospital, among strangers, with no friend near.

Mr. Woodberry's analysis of Poe's literary merit is a careful and honest one. He gives him praise and blame in an impartial manner. He accuses him, however, of perhaps unconscious imitation of the greater poets and repetition of his own thoughts. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to this critical analysis. S. A. U.

In the *Art Amateur* for February, the eye is first attracted by some very pleasing designs. They are a cluster of asters for a dessert plate, a very graceful bunch of wisteria for a panel or tile, a quaint little squirrel nibbling his nut for a blotter or brass work, and humorous designs for doilies of the signs of the Zodiac. Besides these are many ecclesiastical designs and jewellers' patterns. Those who remember the singular picture of Joan of Arc, lately exhibited at the Art Museum, will be interested in the short sketch of the painter, Bastine Le Page, who died last December. He was a man of exemplary life and an earnest artist, although he lacked the higher qualities of creative imagination. Another biographical sketch is of Janson Chelminski, a Russian Pole, who has acquired reputation for his life-like pictures of huntsmen and horses. He has come to this country to reside, attracted by the free life of the "Western plainsmen and Indians." Let us hope that he will preserve for us the most picturesque features of a form of life which will soon pass away. Margaret Bertha Wright is a little satirical and severe in her dashing criticism of "Women's Work in American Art Galleries," but this is far better than indiscriminate praise or contemptuous silence. The engravings from Chelminski's "Clase" and from George Wharton Edwards' water-colors are very spirited. E. D. C.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

"MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON," says one of our city dailies, "is a woman who stubbornly refuses to grow old, at least in her intellect. Age does not wither the freshness of her wit, nor custom stale the infinite variety of her satire and her logic."

THE bill to protect witnesses from discredit on account of unbelief was rejected by the Senate of Massachusetts on Tuesday, February 17, the vote being 10 to 24. It was openly declared that atheists should not stand equal with Christians before the law.

JOSEPH COOK says of Washington, "Remember that on one occasion, while engaged in a private room in prayer, he was interrupted by a pounding at the door. He seized his sword and drove it through the panel. That is an indication of his indignation against lawlessness."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Transcript*, in the following paragraph, probably expressed the thought which occurred to many as they read the report of one of Mr. Cook's recent lectures in this city: "Your suggestion that Rev. Joseph Cook seems to have taken 'all knowledge for his province' calls to mind the saying of Josh Billings, 'that it is better not to know so much than to know so much that is not so.' He had better let the tariff alone, and stick to bioplasm, probation after death, and kindred subjects, where he is sometimes interesting, if not always instructive; but, when he attempts to deal with great social and economic questions, he gets sadly mixed. The other Monday, he gave us in the same lecture a blast upon the horrors of Socialism, and a little later on advocated the taxing of the people at large by 'protection' for the express purpose of enabling the laboring man to own a comfortable house, etc. Now, if this be not Socialism, pure and simple, will the reverend gentleman point out the distinction?"

THE Catholics and the Lutherans, generally, are opposed to our public school system. They both prefer to maintain separate schools, in which their children can be trained in "the true faith." These two sects are the only two in this country that do not generally patronize the public schools. The greater number of their members born here are

educated in their denominational schools. Those who have come from European countries have received religious instruction according to their faith. Yet there is no evidence that the Catholics and the Lutherans are more correct in their lives than members of other sects whose education has been received in our common schools. Inspector Ries, of the Milwaukee House of Correction, has just published a report, on the suggestive figures contained in which the *Milwaukee Sentinel* comments as follows: "In the statistics of the report, the religious antecedents of the prisoners committed during the past year are given. From these, it appears that 1,415 out of the total of 1,616 prisoners had been instructed in some form of Christian faith, while 202 had no religion. Of those who had received religious training, there were 877 Catholics, 347 Lutherans, and 191 of all other creeds. It is safe to assume that most of the Catholics and Lutherans, if they ever attended schools, attended those in which their religion was taught. Of the prisoners, 1,224 were of Catholic or Lutheran antecedents and 191 of Protestant antecedents. There is no such disparity in numbers between the aggregate Catholic and Lutheran population of the city and that of the other denominations. The figures, therefore, do not sustain the indictment brought against our 'godless schools.' The principles of morality and the sentiments of religion are best taught at home. If they are not implanted there, Bible readings and drill in catechisms will have small influence in moulding the character of the young."

THE *Boston Post* has interviewed a large number of Boston clergymen on the taxation of church property, and found them almost unanimous against it. Rev. Dr. Rufus Ellis said: "It would be an act of injustice to the people who built these churches, many of them possessed of but moderate means, to increase their burdens, which would be all the larger in proportion to the amount they had given, or, in other words, according to the value and beauty of the church built." The injustice of taxing those who did not build and do not believe in the theological teachings of their churches Mr. Ellis fails to see. Dr. Bartol said that churches should be put in the same category with schools. To quote his own words: "If school-houses are not taxed, then churches should not be taxed. It should be remembered that, while churches are property in the sense of costing money and occupying land that costs money, still they are occupied only one-seventh of the time; and they should not be put on the same ground as houses and shops which are occupied constantly. It is evident also that those who are urging on this measure to tax church property, while they are perfectly honest, fall in with a class of agnostics and those who think religion of no value." "Rev. Dr. Miner also strongly opposed church taxation." These men represent "liberal Christianity"! When clergymen of ability and learning, like those mentioned, put themselves in opposition to a reform the justice of which is so obvious as that for taxing church property, we see

illustrated the bad influence of theology in narrowing the mind, distorting its conceptions of right, and making the representatives of this theology the enemies, when they should be the friends, of reform. But we are glad to know that there are among even the orthodox ministers men who have such a clear perception and strong sense of justice that they rise above the influence of traditional theological teachings; and unite with those from whom they differ widely on other subjects in asking that church property be taxed for the protection it receives from the State, and that compulsory support of the churches be thereby abolished.

THE National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts held its third annual convention at Meionaon Hall, in this city, on the evening of February 18 and the afternoon and evening of February 19. Miss Susan B. Anthony was the principal speaker; and, although she had only a few days before celebrated her sixty-fifth birthday, there was no intimation in the ringing tones of her voice, her elastic step, and erect, dignified carriage that father Time had been any more successful than the more tangible of males in subduing her independent and defiant spirit. The sessions were all well attended; and the speaking, generally, was of a high order of merit and in good taste. On the evening of Wednesday, the 18th, the opening address was by the president of the Association, Mrs. H. R. Shattuck, on "What Woman Suffrage Means." This was followed by an address on "What Young Women Ought to Do," from Miss Mara L. Pratt, a bright young lady from Malden. A. H. Grimke, editor of the *Boston Hub*, read a fine paper on "Fundamental Justice our Best Medicine." The session closed with a short but vigorous speech from Miss Anthony. The speakers and subjects Thursday afternoon were as follows: Dr. Salome Merritt, on "Why I wish to vote"; Mrs. H. H. Robinson, on "Different Methods of promoting Suffrage Ideas"; and "An Appeal to the Indifferent among Women," by Mrs. S. A. Underwood. The secretary, Miss H. M. Todd, gave a detailed report of the work of the Association during the past year in circulating various forms of suffrage petitions, printing and distributing suffrage literature, and holding meetings in localities where the subject was new or little understood. A series of strong resolutions was read and adopted. At the last session, held on Thursday evening, Mrs. Martha Sewall Curtis, of Burlington, had for her subject "Some Objections Answered." After an amusing recitation by Miss Fannie Worcester, Miss Anthony gave her lecture on "Bread and the Ballot,"—a lecture full of significant facts in the history of the elective franchise and unanswerable argument for woman suffrage, to which the audience listened with profound interest and with frequent manifestation of enthusiastic approval. On Friday evening, Miss Anthony was tendered a reception at the Parker House, where over two hundred admirers of this strong, brave woman paid their respects to her.

TEMPERAMENT.

There is a habit of speaking of temperament as if it were a power which determined character and career and which it were vain to attempt to resist. Indeed, what with the inner constraining power of temperament and the outward power of environment,—words that have obtained so large use in modern discussions about human nature,—it sometimes seems as if there were no room left in man for the lever of a personal exertion. Temperament takes the prize, if the character and destiny be good; and temperament, too, is made the scapegoat to carry off the burden of individual sins, if the career turn an evil way.

But what is temperament? It is the peculiar grain of the mental stuff with which human beings start in life, and which commonly persists in retaining its special characteristics through all life's changes. It is not talent nor genius nor moral power. In itself, it is neither moral nor immoral. But it is the special way in which talent or genius or moral power may display themselves; a certain bent or method—or, perhaps, only aroma—that becomes manifest in the development of character or in any kind of intellectual or moral activity.

And the difference of temperament among people is a fact of great moment to human society. It insures variety of character and service fitted to the various needs of mankind. It binds the individual members of society together by ties of mutual affection and aid much more strongly than could be the case if characters were shaped more by one mould. It inures in manifold ways both to the benefit and pleasure of humanity. It is one of the vital elements of progress. It marks the latest and most consummate form of that differentiation in organism and faculty which has characterized the advance of life on the earth from its crudest beginnings to the present day. And this indicates the good side in the fact of temperament,—the place it fills in the legitimate development of character and the way in which it serves human advantage.

But temperament has also its evil side. It is made a cover and defence for moral wrong. Intemperance, lustful passion, miserliness, acerbity of temper, dishonesty,—for these and kindred vices, excuse is often sought on the ground of temperament. And there is no doubt that temperament does very frequently open a gateway to temptation. Hereditary predispositions to vicious ways of life may lurk within certain brain-cells, which retain the conformation and force of ancestral transgression. *Flaws* are thus found in the very texture and grain of the mental nature; and, in the stress and strain of life's experience, these flaws mark the weak spots where come the moral crevices and fractures. The highly sensitive temperament, too, which is imaginative and capable of being wrought up to great exaltation, has its corresponding seasons of ebb and depression. It then craves artificial stimulus, and is open to the solicitations which, yielded to, lead to the various forms of sensual intoxication and intemperance. Temperament is even made to bear the burden of unhappy marriages. Where the old marriage love has been neglectfully allowed to decay or when under the license of lawless passion a new love has usurped its place, temperament comes into court with its specious but hell-born plea of "incompatibility." If the courts had never allowed this vicious plea, thousands of married pairs whose homes and happiness have been wrecked would have never discovered their "incompatibility," or, having discovered, would have mended and overcome it.

But, aside from these great evils to which cer-

tain temperaments are exposed, there are other evils even more common and hardly less deleterious, which are often excused on account of temperament. Whenever temperament is very marked and strong, it may take care of itself. It finds and makes a career, and determines many personal actions, with no troublesome conflicts and questionings as to what one may be best fitted for in life and as to what things, therefore, are to be done and what left undone at the present time. But the great majority of people have no such marked and decided temperament as this. So far as temperament is concerned, they may fit themselves to do one thing about as well as another. There is a question of ability behind temperament. For most people, temperament will never choose their career in life. And for all such persons, whatever course in life they take, there are certain common interests and duties belonging to average humanity which will add to their own success and to their power of serving others, and which it much behooves them not to neglect, but to take up in spite of any temporary disinclination. Persons, indeed, of this class are in constant danger of mistaking a selfish and passing inclination for an irresistible bias of temperament; and temperament of this moderate cast is thus made an apology for a good deal of self-indulgence, for permitting the formation of many pernicious habits, for not a little of self-conceit and self-delusion over one's calling in life, and for that dilatoriness, not to say indolence, which, in waiting for some great thing to turn up, misses the daily little and constant callings to duty from which the lives of most people must be built. Through this mistake of mere inclination for temperament, young persons sometimes lose opportunities which they can never recover, or are led to take steps which they must ever afterward regret. Unless one has a temperament so strongly set in a certain direction that it takes him thither and finds his vocation whether he will or not, let him be on his guard how he follows the voice of temperament in lieu of the voice of reason and conscience.

It should be said, moreover, that there is one power in man which always has a legitimate throne above temperament,—the power, namely, of *moral personality*. This should be the controlling structural force in every human being. Temperament, genius, masterful talent, sometimes assumes this sovereignty; but, when this happens, it is always a usurpation, never a legitimate enthronement. Whatever the temperament may be, and however great the gifts and brilliant the opportunities that may go with it, all these things are only the materials out of which character and life are to be formed. They do not exempt their possessor from obligation to the moral law any more than he is exempt, whose temperament bears no distinctive mark, and who may have only one small talent with which to do life's work. Temperamental moral eccentricities and vices may possibly be overlooked in view of virtues that may go hand in hand with them, and on this ground may sometimes be condoned; but they are never to be petted or justified. They are only to be regarded as moral ills to be resisted or, at best, as calamities to be pitied. There are certain fundamental principles of virtue that have a right to authority over all minds, and never legitimately intermit their sway. No sane person can have a bias of temperament so strong nor eccentricity of genius so peculiar that he can justly set up a claim not to be judged by the common standards of honesty, temperance, veracity, faithful payment of debts, unselfish courtesy, kindness, and purity. We may admire the fine intellectual work and welcome the service of persons who may fail in respect to some

of these virtues, but we cannot admire their characters; nor can we believe that they reach such possibilities of achievement as might be theirs, were their natures thoroughly governed by moral law.

WM. J. POTTER.

ROWLAND G. HAZARD.

It is noteworthy that the last two numbers of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (January and April, 1884) both contain articles of exceptional interest and weight upon a remarkable American thinker, who has only in these latest years received that full recognition which the intrinsic importance of his thought deserves,—Rowland G. Hazard. The first of these articles is a general review of Dr. Hazard's works, with liberal extracts from the same, by Dr. Harris, the editor of the *Journal*. The second article, entitled "The Moral Creativeness of Man," is by Francis E. Abbot, whose too infrequent words in this time are always sure of the interest of readers of *The Index*, and is especially notable for the extremely high tribute which it pays to Dr. Hazard. Whether its terms be regarded as superlative or not, Dr. Abbot is certainly right in assigning Dr. Hazard a very high place as a thinker of acuteness, originality, and power; and his article has an exceptional value for its clear grasp and forcible statement of that doctrine of the freedom of the mind in willing, with which Dr. Hazard's speculation, so far as important in the history of philosophy, has been entirely concerned.

The question of the freedom of the will is perhaps the most important question in the philosophy of our time, forming a natural and necessary point of convergence and divergence for almost every problem with which we have to deal. Hence, it was very much a thing of course for so acute and direct a thinker as Dr. Hazard to choose this field for his part in the perennial Protean contest between mechanism and spirit. "To the Anglo-Saxon mind," says Dr. Harris, "the question of self-determination, so important to the philosopher, takes the form of the possibility of the freedom of the will." "It is a noteworthy fact," says Dr. Abbot, "that the only two Americans who have thus far greatly distinguished themselves by a powerful originality in the field of speculative philosophy—Jonathan Edwards and Rowland G. Hazard—have both busied themselves in the main with the same great problem of necessity or freedom in volition." Dr. Abbot proceeds to an interesting discussion of the close connection of ethics and politics, and says: "This problem of necessity or freedom in volition is the speculative side of the great practical struggle which has given to America its special significance in the history of mankind,—the struggle to realize the ideal of constitutional liberty in political institutions, to reconcile individual freedom with national unity in a great political society founded on the legal recognition of equal individual rights. This is essentially an ethical conception, and one of the highest order. Edwards defended the doctrine of necessity in ethics, out of devotion to the theological doctrine of the unlimited Divine sovereignty, which from time immemorial has been the foundation of political absolutism 'by the grace of God'; Dr. Hazard defends the doctrine of freedom in ethics, out of devotion to the modern doctrine of the limited self-sovereignty of man, which is the only possible foundation of instituted political freedom. Freedom in ethics is the thought-side of freedom in politics; the latter logically presupposes the former. It is apparent, then, that Dr. Hazard's philosophy is rooted in the soil, and interprets his country to the world; while that of Edwards was

rooted in Calvinism, and, if politically realized, would have made his country an impossibility. . . . It is from this consideration of the profound identity of ethics and politics, and from the entire confluence of his ethical speculations with the deepest currents of American thought, feeling, and life, that we regard Dr. Hazard, notwithstanding the eminence of his great Puritan predecessor, as having laid the first foundations of a distinctively American philosophy."

"Dr. Hazard's essential position," says Dr. Abbot, "is that freedom is the essential prerequisite of man's moral creativeness. Whatever opinion," he continues, "may be held on subordinate points, this central position must remain impregnable so long as man's moral consciousness survives; that is, so long as he is conscious of being in any degree the creator of his own moral character and action. The theory of evolution cannot possibly expunge this fact from his consciousness, or destroy the indestructible connection between morality and freedom. Neither mechanical philosophy, nor mechanical psychology, can ever become scientifically established, as true to all the facts of Nature, until it has succeeded in reconciling the two irreconcilable concepts of morality and mechanism. Be the prevalent opinion of the day what it may, far-seeing philosophers will continue to regard it as a mere ephemeral fashion of the time, until it shall have effected a genuine rational synthesis of all known facts, moral no less than mechanical; and there is no fact more certain than the fact that man is, in no merely mechanical sense, the real author of his own action."

The principle of the indissoluble connection of morality and freedom has seldom been more sharply stated than by Dr. Abbot, in the pages of this brief article. The speculative tendency most boldly represented, perhaps, by La Mettrie and the last-century Frenchmen, which has asserted itself very widely in our own time, "appears superficial," he says, "to all who can distinguish between the spirit of the age and the spirit of the ages." "That is no scientific explanation which begins by denying the fact to be explained; and no ethical system has any claim to be considered scientific, if it begins by denying or ignoring the only ethical quality in human action."

Dr. Abbot finds every denial of moral freedom to rest on a misstatement of the law of cause and effect. His discussion of this point, with his conclusion that the term *motive* has no proper place in the discussion of freedom, being irremediably a "question-begging epithet," is one of the most interesting parts of his essay. It is chiefly upon this line that Dr. Harris' few remarks proceed. "The critic that objects to Dr. Hazard's solution of the problem of free will," he says, "must do so on the ground of the general impossibility of self-activity or self-movement. It seems strange that a thinker can admit derived movement or activity, and yet deny self-movement and self-activity. He admits derivation, but denies the existence of a source of derivation. There is something which is moved, and a chain of moved bodies which receive and transmit motion, but no energy that originates motion. This is, in fact, the denial of causality." A very common fallacy of the fatalist Dr. Harris exposes in the following terse paragraph: "There are two kinds of necessity,—the logical and the fatalistic. The necessity involved in a definition is a logical necessity: 'A self-determined must be free.' A fatalistic necessity is involved where something is made to be what it is by the action of something else. . . . 'This thing is determined by the totality of conditions existing in its environment.' By the fallacy known as *quaternio terminorum*, or *ambiguous middle*, the fol-

lowing refutation of the possibility of freedom may be made: (1) A self-determined being must be free; (2) but, if it must be free, it is necessitated, and (3), therefore, is not free. The refutation of this may be easily accomplished by continuing the argument thus: (4) But, since it is not free, it is evident that it was not necessitated to be free; and, therefore (5), in spite of (2) and (3), it is free. The necessity in (1) is a logical one, and in (2) and (3) a fatalistic necessity. The reasoning assumes the identity of the two, because of the use of an ambiguous word." More important in this connection, however, than Dr. Harris' comments in the article here referred to, is his discussion of freedom in the ninth chapter of his little *Outlines of Philosophy*, where there is also explicit reference to Dr. Hazard's argument.

Dr. Abbot gives special prominence to the relation of the doctrine of freedom to the philosophy of evolution. "Darwin," he says, "has permanently changed the whole course of human thought in these matters. That the theory of evolution has come to stay, and to constitute the foundation of all future theories of the universe, can be doubted by no one who knows the irresistible strength of the facts and arguments by which it is established. But whether evolution itself is to receive finally a mechanical or teleological interpretation is an issue not yet decided. Herbert Spencer and Ernst Haeckel, with a boldness, cogency and consistency far superior to Spencer's, advocate the mechanical view of evolution; but multitudes of keen and thoughtful minds are coming to see that this view overlooks numerous facts of the highest importance that refuse to be ignored or crowded out of sight. Unquestionably the ancient teleology, as represented by Paley, is outgrown by the modern mind, largely for the very reason that it exhibits so fragmentary, artificial and mechanical a character, and rests wholly on the old dualism of natural and supernatural; while the monistic teleology, latent in the very concept of evolution itself, has not as yet been anywhere adequately developed. Meanwhile the necessity of a deeper philosophical reading of the facts which pertain to man's moral nature is slowly but surely becoming felt more profoundly every year." "The problem of the evolution philosophy is to show how, out of elements which apparently comprised only the impersonal, the non-moral, the unfree, personality and morality and freedom have gradually arisen. The mechanical theory of evolution virtually argues that this evolution has not taken place at all, and that, since the original elements manifest only mechanical or efficient causes, the ultimate product also must be mechanical only; while the ethical theory of evolution argues that, since personality and morality and freedom are patent in the ultimate product, they must have been latent in the original elements, as immanent cosmic purpose, end, or final cause."

While Dr. Abbot's particular statement of the position of Herbert Spencer as that of a mechanical interpreter of evolution seems to us inexact, he is certainly most exact in his perception that the problem now set for the evolution philosophy is that of the development of an adequate teleological statement, a sound and satisfying metaphysic. While this is on its way, perhaps indeed as the best means of helping it on its way, it will be well for us to remember that the conception of evolution is a great many years older than Spencer and Darwin, and to keep ourselves familiar with Goethe and Hegel. Is it not possible that their pages point the way to the reconciliation which we seek better than the pages of many later men? And does not our own Emerson throw a flood of light toward the point where evolution shall be clearly

found to comport with freedom? Dr. Abbot denies to Emerson the name of philosopher,—not of course by way of disparagement, but by way of definition. We think the definition would also exclude Parmenides, Socrates, and the Stoics, and we find a unity in the thought of Emerson such as Dr. Abbot does not seem to find; but, by whatever name, the thought of Emerson illuminates nothing more than this great present problem of our evolution philosophy.

"And it is safe to say," with Dr. Abbot, "that mechanical psychology will never permanently establish itself as scientifically true until it has first reckoned with Dr. Hazard—first understood, and then on the same high plane satisfactorily offset, the weighty moral considerations adduced in support of his position." Dr. Abbot observes that it is not the object of his essay to analyze or criticize Dr. Hazard's writings, but simply to call attention to them, in the hope that thoughtful readers may procure and study them. Our own object is simply to call attention to these two valuable introductions to Dr. Hazard's writings; written from a stand-point which we deem so good and so essential, in the hope thus most effectually to promote the study of the books themselves, and a severer reflection upon the question of the mind's freedom.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

DYNAMITE AND ANTI-DYNAMITE.

Like all gospels, dynamite has its friends and enemies. Recent events have opened a pathway, disclosing on one side applause and on the other distaste. Sentiment has its word, brutality puts in a remark, and nonchalance passes by both with a shrug of the shoulders and a grim smile. Through the fogs of newspaper commonplace and the philosophy of formalists, however, I believe we may discern facts not so far duly noted, and which may well command attention and thought.

The London explosions were followed by a common cry of horror, whose force was expended not only in Europe, but here. Was this an utterance of fear or humanity? Expressed in various terms, the indignation was of one purport. We should be interested in knowing from what motive the world spoke. Dynamite has rapidly grown into power as an element of discord. There are some who choose it as an instrument of reform. By what instincts this is accepted and by what opposing feelings it is condemned, it is quite important for us to know.

So far as the world is concerned, time is convincing it that brute force must naturally become less and less an element potent to settle the problems of human welfare. Even Benjamin Tucker, who for consistency's sake indorses the recent actions of dynamiters, condemns the factor of force in the abstract. The battles of the intellect have an assurance of settlement which can be possessed by no merely animal expression of passion and hatred. Men consult more about war before inviting it than they have customarily done in the past. Death has stricter account to give of its sacrificial bullets. And all such growth is natural and right. It leads on and away from the gospel of hate. It shows a respect for society, which society in its turn will deserve. It defers somewhat to the general voice, where the general voice is most likely to be strong. It comes of the spirit that admits fallibility, that concedes a possible error of the individual, and gives the collective social force opportunity to correct and revise, if it can. Now, do not think that I write of a surrender. I speak rather of a victory. The individual becomes not less, but more than under obsolete

dispensations. The single soul certainly gains a vast fund of power with the burial of its arrogance. We still will stand on our instincts, but we have opened the windows, and in inviting the sunshine have offered ourselves for judgment upon the ground of our nobility of mental and moral organization rather than the lifting power of an arm.

This might lead on to endless statement, which is not, however, necessary. Put truth with truth, who care to and are not too hurried, and grieve not at the offspring! I think this a sharp point just here: we believe in the soul—the efflorescence of the body—preferably to the elements that convene to its existence. That is, we would rather convince than kill a foe, rather capture by wit than lasso, rather convert a man than murder him, rather invite a heaven than translate combatants to a metaphorical hell. What, in the face of this reflection, comes of the horror of the world that a faction of reformers of more or less pure intentions choose an instrument of treachery and death? I should conclude that, in so far as this indignation is free and consistent in its impulses, it stands for a gracious human growth, but that, where it results from calculation, formalism, or revenge, it is rather a voice of hypocrisy than humanity in essential tone and strength. The present consensus of public opinion partakes evidently of a mixed motive power. What that confusion dictates it is not hard to discover.

Position and display always command a sympathy, much of it instinctive, that does not inquire as to rights and wrongs. The fellow on top can justify himself where weakness would stand dumb. I have no doubt much of the condolence with official Britain is the thoughtless outstreaming of blind and unquestioning deference. Indeed, it is remarkable that even men who have emancipated themselves from the church, and never would grant the simplest claims in that sphere, save after rigid examination, are quiescent and faithful to every demand of the State.

The world, it may be said, condemns dynamite. I do not object. With any others I could discountenance brutality. But, before irate Irishmen are hanged for their offences, would it not be well to question them? It is wise not to bury secrets. In this current conflict on the islands over the sea there are two sides. The British government is not guiltless. If Irish agitators are sometimes cruel, they are made so by an instigating element of like kind. True enough, England's crimes are "legal." The murders committed in law's name have the poor solace of that fact. Yet before the moral eye there is no severed code,—one thing for a deed under cover and another for the same deed in open day. Wrong cannot be so juggled away.

Let us condemn dynamite. None could more heartily do it than I. But let us hate, loathe, despise, too, the crimes wrought in a pure name to bring that name to dishonor. If we can grieve over untimely deaths in London, let us not less sorrow for the thousands hounded to the grave in unhappy Ireland, and for the Egyptian resistants who maintain a noble fight against one among the greatest and gravest of political crimes. And, when we pass resolutions indignantly over the one thing, let us not hesitate to pass them over the other. If we are blind and see but the convenient half of truth, let us, in virtue's cause, at least show that good grace to decency, which would make us pause, the rather to say no word of any crime on the calendar than utter a partial sentence. I know the common way, the forgetfulness of formalists, the hardness of brokerage philosophies; but I appeal from them to the spiritual trust that sees through their hollowness to the sub-

stance of virtue. Nothing is more vexing or more sad than the proneness of men to accept the mandates and principles of power without inquiring for its warrant. Do Irishmen murder for love of murder? Is there ever effect without cause? I do not believe it. And yet the accent is so placed upon all comments as to imply that in the Irish difficulty there is a question without a response.

Peace is well. But let us have peace both ways. We are much too apt to close the English eye and keep the Irish eye wide open. The pictures dancing before the vision then become faint and without reason. To explain dynamite, we must find the secret of the present condition of the people who use it. To understand England's gentle spirit, it is necessary to read the history of Egypt as made since 1880. When dynamite is denounced as an instrument of diabolical warfare, which indeed it is, let the denunciation be formulated double, with one blow for the tempter and another for the tempted. As long as we are not prepared to follow our arguments, it is dangerous for us to toy with them at all. If we mean anything by a condemnation of the acts of Westminster and the Tower, we mean more than singly we can make of the event. If we honestly are haters of the iniquitous warfare in London, we must up in arms against the brutal force hacking at Ireland and Egypt. We should not be deceived by a noise. The subtle evil that plays its game in Tonquin and the Soudan is not so startling in its developments as the London concussions; but it is vastly more dangerous in its ultimate effects, and has not for its frenzy the excuse of invitation which might be urged for the acts of Irish irrecconcilables. The whole game of violence is bad; but it is one freely indulged, though often, as we have seen, under disguises. To-day, the major part of those who condole with England over her restive subjects are betrayed by want of studious reflection.

Senator Riddleberger was the only man in the United States Senate who would not vote sympathies to Great Britain. There are respects—that is, so far as it is in line with what I have written—in which I value that vote as a gem. It seems to me unparalleled impudence to formulate resolutions against illegal crime, when legal crime is considered either just or something upon which we have, as a nation, no right to express an opinion. If senators were persuaded to resolve wordy hate for France's policy in China, the country would rise instinctively to protest. Why not produce one protest as reasonably as the other? Wars, such as England and France now have on their hands, are as treacherous and blood-thirsty as the dynamite hypocrisy, played off in dim corners to the pain of innocent victims. Yet the London Times, which defends every exercise of perfidy, is so assured of its ground that it can call the Egyptians "murderers" for having done all things possible to worry the English army introduced to oppress them. This seems to me an almost hopeless phase of hardened impudence. Yet it strikingly illustrates how warped is current conservative thought, and how dangerously it is ready to infect us, if we do not scan its invitations closely.

So, before the sun goes down, let us turn these matters over once more. Revised judgments quite often conceal a truth. In the interests of peace and brotherhood, life requires of us something higher than the formalistic tribute. His is not always the most thankful heart who most stately says his grace before meals. His is not always the prophetic voice who speaks through numbers, and covers most pages of print. In the last corner of a friendly paper, I once found a few words

from Parker which outweighed the reading of months. Perhaps, down in our hearts,—deep below the region of echoes,—some stray but eager thought even now lies ready to answer, when instincts pure enough appeal. Irishmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen,—they are one to me; and I would love them by one standard, not by three. But I have it not in my soul such stirring days as these to embitter myself against one crime and let others go scot free.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

"THE BIBLES OF HUMANITY."

A remarkable work by a remarkable man is now in course of publication in this country. The title of the book is *Les Bibles et les Initiateurs Religieux de l'Humanité* ("The Bibles and Religious Apostles of Humanity"); and its author is M. Louis Leblois, pastor of the Temple-Neuf at Strasbourg. Both the work and the writer deserve at least a cursory notice in the United States, where all that pertains to liberal religion is sure of a general and hearty welcome. Let us first speak of the author.

M. Louis Leblois, who is to-day nearly sixty years old, is one of the most widely read and scholarly clergymen of the Reformed Church of Europe. In America, he would be called an advanced Unitarian. Here, he is simply a Protestant, except when he is dubbed "heretic" by some hyper-orthodox ecclesiastic. At college, M. Leblois pursued with ardor the mathematical sciences, with the intention of entering the Paris Polytechnic School, the celebrated State military institution for the education of engineers; but, while still a student, his logical mind and deeply religious nature were struck by the discord between science and religion, which then characterized the Protestant world, and he soon abandoned mathematics for theology.

In 1853, M. Leblois was installed as pastor of the Temple-Neuf at Strasbourg, where, in spite of opposition and persecution, he has ever since remained. When he arrived at the Alsacian capital, Pietism, transplanted from Berlin, was beginning to take root there. M. Leblois immediately entered the lists in opposition to the new form of Christianity, and in 1854 preached a bold sermon, in which he declared against the divinity of Christ, and pronounced in favor of the Unitarianism of Parker and Channing. The Protestants of Strasbourg were thunderstruck. The next day, M. Leblois was summoned to appear before the Directory, the governing body of the Protestant Church of Alsace, and requested to resign his charge. He flatly refused. "You may turn me out, but I will never resign," was his response. This the Directory had not the authority to do, and it let the matter drop officially.

But this was only the beginning of M. Leblois' troubles. War was declared on the "heretic," the "iconoclast," and the "accomplice of Satan," as he was styled in the scores of anonymous letters showered upon him. Many people cut him in the streets. Theological students were forbidden to enter his house. If he appeared at a reunion of clergymen, the room was immediately deserted. To such a point was this persecution carried that a body of devoted followers gradually formed for his protection. The Freemasons took him up; Catholics and Jews flocked to his church; his sermons were printed and scattered abroad; and, finally, after fifteen years of patient waiting and brave, indefatigable struggling, the minister and his doctrines were tolerated at Strasbourg.

One of M. Leblois' disciples, who took an active part in this long battle against bigotry, writes me as follows: "There is one thing which the the-

ologians will never pardon in M. Leblois,—the precision of his thought and the truthfulness of his language. He can never bring himself—and this was the chief source of his strength during his protracted fight at Strasbourg—to move in obscurity, to be contented with mere words, to employ the conventional and traditional phraseology in order to express modern ideas, which, because they are modern, must throw off the forms of the past. He holds that the religious idea is modified by time and progresses with humanity. He refuses to try to dress up our new beliefs *à la mode* of the Jews, the Greeks, or the Latins, in order not to shock a few old-fashioned people. He will never be pardoned for saying and repeating that every religious system has a scientific basis, that the only way of getting a better knowledge of God is through science, and that an acquaintance with physical laws alone throws light on the laws which govern the moral world. Why is he ever bothering us with his eternal science? What relation can there be between the domain of intelligence and sentiment? For thirty years, M. Leblois has heard these questions ringing in his ears; and, in the work now passing through the press, he responds to them with a clear and decisive answer."

Writing to me a few months ago, M. Leblois said: "The history of the Reformation at Strasbourg explains the possibility for a minister of our Church to publish so radical a work as mine without shocking anybody. I believe, however, that I am faithful to the true tradition, not only of the Reformed Church of the Strasbourg, but of the Christian Church of the Middle Ages. The Church practised, during the whole period of the Middle Ages, the principle of the union between science and religion. Since the sixteenth century, the Church has abandoned its own tradition by breaking with science. Hence, that afflicting divorce existing to-day between religious doctrines and scientific doctrines."

It may be well to glance for a moment at this history of the Reformation at Strasbourg, not only because of the light which it throws on the book under consideration, but also because of the interest which the subject itself possesses.

It is generally believed that the Reformation in Europe sprang from Luther, that he was the author of the grand movement. The truth is that Luther was simply the most conspicuous of the reformers of the sixteenth century, and that his genius and dramatic struggles gave to his name a widespread *éclat*. But there were reformers before him and independent of him. As early as 1512, Geiler, of Kayserberg, preached in the Strasbourg cathedral on the necessity of reform at a moment when Luther was still a fervent Catholic. The Alsacian capital was then a free city, which had long been distinguished for its spirit of independence and courage.

Its own bishops had, without intending to do so, alienated the city from Catholicism. Often, in their disputes with the municipality, they were forced to have recourse to excommunication, in order to carry their point. During the periods when Strasbourg was under the ban, its population perceived that the sun shone none the less brightly, the harvest ripened as of old, and that all things moved on in their accustomed course. Hence, the opinion became general that communion with Rome was not indispensable to the happiness and prosperity of the commonwealth. Strasbourg, therefore, was one of the first cities of Europe to proclaim the principles of the Reformation.

These early Strasbourg reformers were Matthien, Zell, Wolfgang Capito, and Martin Bucer. They introduced changes into the doctrines and forms of

worship of the Church, quite independently of Luther, which explains the reason why the Wittenberg reformer entertained an antipathy against the good people of Strasbourg which he could not hide, and which burst forth on several occasions.

In 1530, when the Emperor Charles V. convoked the evangelists at Augsburg, representatives of the principal religious bodies outside of Rome responded to the imperial summons. The Lutherans went supported by powerful German princes. The Strasbourg delegates—called Oberländer, or Highlanders—appeared, accompanied by those from the allied cities of Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau. The third body was composed of the followers of Zwingli, and was the most radical of the three. The first division—the Lutherans—was the strongest numerically; and their confession of faith was alone read and promulgated, and their form of worship was alone tolerated. The delegates of Strasbourg, threatened with extermination, consented, for reasons of policy, to sign the Lutheran confession, but without renouncing their own. From that day to this, the Protestant Church of Strasbourg has been styled officially the "Church of the Confession of Augsburg," while its ministers have always shown themselves to be quite independent of that faith.

The liberal character of this Church is further explained by the influence exerted at Strasbourg by the French Revolution. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the doors of Protestant and Catholic places of worship were shut in this city, by the imperative orders of the Jacobins of Paris. But, when they were opened again after the Reign of Terror, Strasbourg Protestantism found itself well supplied with clergymen of superior talent, animated by the large and progressive spirit of the new era, who threw aside the last vestiges of the old forms of the sixteenth century, and began to work a soil favorable to the growth of modern ideas and to the union of religion and science.

Some of these clergymen spoke in their pulpits of the results of the investigations in the special field of theological science; but the first of them to proclaim the necessity of bringing into harmony religion and the science of the universe was M. Louis Leblois. On April 24, 1853, M. Leblois said, in his installation sermon: "It is beautiful to show that religion and science—religion which reveals God to us, science which reveals his works to us—are not two mortal enemies, but two eternal sisters, and that, instead of pitting one against the other in a struggle discreditable and fatal to their respective interests, they ought to unite in a sublime alliance, and lend each other powerful aid." On this same occasion, M. Leblois announced the following principle: "Every religious system is based on a mundane system. If the foundation is wrong, the edifice is not solid. A knowledge of the true constitution of the universe and of its laws is, therefore, necessary, in order to establish a firm religious superstructure." Untrammelled by the belief that Mosaicism and Christianity constitute a special and exclusive revelation, M. Leblois turned his attention to every form of human religion, and has studied carefully and impartially, during over thirty years, every system of divine worship.

After what has just been written concerning the author's life and views and the peculiar character of Alsacian Protestantism, little remains to be said about the work under consideration. It is easy to imagine the spirit pervading the volumes, and to guess what the conclusion must be. I shall therefore examine much more rapidly the volumes than I have already done in the case of the author and the centre in which he moves.

The first part of the work treats of the traditional method of religious instruction in countries where the Christian Church is dominant. The author goes back to the source of Christianity, to the teachings of Jesus. He dwells successively on the origin of Catholicism, the birth of dogmas, the transformation of Catholicism into the papal Church, the Renaissance and the Reformation, and, finally, on the grand scientific discoveries made, in spite of the opposition of official dogma, from Copernicus to Darwin. The second part recounts the discovery of the sacred literatures of the peoples outside of Christianity. It makes known the lives of the men of courage and genius who have played an important rôle in this resurrection of a religious world so long ignored, and passes in review the different bibles which serve as the basis of the faith of the nations that have not come under the influence of Christianity. These two parts have already been published in three large octavo volumes, and the manuscript of the rest of the work is in the printer's hands.*

The third part will consist of a series of extracts from the sacred writings just mentioned, and will constitute a sort of *résumé* of the Bible of humanity. The fourth part will be devoted to a study of the origin of the sacred books, and the fifth to an examination of the Koran, the sacred writings of the Israelites, and the New Testament. The sixth part will go deep into the difficult questions of the origin of written characters, language, morality in the human family, and especially of the origin of gods, religion, literature, and art in the Aryan branch. In the seventh part, the reader will see pass before him the grand figures of the apostles of religion. Those giants first appear enveloped in a mythical and legendary nimbus, from which they slowly emerge, and show themselves in their historic simplicity and in the wonderful grandeur of their human form. The work will close with a consideration of the perils of the hour. The author, opposed to all violent measures, will point out the way prescribed by the laws of the universe for the accomplishment, without shock or revolutionary outburst, by a slow but sure action, of the moral, intellectual, and religious regeneration of society.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, January, 1885.

OF James Carlyle, brother of Thomas, it is said that he is taciturn, unsociable, contemptuous toward almost everybody, and has much of the nature of the philosopher of Craigenputtock. The following is related of him. To a visitor recently, he said, speaking of a school inspection they had just made: "Ye make a terrible to-do about eddication nooadays by what was the case when I was young. Tae day at the schule when I was nine years old, my teacher was hearin' me say my catachers, and I said 'he believes' instead o' 'he believeth.' He knocked me doon and pu'd my legs and bangit me on the desks; and I ran out an' lay at the fit o' a hedge among dokens and nettles for three hale days."

PHILLIPS BROOKS, in a recent address to students, "discriminated," says the *Congregationalist*, "between toleration and tolerance, of which he defined several kinds: *e.g.*, the tolerance of indifference, careless as to what another believes; of policy, for the avoidance of dispute; of hopelessness, despairing of change in others; of respect, that duly regards others' honest opinions; and the genuine tolerance that comes of firm faith in the truth, that heartily assents to another's disagreement with one's self till convinced by the clear light of reason."

* They may be obtained from the publisher, Fischbacher, 33 Rue de Seine, Paris.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Rise of Intellectual Liberty from Thales to Copernicus*, by Frederic May Holland, a volume of four hundred and fifty-eight pages, has just been issued by Henry Holt & Co. A notice of the work will appear in *The Index* next week.

THERE is something to be said on both sides of the question of exempting church property from taxation; but the weight of the logical argument is against the exemption, which is a relic of the union of Church and State. A compromise exempting churches up to a certain value would probably satisfy the present demand for a change. —*Boston Sunday Herald*.

MESSRS. HARPER have brought out a cheap edition of George Eliot's *Life*, by Mr. Cross, in their Franklin Square Library. *Selected Poems of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, edited by Mrs. Ednah Dean Cheney, is in the press of Lee & Shepard. *Mind Reading and Beyond*, by Wm. A. Hovey, announced by Messrs. Lee & Shepard, is based on the reports of the London Society for Psychical Research. —*The Critic*.

"VICK'S FLORAL GUIDE" leads the van, and as usual needs no commendation, its solid merit having long ago given it a firm place in popular affection. The number contains the usual lists of new seedlings in both vegetables and flowers, and with its bright flower frontispiece is quite worthy a prominent place on the sitting-room table; while the illustrated Magazine has long been a faithful guide in all matters relating to the garden. James Vick, Rochester, N.Y., will send the *Floral Guide* to any address for ten cents, which, if seeds are afterwards purchased, may be deducted from the order.

At a recent meeting of the Boston Liberal Club, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved, That the Boston Liberal Club deploras with enduring sorrow the sudden death of its worthy member, John S. Verity, whose memory we must cherish as a faithful and genial friend, an earnest and honest thinker, and whose ability as a pleasing and ready debater always enlivened our debates; and whose untiring passion for reform, and constant efforts for human good, entitle him to the lasting gratitude of mankind.

Resolved, That in the death of our long-timed friend and member, Mr. John S. Verity, the Boston Liberal Club is placed under a double sorrow, he having been not only a most honest, pleasing, and ready debater, but also what is of still more importance, a deeply earnest friend of that humanity which it is our aim to benefit by means of the public discussions which we constantly maintain.

THE *Independent Pulpit*, a liberal monthly, edited by Mr. J. D. Shaw, formerly an orthodox minister, and published at Waco, Texas, contains interesting articles, and is evidently doing a good work. We take from its columns the following paragraph: "In arguing the merits of a religion, it is common for champions to refer triumphantly to certain great men who believed in their theory. There is no merit in such an argument, from the fact that the great men of this world, as well as the small, have been distributed among all beliefs and disbeliefs. Some of the greatest men the world ever produced were pagans, as Solon, Socrates, Aristotle, and Marcus Aurelius. Every denomination of Christianity has been patronized by great men, such as Newton, Lardner, and Macaulay. The Jews point with pride to Josephus, Spinoza, and Beaconsfield; the Spiritualists, to Zöllner, Wallace, Crooks, and Morgan; while every form of unbelief has had its proportion of the great, such as Bruno, Descartes, Hume, Gibbon, Humboldt, Jefferson, Darwin, Haeckel, Tyndall, Huxley, and

a host of others. The great of earth are as ignorant of any other life as are the small."

At Damrosch's funeral in his opera house, New York, on the 18th, Felix Adler, one of the speakers, said:—

The name of Dr. Damrosch is intimately connected with this place. When I entered the house, I fancied I must see him in his accustomed place. When I heard the solemn music to which we have just listened, it seemed to me as if I could see the apparition of your dead conductor wielding his baton over your heads, as he was wont to do, and guiding the harmonies of sound which you have just rendered in his honor. The soul of Damrosch allied itself to the Damrosch idea of music. It was his idea. He clung to his ideal as a lover to his bride. At last, his favorite idea rose in the public eye, and he stood where he could grasp the wreath of success. I shall lay three wreaths upon the dead. The first shall be the wreath of success. For years, he struggled and fought against hardship with an indomitable will. The second is the white, pure silver wreath of gratitude. The last wreath is the evergreen wreath of fame. He introduced us to a kind of music which has relation to deep spiritual facts, music which seeks for us in the longings of the modern age, and which makes us acquainted with our age and brings us into contact with vital reality. He was a true and faithful priest. There is an earthly immortality for those who have faithfully spent their lives in elevating their brothers to higher and better spheres. To this immortality we dedicate the name and fame of Leopold Damrosch.

A FRIEND asks us to explain briefly the difference between Mr. Spencer's and Mr. Harrison's philosophy. They agree mainly in their philosophy. Mr. Harrison (who is an acknowledged Agnostic) says: "I habitually speak of him [Spencer] as the only living Englishman who can fairly lay claim to the name of philosopher. Nay, he is, I believe, the only man in Europe now living who has constructed a real system of philosophy. Very much in that philosophy I willingly adopt; as a philosophical theory, I accept his idea of the Unknowable." But Mr. Harrison thinks Mr. Spencer in error in regarding the Unknowable as the true basis of religion: "Hence," he says, "if I admit with him that philosophy points to an unknowable and inconceivable Reality behind phenomena, I insist that to ordinary men and women an unknowable and inconceivable Reality is practically an Unreality. The Everlasting Yes which the evolutionist metaphysician is conscious of, but cannot conceive, is in effect on the public a mere Everlasting No; and a religion which begins and ends with the mystery of the Unknowable is not religion at all, but a mere logician's formula." Mr. Harrison claims that religion must have its basis and object in the region of the known—in Humanity, since that "is the grandest object of reverence within the region of the real and the known."

THE *Catholic Review* publishes an address to the students of the College of the Sacred Heart, Prairie du Chien, Wis., by Rev. James Conway, S.J., on "Dangerous Literature." The answer to the question, "What books and publications are forbidden?" says this priest and Jesuit, "may be freely formulated thus: *All those that are against faith and morals*. These are condemned alike by the laws of good taste, by the law of nature, by the law of God, and the laws of the Church, and cannot be read without sin, unless when lawful permission is given, in the absence of danger, for useful purposes. Now, firstly, *what books are against faith?* To this question, I answer: In the first place, all books or publications teaching infidelity, —denying the existence of God, for instance, or the immortality of the soul, or the existence of future reward or punishment, or the divinity of the Christian religion. Such are, for instance, the works of Bob Ingersoll. Secondly, publications

that teach any heresy professedly, that deny or call in question any dogma of the faith or teaching of the Church, or either openly or covertly attack the Church herself in her constitution, power, or prerogatives. Thirdly, any book or publication on religion written by a heretic or non-Catholic, —for example, a Protestant or Methodist catechism, prayer-book, or tract; for such from their very nature must be hostile to the Church, and teach errors and heresies *ex professo*. Lastly, scientific works propounding false theories that openly conflict with the teaching of Revelation, such as Darwinism and the kindred theories of evolution, that place man on the same level with the ape, having the same origin, the same end and destiny as the beasts of the forest. The books contained in these four classes are prohibited alike by the law of nature, in case of danger, and by the law of the Church, in all cases; and, if they are books of any volume, they cannot be knowingly read, kept, or printed by any one without his incurring the pain of excommunication. Nor does the Church give permission to read them in particular cases, but for very grave reasons and in the absence of all danger."

OTHER scientific works, though written by heretics and containing incidental errors against faith, may be read, "unless they are nominally prohibited by the Church." "If the secular newspaper contains but an occasional passing remark against the Church, we must feel very grateful to it, as long as the watchword is *Ecrasez l'infâme*. But, if it makes a point to abuse the Church, we are forbidden in honor and in conscience to read or patronize it." The question, "What books or publications are against morals?" is answered by referring to publications like Peck's works and Peck's *Sun*, "illustrations representing notably naked figures," "the narration of obscene facts and the like," "sentimental and sensational" books and papers, "a godless, agnostic, and impious press." These works "against morals" are condemned; but it is not said of them as it is of those "against faith" that "they cannot be knowingly read, kept, or printed by any one without his incurring the pain of excommunication."

For The Index.

OUR BELONGINGS.

'Tis but a little time that we possess
This earthly life or honors. Let us learn,
Therefore, that Heaven hath given nought to us
To hold in ownership so absolute
That we may guiltlessly employ our powers
To selfish ends. This marvellous frame of flesh
And blood which we are wont to call ourselves
We do but borrow. In a few short years,
Nature puts forth her strong, relentless hand,
And strips us even to the last poor shred;
For we are hers, and not a passing hour
But Death's pale finger points to open graves,
And warns us she will have her own again.
Then why should we so crave and toil to drain
The little streams that make our neighbor's wealth,
And heap and gather, till the wasteful flow
Pours through the channel of our narrow lives,
A thousand-fold surpassing every need?
Thank God for death! that swift, resistless flood,
That sweeps away all barriers, and restores
To common levels and necessities
The sweet and beautiful amenities
That pomp or greed its little hour withheld.
Thank God for death! the stern, impartial judge
Whose firm behest no earthly power can stay,
No art can foil, nor wealth nor cunning buy.
Aye, as we stand above the honored graves
Of men who died for liberty and right,
Mourning our heroes, loving and beloved,
We may not pay the tribute of a sigh,
When the strong hand that pushed the weak aside
For love of rule, and not of humankind,
Palsies and falls to common dust again.
'Tis the world's gain; and men with tearless eyes
Shall turn and go about their daily tasks,
Whispering silently, Thank God for death!

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

C. APLIN

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

MASSACHUSETTS SABBATH LAWS.

BY HENRY W. HOLLAND.

There is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question as to the best manner of observing the Sabbath; but, besides this, there is an important question as to whether, if we concede that the Orthodox principles are wise, our laws are adapted to further them. Assuming that the motive is a good one, what methods do we use to execute it? While a large portion of the community is unprepared for any change in the general principle, nearly every intelligent person will agree that the law ought to be sensible in its character and free from obsolete provisions, and so clear and certain that well-meaning citizens can find out what it is and act up to it. The legal principle *ignorantia ejus neminem excusat* is necessary, although sometimes harsh; but its application makes it all the more important that the law, with which every one is presumed to be acquainted, should be intelligible and consistent in its injunctions and certain in its operations.

Provisions that serve only as a cover to fraud or a means of malicious attack are particularly out of place in a law intended to honor the Lord. A statute that is obsolete has always a bad effect, for it shakes that respect for law in which democratic government is founded. But a law that is almost unknown, and yet can be occasionally revived for a mischievous purpose, is dangerous. The present state of our Sunday laws is well worth examination from this point of view; and we will, therefore, state it here, assuming for the purposes of the essay that the general intention of preventing both work and sport on the Sabbath is a wise ground for legislation.

The general provisions are of long standing; and there has not been any marked amelioration of late years, with one incongruous exception, to be noticed later. The drastic provision of authorizing

the tithing men to stop strangers in the streets and send them home or to jail, if they were travelling unnecessarily or idling, was a brief experiment; and, when ministers were stopped on the way to exchange with each other, it was felt to be too severe, and was abandoned. But it was in quite recent times that the provisions against travelling and working were extended to Sunday evening (1844). On the whole, the law threatens many more people with punishment now than it ever did before.

The first provisions that I will refer to are those relating to Saturday evening. Many persons are ignorant that there are any, but they are not to be overlooked. After sunset, on the last day of the week, whoever is present at any game, sport, play, or public diversion except sacred concerts or licensed places of amusement, is subject to a fine. We notice that it is the lookers-on only who are liable, and that the persons who get up the entertainment are safe, if they only keep out of sight. The manager who directs it without being personally present is not to be blamed, while the spectators are criminals.

We notice also that it is not certain whether the games, sports, and plays which are not to be visited on Saturday evening must be public or not. The grammatical construction is distinctly in favor of applying the limiting adjective "public" only to the last word "diversion," and holding that all private games are illegal; but it is very doubtful whether the court would not take a narrower view, and refuse to give such an offensive inquisitorial construction to the law. As it stands, it is uncertain whether the game of whist at home or the private theatrical is forbidden or not. It does appear to be clear, however, that while one might safely go to the Boylston Museum, where no respectable person would like to be recognized, the door of the prisoner's dock is open for him if he delays at a base-ball game after sunset, or goes to a public ball, or looks in at a game of billiards at Parker's, or drops in at one of those halls to which working-men are invited for a game of whist or chess. Now here is a law of doubtful meaning, but which in its most reasonable interpretation is uniformly disregarded. The only result of keeping it on the statute-book is to enable some clever rascal to use the machinery of the law to injure a rival or to get an enemy fined for doing what no one sees any harm in.

There is another provision about Saturday evening, of the same general character, though not so sweeping. Hotel keepers are forbidden to allow any one to drink and spend time at their places, unless he is a traveller, stranger, or lodger. A man may pass his evening in a strange bar-room, but not in his own town. It is uncertain whether the liquor drunk must be intoxicating, and there would have to be an appeal to the Supreme Court to settle it. The statute, of course, is to be strictly construed; and, therefore, it seems to follow that, while a man who hires a room at a hotel, but takes his meals elsewhere has the right to loiter at the bar on Saturday evening, a man who comes there regularly for his meals cannot safely take his glass of ale with a lingering supper, unless he also takes a room. The court has adopted such a wide latitude of construction that one cannot be quite certain of this, still less of what the word "stranger" means. If it denotes strangers to the landlord (as the word "lodger" means lodger at the landlord's), then the landlord must entertain men whom he does not know, but not those whom he knows and has learned to trust, which seems absurd. On the other hand, if it means a stranger to the town, then the landlord's liability depends upon the dwelling-place of the guest, which he has no

means of finding out, but is, nevertheless, responsible for. And, while he is a law-breaker, the guest goes free. The ignorant man is subject to fine, but the man is blameless who knew the facts and did the act for allowing which the other is to be punished. This statute, like the preceding, is seldom now enforced, but its mischievous character is plain enough. It hardly seems likely that any intelligent person can think that these two provisions have any effect in keeping the following day holy. If it is necessary to devote the seventh evening to preparation for the following day, then some argument might be made for closing all theatres and bar-rooms; but the restrictions that we have would be simply silly, if it were not that they give a dangerous chance for spite.

Taking up now the laws for Sunday there are certain provisions with regard to administration of the laws which require only a brief mention. The court cannot sit, and no civil process is to be served, though bail may issue to relieve an arrested man. The jurisdiction of constables is extended, and rude or indecent behavior in church is punished. Also, the date for payment of notes or discharge of prisoners is set for the day before. These do not require any comment. It is uncertain whether the verdict of a jury on that day is good or not.

The rule that contracts made on that day will not be enforced has been applied in a great variety of cases. And it has even been carried to the mischievous extreme of refusing to allow a man to recover for goods sold and delivered on that day and retained afterwards (*Myers v. Meinrath*, 101 Mass. 366), and also actions for deceit perpetrated on that day (*Robeson v. French*, 12 Met. 24). So that fraud is permitted on a day consecrated to the Lord, which is not tolerated on any other. It is safe to say that on both these points the law is not up to the morality of the community. It is not likely that the statute of 1884 affects this.

The remaining statutes deal with keeping an open shop, doing any work or business, travelling, public houses, theatres, dancing and playing games, hunting and fishing and gambling. A fine is imposed on every one who keeps open his shop, warehouse or workhouse; and the place is open in the eye of the law, if persons have access to it, even if the doors are closed. (*Commonw. v. Lynch*, 8 Gray, 384.) Under the ruling in *Commonw. v. Collins*, 2 Cush., 556, which accepts the grammatical construction of the statute, neither necessity nor charity would be an excuse for the opening; but the court held that the opening would not be unlawful, unless it were for the "purpose of work or the transaction of business." Ten years later, in 1858 (*Commonw. v. Harrison*, 11 Gray, 308), the court took the opposite view, and said that necessity or charity would be an excuse; but there was no discussion, the prior case was not alluded to, and the decision of this point was not material, as the instructions were sufficiently favorable to the excepting party anyway. This point is, therefore, uncertain. No doubt, a lawyer may open his office and draw a will; but the barber who opens on Sunday morning is a criminal, although the man who patronizes him is unblamed, if he will only take the simple precaution of not paying. The horse-car office with its counter of papers and ancient candies is illegal. Under the strict letter of the law, apothecary shops should be closed, though it is not improbable that the court would refuse to give so severe a construction. As to restaurants, it seems clear that, if they receive their friends or regular customers, it is at their peril. In *Commonw. v. Pickering*, 8 Pick. 234, a victualer was punished; and, although the statute under which this occurred is not now in force, that case

shows that there is nothing in the nature of the supply of food to the hungry to avoid such a penalty. It is to be noted that Jews, Seventh-day Baptists, and others who conscientiously observe another day of rest, and are therefore permitted to do business, travel, or work on the first day, are, nevertheless, forbidden to keep open shop then. (*Commonw. v. Harrison*, 122 Mass. 40.)

The most sweeping section is that which forbids the doing any work or business except of necessity or charity. The extent of the exception has been much discussed under the section forbidding travel, to which we shall presently refer. We will only say here that hoeing corn and gathering seaweed are forbidden, even if the crop would probably otherwise be lost or injured. (*Commonw. v. Josselyn*, 97 Mass. 411, and *Commonw. v. Sampson*, 97 Mass. 407.) Getting in hay before a threatened storm is therefore illegal, though it seems that cattle may be fed. The druggist who sells cigars or soda, the newsboy with his morning paper, the milk-man, the barber, the horse-car conductor, the steamer-hand, all are breakers of the law. They have no claim for the goods or labor which they wrongfully sell, and it is to the credit of our community that the protection which the law affords to fraud is so seldom availed of.

The section forbidding travel on the Lord's day except from necessity or charity has been a fertile subject of litigation. Not that there are many reported cases of punishment of the traveller. The amusing account in the life of the Puritan Robert Pike two centuries ago is the only one we call to mind. He had attended both services and closed the day with prayer; and, as soon as the fall of the sun allowed, he had to start on urgent business for the Merrimack (the day then ending at sunset). Unluckily, as he passed the house of a neighbor who had a grudge against him, the deceptive clouds broke away, and a gleam of level light showed that he had started a few minutes too soon, and profaned the Lord's day; and neither his age nor his high standing could save him from punishment. In recent days, it has seldom or never been directly enforced; but it has, nevertheless, been an efficient shield to unscrupulous defendants, who have made use of it to avoid paying for injuries for which they were justly liable. Fortunately, this crying evil has at last been partially cured by the statute of 1884, providing that the law should no longer be abused in this way; but Sunday travel is still forbidden, and the evil is aggravated by the doubtful character of the judicial decisions. No one knows now just what this necessity or charity is. At an early date, the court engaged in a well-meant attempt to mitigate the severity of the law by construing it to mean not actual necessity, but "moral fitness or propriety" (*Commons v. Knox*, 6 Mass. 76), and holding that the court was to decide what this moral fitness or propriety was, and declare it to the jury, sitting apparently as a sort of spiritual council and court of law combined. The law, as it stood, was so unreasonable that the temptation to improve it was overwhelming. When ministers were arrested for travelling to exchange with brother ministers, the professional fellow-feeling of the court was aroused; and it tried to do its best, not to ameliorate the law,—for in many respects our construction of it is more severe than that of other States,—but to make it tolerable. It is true that the wording of the statute is plain and without a particle of authority to the court for its anomalous venture into the field of ethics, and the results of the excursion have not been so happy as to invite a further excursion. The bench was not constructed with a view to instructing us in the moral proprieties; and, with all due respect to that able and

honored body, it must be said that it is not fitted to perform that function, and that it would have done better to enforce the law as it stood, and leave its modification to the legislature. To show the confusion under which we now labor, we will cite a few decisions. A man may go to a funeral, but he must not make a detour to call on the way home. (*Davis v. Somerville*, 128 Mass. 594.) He may visit a friend if he is sick (*Doyle v. Lynn & Boston R.R.*, 118 Mass. 195), but he may not go after a letter to tell him about meeting a sick sister (*Bucher v. Fitchburg R.R.*, 131 Mass. 156). He may take a walk within his town for air or exercise (*Hamilton v. Boston*, 14 Allen, 475), but he is not to sail out in his yacht (*Wallace v. Merrimack River Nav. Co.*, 134 Mass. 95). He may send his carriage for his cook (*Crosman v. Lynn*, 121 Mass. 301), but he must not carry meat to market men (*Jones v. Andover*, 10 Allen, 18). He may carry the mails (*Commonw. v. Knox, supra*) or mend the road (*Flagg v. Millbury*, 4 Cush. 243), but he cannot help a friend by clearing out a pit which will save stopping a mill (*McGrath v. Merwin*, 112 Mass. 467). He may go to a Spiritualist camp-meeting (*Feital v. Middlesex R.R.*, 109 Mass. 398), but not to an Orthodox one, unless he means to go to the services (*Lyons v. Desotelle*, 124 Mass. 387). And if, when he is travelling illegally, a dog frightens his horse, he can recover (*White v. Lang*, 128 Mass. 598), but not if the injury comes from another horse (*Lyons v. Desotelle, supra*). It is not possible for the mind untrained in legal principle to get a clear idea of the law from these cases. This, however, is true: that every one of the thousands of excursionists who seek a breath of fresh air beyond the stifling city walls in summer is a criminal. He should avail himself of his privilege of spending his time in a strange bar-room within the city, and not forget that every horse-car conductor or driver, every employé on a way train or omnibus or depot hack or boat, is a wrong-doer like himself.

Then there are two statutes relating to hotel keepers who allow drinking and idling on their premises, reminding one of the time when officers went round to be sure that there were no loafers in church time. These statutes have the ambiguities pointed out above in the somewhat similar Saturday evening law, with the additional difficulty that the second is in part in conflict with and no doubt repealed by the first; but, in the absence of a supreme court decision, it would be unwise to attempt to say just what the law is. The wording is apparently broad enough to cover any one who gives a cup of tea to a friend, but it hardly seems likely that the court would accept this construction.

The provision against games and theatres forbids every one, no matter how young, from taking part in any sport, game, or play, public or private, Scriptural or profane, a provision which reminds one of the old Puritan punishment for the children who laughed or looked out of the window on that day. No one must be present at any dancing, private or public, or any public diversion, the fine being less if it is in the evening.

Also there is a provision against discharging firearms in the pursuit of game, but not forbidding hunting with an air-gun or bow-gun; and there is a prohibition against attempting to fish. The legislature evidently thought less of our ability with the line than the shot-gun, and forbids even the essay in the piscatorial sport. There is also a statute against gambling.

It is to be remembered that these are not antiquated and musty laws. The ruling against a social call was in 1880, that against sailing was in 1883, and that against horse-car conductors in 1883. And the court still assumes the power to decide,

from its own conscience, as to what moral propriety requires for that day.

We will close with an extract from the diary of Mr. Solomon Smith, covering twenty-four hours:—

Sunday.—Got up and went to the barber's right after breakfast. Came home and tied up some vines, and put up some more hooks for the boarders' hats. After church, went round to Sally's on the way home, and played cat's-cradle with my grandchildren. After dinner, Neighbor Sharp came round for a cigar; and I opened the shop, got him one. Had some words about the price, and he did not like it. Sally's husband came round to tea with three of the boys, and I took them all to see the stereopticon pictures of Jerusalem, at the vestry.

Monday.—Met Sharp, and asked to settle for the cigar. He said he owed me nothing, and had made seven complaints against me for violating six statutes, and fines would not exceed \$415 and costs. Didn't believe him. Asked Judge Jones. Sent Sharp the rest of the box of cigars. Mem., look out for Sharp next Sunday.

For The Index.

THOMPSON'S PSYCHOLOGY.*

Mind Substance and the Summum Bonum.

These books are in many ways a surprise. They come from London; yet they were written in New York, and are thoroughly American. They are interesting, yet they treat of the most dry and difficult questions of philosophy and science. They are learned and exhaustive, yet were the recreations of one of the busy practitioners of that "jealous profession," the law.

These books come to us over the water, evidently for the reason that no American publisher would venture before the American public with them. Thus, our author, like his great "kinsman," Count Rumford, finds his introduction to his thinking countrymen from a foreign land. The following dedication, therefore, to that great scientist of the last century, may be an interesting admonition:—

These Volumes are inscribed by a Kinsman of a Later Generation to the Illustrious Memory of

SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON,
COUNT RUMFORD,

a great Prophet, a Philosopher, Statesman, and Benefactor of Mankind, who while living was not without Honor save in his own Country, and upon whom dead that Praise, justly due to a Merit almost unrivalled among American Men of Science, has been tardily and incompletely bestowed, both by his own Family and his Countrymen at large.

That we may escape any similar charge of ingratitude, we must carefully consider the real story the author has tried to tell. In a word, it is the audacious attempt of modern science to explain that *microcosm*,—that conscious, inward "spiritual" world of man, much as his "kinsman" and Newton and their compeers have explained the *macrocosm*, that great unconscious, external, material world around man. In modern psychology, thought has turned upon itself its own *ego*, and demands, What art thou, and whence, and whither? The answers to these questions, on the scientific method, must of course deal with the most complex and difficult of subjects. But what can be more interesting or important than such answers? They only can give the scientific solution of our nature and existence.

This solution the author gives in these two large volumes of ten parts (seventy-five chapters), of which this is the plan and order of treatment:—

1. The relation and place of the *ego* in the order of the sciences and the methods of investigation.
2. Generally, what the states of consciousness are and the postulates of psychology.
3. The material conditions of the *ego* and its states of consciousness.
4. The genesis of states of consciousness.
5. The factors of the development of states of consciousness.
6. The general development of states of consciousness.
7. The cognitive integrations, or mind and its operations (logics).

* *A System of Psychology*. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson. In two volumes. 8vo. 600 pages; each. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Price 30s.

8. The integrations of feeling, or pleasures and pains (aesthetics).

9. Volitional and ultimate integrations, or the will in relation to the *Summum Bonum* and the objects and duty of life (conetics).

10. Disintegration and dissolution of states of consciousness, or death and the connection of the mind and body.

It must strike every one that this is the outline of a mighty undertaking,—not of this author only, but of scientists who have been accumulating their researches for three centuries. What Milton attempted in lofty theosophical poetry, our scientist ventures now in plain but elegant prose, with no inspiration but the love of truth, and no revelation but the facts and laws of man's inward and outward world. With these only, science solves the nature, lot, and fate of man, and leaves us to become reconciled to its, at first, crushing conclusions as best we can.

It is well to note, too, in this connection that these volumes are laid before our American public at a very appropriate time in the progress of our scientific philosophy. Abroad, this line of thought took new impulse from Auguste Comte, and was nobly continued in England by Mill, Bain, Lewes, and Herbert Spencer. With us, the story has been worthily taken up by John Fiske in his *Cosmic Philosophy* and by Lester F. Ward in his *Dynamic Sociology*. We need to give no higher tribute to this psychology than to say that it is a becoming sequel to those great works in its subject and mode of treatment, and should stand in our libraries with them as the completion of an American course of scientific philosophy. For, as the two volumes of Fiske are more especially an exposition of the cosmos and organic world, and as Ward's two volumes are devoted to the sociology of mankind, so now these two volumes come as the capstone of our scientific speculation, with its explanation of the individual man, and his relations and duties in those cosmic and social worlds. In placing this work by the side of those just named, ordinary criticism of it is rendered unnecessary. It is recognized as a standard work at once.

We would like to follow its story of the *ego* from birth to the grave. Interesting questions are suggested by each of its ten grand divisions. The whole world of the sciences is classified, so that its influence on the *ego* can be estimated. The origin and progress of consciousness in the lower animals from protozoa to man is a fine epitome of the story of evolution. The notion of innate ideas and their solution, and so of space and time, of the reasoning processes, and, finally, the display of the emotions, illustrated by snatches of the finest poetry in the language,—these topics and more tempt us at every step. But, as to them all, the limits of our space forbid even a word.

Mind Substance.

Some intimation must be given, however, of the answers to the main questions, "Whence" the consciousness *ego*, and "whither"?

The answers to these questions are given at the end of this work, so that we are tempted to read it backwards, as we often do law reports and novels, in order to get the latest and most important advices first. The question, Whence our consciousness? is in a philosophic sense preliminary to the whole discussion, but is disposed of in the last chapter, "On the Connection of Mind and Body"; while the object of life, or "whither," is settled in the preceding chapters on the "*Summum Bonum*" and "Ends" of life. On the interesting question how consciousness arises there are two prominent hypotheses:—

1. The *monistic*, or strictly scientific, to the effect that consciousness and the *ego* arise as the correlate of the changes in the world about it, of which it is a resultant part.

2. The *dualistic*, to the effect (in our author's words) "that consciousness is only the flowering of mind, and that below consciousness there is an unconscious mind substance, out of which consciousness is evolved. . . . Hence, matter is everywhere correlated with its atoms, atoms of mind substance having laws exactly parallel to and counterparts of material laws," etc. (pp. 586, 587.) We thus have "mind-stuff and matter-stuff" as the inevitable dualism of existence and of consciousness.

The last surprise about this work is that it is written throughout thoroughly on the monistic, correlate, scientific hypothesis, and yet at the close the author gives his casting vote to the unscientific, metaphysical, theological dualism. This conclusion can-

not but cause deep regret to some of his scientific friends. If the "mind-stuff" of Count Rumford, the father of the law of correlation, could come to voice again,—and why may it not, if this hypothesis be true?—might it not strike his young kinsman in this wise? "Do you mean to tell me that you account for a headache by an ache-stuff? Nonsense! Let us have no more fifth wheels to the scientific coach. When I proved by the boring of cannon in water that so much motion was the equivalent and correlate of so much heat, I put the clew in your hand by which you should trace every change in the world to its correlates. These correlate changes are the only mind-stuff or mind substance you need." The *ego*, or mind, is a continuous process of centring and reacting processes, and not at all a stuff, gas, substance, spirit, entity, or any kind of hypothetical *quasi*-matter. Take those words out of scientific psychology as I took 'caloric' out of natural philosophy. Let us have no more of this bogus, transcendental *materialism*, instead of the good honest 'modes of motion' I pointed out to you."

It would seem that our author, instead of following the law of his great kinsman, had been beguiled by the unfortunate similar hypothesis at the close of the first volume of Herbert Spencer's *Psychology*, of which he has here given us an echo, instead of some original work of his own. But, most fortunately, his work is written on the correlate theory. He says (pp. 588, 589): "I shall adopt the doctrine of concomitance and correspondence, . . . and continue to speak of mental states as caused by physical states and the converse. For working purposes the statement is sufficient, for scientific it is really susceptible of explanation, possibly it may turn out to be exactly true, after all."

It does seem that, if our author had experimented on the lower organisms, and seen how natural and simple the life contraction and reaction really are in them, he would have been able to appreciate the complexity of higher organisms. The trouble is that, instead of beginning with the rudiments in comparative psychology and working up, we are, by Mr. Spencer and others, treated to illustrations from things entirely disparate, in order to appreciate its highest and most delicate and complex reflex actions. Thus, the common illustrations from the "governor" of the steam-engine, and from piano or other music, are quite misleading. If the piano music could condense on a second series of reflex wires so as to move the keys again, or affect the outside world, or recall and repeat the music again without restriking the keys, the illustration would suggest the reflex process or correlate theory as much clearer than any music or mind entity. Music was once a goddess or entity, now we know it as our mode of feeling air changes or vibrations. In time, we shall recognize consciousness and mind as the continuous change within our systems called sensation answering to the world changes without.

Nor must we expect too much of any scientific explanation. The *dictum* of Prof. Tyndall, in his celebrated Belfast address, to the effect that no molecular or nerve change is conceivable as sensation, has been accepted far beyond its true bearing. No change resembles or is conceivable as its correlate, until it so appears. It is not conceivable that oxygen and hydrogen gases will chemically combine as water, so different from both. Nor would so much motion *a priori* correlate as the entirely different heat, light, or electricity; but it does. So, in the organic world, the fact controls the contractility of protoplasm; and its reflex action, sensation, and life are seen to be the correlates of changes of nutrition and environment. The mind entity is as superfluous as the music, motion, or heat entity. The *ego*, with all its wonderful consciousness and play of faculties, rises and falls with its word-tide of nutrition, support, and changes, physical, chemical, mental, emotional, social, and other, for some seventy years. It then ceases, because these processes of change can no longer correlate in and through the defective organism. If there be a mind substance or entity, then it should certainly appear. But as in law, so in science, "concerning not appearing and not existing the reasoning is the same."

Would that our author had waited until he was sure that the correlate hypothesis was not "exactly true" before giving his vote against it! For this stuff hypothesis, if not true, is not good. For, if mind is an entity, by the law of correlation it is indestructible

in its elements and their changes, and the unseen spirit or entity world has an undoubted reality. If science has not closed this back door, all the ghost advocates are upon us, from the pope at Rome to the dollar medium who evokes our last departed. Science and civilization will be at the mercy not only of "cosmic theism," but of revelations, materializations, and inspirations, ancient and modern, without let or hindrance. Nothing can stand against these superstitions but the law of correlation as attested by modern science, from the changes and laws of the stars through all the world up to the consciousness of man. If this mind and conscious *ego* of man is not a correlate of its and our world, science, and especially its psychology, is but the shallow amusement of a few hours or years; while the realm of the immortal ghosts is infinite and eternal, and may justly dominate the life of man, which is but a conscious moment made possible only by the "divine effluence" of its eternal substance. Where is there not an "inspired" fanatic ready to be a St. Paul, and declare this unknown God and "unknowable" world to us? If there is a scientific method, let us pray scientists to stand by its fundamental law in theory as well as in practice,—at least in their books.

The *Summum Bonum*.

Next to the question of the origin of the *ego* follows in general interest that of its end, object, and destiny. This question our author meets fairly, and disposes of bravely and consistently on the scientific basis only. He finds that man, by nature, condition, and heredity, is moved by three classes of impulses,—egoistic, ego-altruistic, and altruistic. The object and end of life is to attain its highest satisfaction or happiness, as Epicurus plainly meant. This is shown to be impossible without regard to and proportionate exercise of each of these three classes of impulses or motives by which human actions are determined. But man is a social animal to such an extent that his existence, much less his happiness, is impossible without subordinating his chief good, or *summum bonum*, to the chief good of the human race itself. Therefore, the individual's comfort, happiness, and final "blessedness" can be attained only by laying the chief emphasis of life upon the altruistic sentiments and impulses. The egoistic and ego-altruistic sentiments and impulses are to be strengthened as the basis of the highest altruistic motives, but subordinated to them. This has been the moral law heretofore taught by sociologists, but the facts which our author brings to its support from the psychological analysis of the individual *only* throws new and reconciliatory light upon the whole subject. The Epicureans, Stoics, and religionists of all faiths are for the first time presented in a way to show the moral and social value of the part truths which they have disproportionately emphasized to the exclusion of some equally necessary part of human nature.

Nor less clearly are we shown that altruism with its blessedness is not always to be regarded as an infallible receipt for happiness. It may be blind, until the conscience is educated to see clearly how it may be wisely and safely pursued. Often, indeed, the devotion to family, State, or country, or some subordinate social body or integration, may eclipse the higher relation to the race itself; but, in the end, this higher relation must and does, by natural law of selection, subordinate all other social and moral relations, which are but its parts. Thus, the *summum bonum* of the individual is always harmonized with the scientific and social *summum bonum*, which is that of the race or human society at large in its continuity and solidarity. The individual is the blossoming of the race; and in and for it he must live, if he lives happily or worthily.

Yet "it does not follow that to seek as an end the highest happiness of the greatest number, or the chief good of the race, is always the surest way to secure the individual's chief good. It does appear, however, that to hold up as a principal end the happiness of some others is a most certain means to the individual of attaining his *summum bonum*. How wide the circle of altruistic regards should be for the individual's happiness must be determined by circumstances." (p. 560.) The author proceeds to show, as most reformers have found, that obloquy and death are the rewards of those who push altruism beyond the sympathies of one's neighbors, yet that such rewards doubtless bring to higher natures the highest satisfaction and happiness of their lives. Here, as in

so many other respects, the golden mean is the wiser course for the average man; yet he adds: "In the education of individuals, it is proper to inculcate as a principal end of volition and action the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Each man *ought* to make it a principal end; for the obligation indicated by the word 'ought' arises from the social condition of mankind, and has no meaning except with reference to a man's connection with other sentient beings than the ego. . . . If, then, a person ought with respect to other sentient beings to make the ideal of highest general happiness a principal end, and can be made to take his greatest pleasure in doing what he *ought*, he has followed the best means to achieve his individual *summum bonum*." (p. 561.)

How this conclusion is wisely modified and illustrated space compels us to leave to the reader to pursue in the work itself, where Epicurus and Zeno, Cicero and St. Paul, are brought under the range of a moral law which enables us to love and appreciate not only them, but their counterparts in our modern and even in our daily life.

T. B. WAKEMAN.

NEW YORK, Feb. 8, 1885.

WHEN Herbert Spencer denies that his system is identical with materialism, there are persons who declare that his philosophy must be spiritualistic. When, in correction of this error, he denies that his philosophy is spiritualistic, there are those just as ready to assert that he is a materialist. But slight acquaintance with Mr. Spencer's views would enable all who are capable of understanding his main thought to see that, as he himself says, his reasonings "afford no support to either of the antagonist hypotheses respecting the ultimate nature of things. Their implications are no more materialistic than they are spiritualistic, and no more spiritualistic than they are materialistic." Whatever be the truth or error of Mr. Spencer's positions, they ought to be understood and fairly stated before they are criticised. Some years ago, in reply to a writer who had represented him as "working out a materialistic system," he wrote: "He knows that I have repeatedly and emphatically asserted that our conceptions of matter and motion are but symbols of an Unknowable Reality; that this Reality cannot be that which we symbolize it to be; and that as manifested beyond consciousness under the forms of Matter and Motion it is the same as that which in consciousness is manifested as Feeling and Thought. Yet he continues to describe me as reducing everything to dead mechanism. If his statement . . . has any meaning at all, it means that there exists some 'force operating *ab extra*,' some 'external power,' distinguished by him as 'mechanical,' which is NOT included in that immanent force of which the universe is a manifestation; though whence it comes he does not tell us. This conception he speaks of as though it were mine, making it seem that I ascribe the moulding of organisms to the action of this 'mechanical,' 'external power,' which is distinct from the Inscrutable Cause of things. Yet he either knows or has ample means of knowing that I deny every such second cause: indeed, he has himself classed me as an opponent of dualism. I recognize no force within the organism or without the organism but the variously conditioned modes of the universal immanent force; and the whole process of organic evolution is everywhere attributed by me to the co-operation of its variously conditioned modes, internal and external."

To EVERY form of being is assigned
An active principle: howe'er removed
From sense and observation, it subsists
In all things, in all natures,—in the stars
Of azure heaven, the unending clouds,
In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
The moving waters, and the invisible air.
Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
Beyond itself, communicating good,
A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
It circulates, the soul of all the worlds.

—Wordsworth.

Our great want in social life is a deep and wide sympathy. This is it which enables us to see with another's vision and to appreciate another's instincts.
—Selected.

EVERY failure is a step to success; every detection of what is false directs us toward the true; every trial exhausts some tempting form of error. Not only so, but scarcely any attempt is entirely a failure; scarcely any theory, the result of steady thought, is altogether false; no tempting form of error is without some latent charm derived from truth.—*Whewell*.

BOOK NOTICES.

CUSTOM AND MYTH. By Andrew Lang, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lang is a poet of no mean ability. As a poet, he has done some delicate work, and at least one daring thing,—his *Helen of Troy*. His *Ballades and Verses Vain* were a kind of poetry, as Emerson has written, "fit to put round frosted cake." His sonnet on the *Odyssey* is perhaps his best work as a poet. He has written literary essays that exhibit candor and a nice appreciation of what is good in literature and art. But we had not thought of him as a scholar except in a particular line,—the epics of Homer, of which he has made admirable prose translations, sharing with others the burden and the honor of the task. He had one helper on the *Odyssey*, two upon the *Iliad*. His *Custom and Myth* proves him to have been a careful student of folk-lore and kindred matters through a wide range of literature and observation. The object of his discussion is to show that a relation of cause and effect exists between the first and second terms of his title; that myth has to a great extent its origin in the customs of primitive and savage peoples. He dedicates his book to Mr. E. B. Tylor, the author of *Primitive Culture*; and his intellectual sympathies are with his methods and results to a much greater extent than those of Prof. Max Müller, who furnishes him with his objective oftener than any other writer. Müller is for Mr. Lang the most distinguished representative of the wrong method of procedure in the study of mythology. Philological mythology is often, he affirms and proves, discredited by the divergences and contradictions of its friends. Certainly, in many cases he makes good his point against the philological explanations of Müller and his school. And he is equally successful in his suggestions of the probable origin of various myths from various customs, and attempts to poetize or explain them by those for whom their original force was lost. There are fourteen chapters in his book besides the Introduction, which sets forth the general doctrine of the succeeding study. This doctrine is further elaborated in the first chapter, "The Method of Folk-lore." Then come in separate chapters several particular illustrations: "The Bull-roarer"; "Cupid and Psyche," in which the survival of a rule of barbarous etiquette is clearly shown; "A Far Travelled Tale," arguing that separate philological invention is less likely than wide dissemination from a common source; "Apollo and the Mouse" and "Star Myths," both suggesting survivals of savagery as a better explanation than "the disease of language." Other interesting chapters are on "The Finnish Kalevala," "The Divining Rod," "Hottentot Mythology." Two of the most elaborate are reviews of Müller's doctrine of "Fetichism and the Infinite," of the views of Maine and McLennan in regard to primitive marriage, promiscuity, polyandry, and so on. Mr. Lang concludes that McLennan is more nearly in the right than Maine. If he does nothing more in this interesting volume, he discourages a too hasty acceptance of philological explanations, and inclines us to allow more to the survival of custom and the development of similar myths by similar conditions and the unific operation of the primitive and savage mind.

CONGRESSIONAL GOVERNMENT. A Study of American Politics. By Woodrow Wilson, Fellow in History, Johns Hopkins University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 333. Price \$1.25.

In this volume, we have half a dozen essays, the object of which is to point out the most characteristic practical features of our system of government, and to show wherein it differs most essentially from the other governments of the world. It is, the author shows, our legislative and administrative machinery, and not simply our federal system or the principles of our Constitution, which makes our government essentially unlike all others. The most striking contrast in modern politics is shown to be, not between a monarchy and a republican government like ours,

but between Congressional and Parliamentary governments, between a "committee government" and one by a responsible cabinet ministry, between "administration by semi-independent executive agents who obey the dictation of a legislature to which they are not responsible and administration by executive agents who are the accredited leaders and accountable servants of a legislature virtually supreme in all things." The defects of our national system, many or all of which have been pointed out by previous writers, are here restated. Many facts given in the history of Congressional legislation and the contrast between the two types of government referred to above are presented in a manner which makes our system, regarded by so many among us the most perfect ever devised, appear far inferior to a government by a responsible cabinet ministry.

THE January number of the *Revue de Belgique* shows from letters, hitherto unpublished, by John Stuart Mill, how keen an interest he took in the problem of reconciling individual ownership of land with the general welfare. Shortly before his death, he spoke with warm sympathy of the socialistic authors, though he was not satisfied with their results. The Belgian economist who has preserved these facts, M. de Laveleye, tells also how he urged, as objections to female suffrage, not only the risk of impairing domestic harmony, but the subjection of Roman Catholic women to the priests. Mr. Mill replied from Avignon, September, 1869, in a letter which may be translated thus: "I am convinced that family life has nothing to fear from the perfect political and civic equality of the sexes. This life is so necessary to humanity that it can be in no danger of destruction; and it must, I think, gain like all other social relations by depending on the harmony of will of both partners instead of the arbitrary power of one. There would doubtless be some danger from clerical influence, if female suffrage could be established to-day; but there is little chance of that. And is it not mainly because women have no voice in politics nor in the management of business that men abandon them to the influence of priests, with the idea that this will open an avenue for their natural sensibility without doing any particular mischief, and will, moreover, favor conjugal fidelity? This is a short-sighted plan, and would not be followed longer, if women had rights, which, when exercised ignorantly, imperil very serious and vital interests."

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for March is a very readable number. The first paper is on "Science in Politics," by Frank Wigglesworth Clark. What our government owes to science and its increasing dependence on scientific methods are strongly set forth, with some valuable suggestions concerning improvements which might be expected from a larger infusion of the scientific element in the government service. "The Darwinian Theory of Instinct," by George J. Romanes, F.R.S., is an able presentation of Darwin's views, and the present drift of scientific opinion on this subject. Dr. Frank H. Hamilton gives us an estimate of the value of "Medical Expert Testimony"; "How Fungi live in Winter," by Dr. B. D. Halsted; the second of Dr. von Pettenkofer's valuable papers on "Cholera"; "A Project in Industrial Education," by Mr. Franklin Haven North; "The Painless Extinction of Life," by Dr. B. W. Richardson; "The Accurate Measurement of Time," by Theodore B. Willson; "English Experience with Cancer," by Dr. H. P. Dunn,—are among the other interesting articles in this number.

In the March number of the *North American Review*, Murat Halstead, of the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, contributes an article on "The Revival of Sectionalism." In the same number, Archdeacon Farrar presents his views on "Future Retribution," and Prof. N. K. Davis discusses "The Moral Aspects of Vivisection" in a way that brings together briefly nearly everything that any person of note has said on the subject. Max Müller describes the astonishing ideas of the Buddhists on the subject of charity, and George John Romanes opens up a great subject with an article on "Mind in Men and Animals." The other articles are one by President Gilman on Titles, one by Judge John A. Jameson on "Speculation in Politics," and one by John W. Johnston on "Railway Land-grants."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

PROF. SIMON NEWCOMB, after careful investigation of the performances of Lulu Hurst, the Georgia wonder, says that they are simply very clever feats of muscular exertion, and not due to any occult powers.

LAST Sunday, Mr. F. M. Holland, in a lecture at Paine Hall, made a vigorous and timely protest against "governmental outrages against atheists and agnostics," in the form of disabilities imposed upon them on account of their opinions in several States of the Union, Massachusetts included.

"It was," as an exchange says, "very small business on the part of the Harvard Club at Washington to exclude educated graduates from a dinner because of their color. They set up a standard unknown to their Alma Mater or to the great republic of letters, and we presume the men responsible for it are not of large calibre."

THE war on the roller rinks is being prosecuted in various directions and evidently from different motives. The clergy are not alone in denouncing roller skating. It is announced that "the saloon keepers in the upper Michigan peninsula have resolved to boycott all stockholders of rinks on the ground that roller skating is having a ruinous effect on the business of grog-selling."

JOHN LEE, a murderer in England, after three bungling and unsuccessful attempts to hang him, is to be sent to penal servitude for life. To his sister, he writes with apparent sincerity: "It was the Lord's will that I should not die yesterday. It was not the fault of any one that everything was not done to carry out orders, but it was the Lord's hand that would not let the law be carried out. I was at the brink of death three times. I hope the next time I go to the scaffold I shall pass from this life to the home above. I am tired of this world. I have been dead to it three times. I believe what has occurred was a miracle worked by the Lord."

IN reply to a statement of Rev. James Martineau that he was conscious of no unfairness in his

review of the *Atkinson Letters*—which review was one of the causes of the alienation of his sister Harriet—Mrs. Fenwick Miller points out that, among other unkind things the brother wrote in his review, he accused his sister of having "prostrated herself at the feet" of Mr. Atkinson, and "laying down at his bidding her early faith in moral obligation," etc. Mrs. Miller gives the public to understand that she has in her possession further written proofs of Dr. Martineau's unkindness to his sister, which she has withheld from the public out of tender consideration for one whom she holds in the highest regard. If these personal matters must be made a subject of public controversy, let the whole truth appear, in justice to the living and the dead.

SAYS the *Boston Transcript*: "Massachusetts legislators have again in their wisdom decided that the law which prevents an atheist from testifying in the courts shall continue upon our statute-books. However, if an atheist falsely states that he does believe in God, his testimony is then as good as any man's. The theological test is a relic and survival from other times than these. But that is just the reason assigned by those who voted against the repealing bill,—the timorous conservatism of human nature. Senator Naphen of Suffolk, for instance, opposed the bill, saying that the law is based upon old principles of the State, that it has existed for many years, notwithstanding various attempts to repeal it. The bill was advocated by Messrs. Andrew of Suffolk, Joyner of Berkshire, and Marden and Scott of Middlesex, they arguing that the law as at present existing was apt to cause a miscarriage of justice. In a few years, the yeas and nays will be curious reading."

IN a thoughtful address before the Liberal Union Club in this city last Saturday evening, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison said: "I shall never forget Mr. Phillips' pungent allusion at Abington to 'this God-forsaken town, with four orthodox churches and no anti-slavery society.' The time-serving nature of the popular churches, thus revealed by the touchstone of slavery, did not change with its abolition. The ministers, after the accomplished fact, discovered that as 'God had turned abolitionist,' to use Dr. Putnam's phrase, it was no disgrace for them to throw up their caps and appropriate the honor for the Church. Antagonizing bitterly every important reform in history, the Church claims each when successful, and enrolls among its saints the martyrs that it put to death. But slavery is gone. Has the nature of the Church therefore changed? Test it with the reforms of to-day. It is, with noble exceptions, still prostrate across the path of progress. How can we expect it to be otherwise? By its constitution, it must represent the sentiment of the community. The pews direct, the preacher obeys."

THE *Boston Herald*, referring to Prof. William Everett's recent address delivered before the New York Free Trade Club, says: "Every true Massachusetts man has the making of a mugwump in

him. He took in independence with his mother's milk and his father's admonitions." Whatever may be said of "every true Massachusetts man," it is certain that the majority of the people born and bred in this State are just like those of other States, governed in their beliefs and actions by tradition and custom. Every "true" New York man or Iowa or Kansas man has as much independence probably as a "true Massachusetts man." We may here remark that, if leading Boston papers and speakers would discuss events and topics of national interest more from a national point of view, and not as though Massachusetts were the United States, and Boston the capital of the Union, they would show more breadth and liberality than they now evince, and their influence would serve to counteract the impression which has obtained in the Middle and Western States, that Boston is provincial, exclusive, and conceited,—an impression which is certainly not true in regard to the mass of the people of this city.

PROF. V. B. DENSLOW, in a recent lecture before the Philosophical Society of Chicago on "The Distribution of Wealth," took the ground that inequality in the distribution of wealth was necessary to its greatest production and its greatest enjoyment. If it were not, he said, for the vast sterile wastes in Colorado, there would be no rains in Illinois. In the social world, the law was the same. If wealth were equally distributed or if all persons were rich, this condition would at once destroy labor, which was the necessity of poverty. Manufactures would cease, commerce would die, and the wheels of society stop. It would mean famine and pestilence, not happiness. To make wealth universal was to annihilate it. An equal distribution of wealth in America would give each person \$1,000; but what could he do with it, if values had been scattered to the winds and production stopped? Wealth had no meaning without want. We would be reduced to the condition of the bushmen of Africa. The unequal distribution of wealth was the great and only promoter of civilization. Man's soul swung like a pendulum with wealth as its action and want as its spring. When the socialist said that labor produced all wealth, he started with an error of fact, since it was his wealth and the wealth of others that gave incentive to and produced that labor. Prof. Denslow claimed that capital and labor were cheaper from the large capitalists than from the small, and thought that when capital was concentrated in the hands of large capitalists it was to the advantage of the masses. Organized capital was like an organized army, and was to the advantage of the whole. Without captains and generals, the army was a mob. The capitalist was the leader of the great world of commerce which spread its arms from zone to zone, and was the great civilizer of the world. Without doubt there is a great deal of truth in Prof. Denslow's statements; yet a fairer distribution of the products of labor than we now have is, we believe, demanded by justice to the workers and by the best interests of society.

CONGRESS AND ITS SHORTCOMINGS.

The present Congress will have come to its constitutional end when this article reaches its readers. A new President will also have been installed in office. For the first time since the 4th of March, 1861, the Democratic party is to try its hand in the executive administration of national affairs. What that administration is to be, how it is to affect the country, we have no intention here to prognosticate. It would not be surprising if, before its term is finished, the party which has elected it should be broken into factions by some of its measures, and parties should be formed on new lines by the time of the next Presidential campaign. But our concern in this article is not with the administration, but with Congress. Congress is, or should be, the chief power in this country, because it represents the people.

But does Congress represent the people? Theoretically, of course, it does. Yet it is a singular fact that, leaving out of view the class of professional politicians, the great body of the steady-going, law-abiding citizens appear to be better satisfied when Congress is not in session than when it is. This remark we believe would, at least, hold true of any time within the last ten or twelve years. And a similar remark is true, to a large extent, with regard to State legislatures. The people themselves do not seem to have any large amount of confidence in the men whom they have chosen to legislate for them at Washington or in their State capitals. How often has it been said, particularly in business circles, in the last dozen years, "We shall breathe easier when Congress adjourns"! People are more anxious and nervous about what their legislators will do than about what they will not do. There is a tendency, more especially in the States, to excessive legislation; a disposition to interfere by law with matters that had better be left to take care of themselves. And in Congress there has been of late so much of ignorant, careless, and partisan legislation that no thoughtful citizen can feel entirely easy while Congress is sitting. The best measures are apt to fail, the poorest seem likely to succeed. It is the poorest measures that usually have the strongest lobbies working for them. Good and upright men are naturally averse to avail themselves of the lobby influence to secure such legislation as they see to be needed, though sometimes they are pushed to it or else must see such legislation fail. Recent Congresses, of whichever party, appear to have had a fatal facility for doing the things which ought not to be done and leaving undone the things which ought to be done.

That the present Congress, whose remaining days, as we write, are very few, can be exempted from this judgment is not probable. It can hardly do more now than pass the necessary appropriation bills. The country will be fortunate, indeed, if it does not pass any of the vicious measures which are apt to be rushed upon the statute-book in the last hours of a session. The disturbed industrial and business interests of the country have hoped for some wise measures of tariff and revenue reform, but Congress has not been wise enough to furnish any relief. Not even has the carefully framed Bankruptcy Bill been permitted to become a law. Possibly the coinage of silver dollars may be suspended, because of the avowed desire of the President-elect that this question should be settled by this Congress, though at this writing such a happy piece of legislation does not seem probable. The wisest financiers in the country, boards of trades, bankers and merchants of the highest standing, have been representing to Congress that there is inevitable financial peril

ahead, if the government shall be compelled to continue the coinage of silver into dollars worth eighty-five cents each, which nobody wants for circulation, and which can only be locked up in the treasury vaults until the drainage of gold from the country shall force their outflow upon the people; yet the weighty argument has had little apparent effect upon the people's representatives, and compulsory coinage of the false dollars is likely to be continued, unless by some good fortune, in the last hurried days of legislation, wisdom and vigilance shall get the advantage over the ignorance, obstinacy, and self-interest that stand by the silver coinage act.

Another measure which ought to have passed this Congress is one with regard to Indian affairs, known as the Coke Bill. This bill is a judicious act enabling the Indians to hold land in severalty and otherwise providing for their civilization. If adopted and justly administered, it would go far toward permanently solving the Indian problem in this country. The bill is both just and humane. It passed the Senate at the previous session, and it has been indorsed by the National Indian Rights Association as a good measure. Its enactment has been urgently pressed upon the House by petitions and by a committee representing the above Association. But it has not even been reported to the House, and there is no chance of its having passed. Justice to the Indian must again wait, as it has waited from the foundation of the government.

One reason why needed legislation is so slow in getting through Congress is that the two Houses have no joint system in bringing forward their legislative business. The business in each House is introduced in a miscellaneous, slipshod way, and then is controlled by technical rules, by which the most important measures are often deferred to the least important. And not a Congress, probably, passes, but that each of the Houses spends much time and work over a bill which, when adopted there, goes to the other chamber, only to lie on the table or sleep in a committee-room. The labor of weeks may thus be lost in one or the other or even in both Houses at every Congressional session. Again and again have measures, which at some time or other have passed both Houses, failed to become laws, because they did not pass both Houses in the same Congress. No corporation or society, that values time or money, would do business in that fashion. A joint committee of both Houses, intrusted with arranging, in a general way, the order of legislative business for both chambers, with a view of accomplishing it, and in cases of conflict having precedence over any other committee, would seem to be a parliamentary labor-saving invention for Congress to adopt.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CLERGY AND THE WOMAN'S CAUSE.

Rev. David Swing has an article in the *Weekly Magazine* of February 21, published in Chicago, headed "Rev. Patton and Miss Anthony." The "Rev. Patton" has occupied a larger space in the press of the country, for the last month, than either his mental calibre or his sermon on "Woman and Scepticism" really merits; but, in order to answer one or two points in Mr. Swing's criticisms, I must add another column to his notoriety. After showing the fallacy of the "Rev. Patton's" positions both in fact and logic, Mr. Swing says:—

Dr. Patton's argument is, however, fully equalled in weakness by the reply of the woman in the case,—that the pulpit is the enemy of woman's cause. Perhaps it is an enemy of woman's suffrage, but so also is the bar, so also the average editor, so the college

the university, the average politician, and the historians and philosophers and architects, sculptors and painters. The opposition by the clergy does not come from the fact that they are preachers, but from the fact that they are men. To hit at the preachers is easy, because their heads are easily visible, and are within easy reach of the Stanton or Anthony shillalah. "The preachers are against us": yes, so are the merchants and the lawyers. Dr. Patton and his female opponents should review their early studies in geometry, and relearn what the proposition is, and when the talk is on the point to be demonstrated.

The overpowering influence of the priesthood over woman cannot be disposed of by any such clerical sophistry. Everybody knows by the terms of history and every-day life that those who play on the religious sentiments of mankind have a transcendent power that no other order of men possess. The priesthood have not only the magnetic power of all men over women, but the added influence of "divine inspiration." Behind all their precepts and persuasions stands the never to be questioned authority of "Thus saith the Lord," and a special revelation.

No class of men have such power to pervert the religious sentiments, and oppress mankind with gloomy superstitions through life and an undefined dread of the unknown after death. They play on the deepest and tenderest chords of the human soul,—on its love and faith, its hopes and fears for time and eternity. In all the most eventful scenes of life, we invoke their presence: at the cradle, the marriage altar, and the grave, they whisper words of comfort and benediction. In our joys and sorrows, when the heart is most receptive to influence, they are ever with us. They have the power to roll off the mountains of superstition that oppress mankind in our day and generation, and let in the sunshine of liberty and truth; and they have the power to block woman's way to justice and freedom, and they are using it as the priesthood always have, to hold her in bondage.

Our point is, as self-styled teachers of God's word, as expounders of his will, as interpreters of his law and gospel, "our worst enemies are in the pulpit," because they base their opposition on such intangible speculations as God's purpose and manner in creating woman.

Again, woman's equality in the church, the college, and the court, is quite as important as at the ballot-box; and, as life is not long enough to give half a century to fighting our enemies separately, we think it good policy to send a bombshell into every hostile camp.

We need no better proof of the invidious influence of the Church than Dr. Patton's sermon and the article of David Swing before me, who further says:—

It is universal all over the West that female advocates of female suffrage have put their cause back of late years more than they have urged it forward. It is at least strange how few of the most powerful women of the land advocate the new cause. Why should we men be eager to grant a boon to women which so few of them want, and which many noble women would look upon, not as a boon, but as a personal misfortune? Are these mothers, wives, and daughters not fully awakened?

Is the reverend gentleman ignorant of the facts of history, or is it his policy to belittle the events of his day? Washington Territory has recently secured woman suffrage by a vote of her people; and the women there are now voting, holding office, and doing jury duty. Some of the ablest and most cultivated women in the nation are the advocates of the measure. A bill in favor of woman suffrage recently passed the assembly in Dakota by a large majority. When the law in Illinois, the State in which Mr. Swing resides, first made women eligible to all school offices, it was

prophesied that it would be a dead letter, as women would not accept office. This law went into effect July 1, 1873. In November of that year there were thirty-four women candidates in thirty counties for superintendents of schools, of whom eleven were elected,—this in four months after the law went into force. Many facts in this line might be multiplied. But, if the apathy and indifference of the women were established, would that exonerate holy men from doing their duty? We might ask these gentlemen, Why send Bibles and missionaries to the heathen? They do not desire either. Why did we establish free schools for children? They would all have preferred to play in the sunshine on the highway than to read and write and study geography and grammar the long summer days in school. The indifference of women who do not understand the genius of our free institutions and the dignity involved in the right of self-government has nothing whatever to do with the question. The fact they do not want to vote, if true, is the strongest argument for their enfranchisement. We would recommend the Rev. David Swing "to review his early studies" in logic.

As to the "Rev. Patton's" sermon, it was a cruel libel of grand representative women, living and dead,—a sermon he cannot explain away, and which he is unwilling to see in print. I understood it was asked for publication; but he refused, while misrepresenting its spirit and purpose in the *Woman's Journal*.

I heard the sermon, and gave the speaker undivided attention. Its purpose was to show that woman's sphere in religion was faith, not research and investigation, at the foot of the cross, not on the mount of observation. He said she was no theologian; her tendency, being controlled by her emotions, was to extremes, even in religion, oft-times fanatical. And, to warn us against launching our barks on the sea of reason, he gave us the example of many distinguished women, who had assumed the responsibility of doing some thinking and investigating for themselves as to the authority of the Church and its priesthood, as to social ethics, morality, mathematics, and political economy; and, without any exception, they all came to a sad end. Hypatia, Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, George Eliot, Harriet Martineau, and Frances Power Cobbe were each in turn held up in his metaphysical tweezers, as so many terrible examples, for the women of his congregation to crush every pulsation of liberty in their own souls, and to cultivate a blind faith in whatever their pastors tell them. In closing, he mentioned Victoria Woodhull as the representative of similar ideas in our country. Let us congratulate her in being considered worthy to be classified with so noble a galaxy of great women, while expressing our surprise that he should have forgotten Lucretia Mott, whose beautiful face adorns Howard University, which I had the pleasure of presenting in person to Dr. Patton, and which he received at my hands with an appropriate speech, on which occasion he made no mention of her latitudinarian ideas in religion, nor the slightest objection to having the lovely Hicksite Quakeress as one of the presiding deities in that institution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE PROBLEM OF EXISTENCE.

III.

How to Solve It.

This problem admits of being solved by one method only; and that is the process of investigation, which in time must appropriate the term *Philosophy*. For the two are related as question and answer. Philosophy is the problem's solution, and this is to be effected by discovering the rudiments

of that. These are brought to light by experience of course, but not alone by experience of the ordinary kind. It is only that extra-ordinary species of experience, which consists with profound meditation and reasoning upon data of extrospective and introspective observation, that reveals the rudiments of philosophy. To know how to engage successfully in this work is to know coincidentally how to solve the problem of existence. What, then, are the conditions of either?

1. We must learn to be rigidly scientific, wary of mistaking belief for knowledge, accepting experience as the only guide to intelligence, and seeking conviction as the only test of truth.

2. We must learn to distinguish consciousness from natural faith. These are very often confounded by reputable speakers and writers. Yet, as concepts, they are neither identical nor coincident, but as disparate as any instance of antecedent and consequent. Natural faith is the substratum of knowledge, that which makes cognition possible. It is complex, and its components are individually instinctive. Of these, sentient beings are primarily unconscious, and become conscious, not collectively, but consecutively, in the order of intellectual development. Accordingly, the elements of natural faith are conceivable as either implicit or explicit,—in the one case being acted upon instinctively, as if apprehended, and in the other cognized as truisms. It is thus, and only thus, that an element of natural faith is transformed to an element of consciousness. To be conscious of a truth is to know it, and this identifies the pith of consciousness with that of general intelligence.

Natural faith is the base of intelligence, and the elements thereof are as distinct and numerous as the intellective faculties which they qualify and make effective. These and those are one and the same for all grades of mentality, except that, in effect of the consecutive order of their development, those of puerile and unrationalized minds are comparatively few and relevant to sensuous perception only, whereas those of mature minds embrace such as are requisite to paramount rationality. Natural faith is the substratum of consciousness, which consists of the data of experience, this being made possible by that. The elements of natural faith are instinctively cherished and acted upon in advance of their recognition as objects of perception, which ensues from that degree of intellectual development which instigates introspection, whence follow, as the fruit of inquisitive thought, the aptitudes for philosophic insight.

3. We must become conscious of those elements of natural faith which connote the correlation of Cause and Use as the antecedent and consequent of existence as a unit. This implies a degree and bent of intellectual development which is not predicable of all, even expert thinkers, except as a future attainment. It does not suffice to recognize the truism that there can be no effect without an adequate cause, so long as its implication conceptibly applies only to such fragmentary exemplifications of existence as are made known to us by the senses. It is only when that truism is coupled with the recondite conception,—firstly, that no existing thing in the domain of nature is isolated; secondly, that each is somehow indissolubly bound to all; and, thirdly, that each, in all cases, virtually conspires with many to realize some special purpose, which purpose is relevant to an ulterior purpose to be realized by virtue of the conspiring relevance thereto of several groups of existing things, and so on to the confines of existence, as if to some possible finale of co-operating agencies,—it is only thus that the unitotality of existing things is

apprehended as a multiplex effect, a stupendous complication of means to a single end, which must have been foreseen and predetermined by a single purposing agent. The first part of this trine conception is germane to the truism that self-support is as impossible as self-creation; the second implies the passive predicament of all existing things; while the third identifies the use of existence with the paramount subservience of all to each, as the eligible compensation for the subservience of each to all.

4. We must learn to distinguish *cause* from the *means* of causation, and to recognize its supremacy as well as its priority to effect. The dictum of science, *causa aequat effectum*, is true only with an accommodated sense of its subjective term. It is only the phenomenal antecedent and consequent pertaining to the *process* of natural causation that are equal to each other, and the correlation of these merely simulates that of cause and effect. In truth, cause is more expressly named the *causal agent of causation*, which latter term embraces only the means or implements whereby the *purpose of the agent* is realized in the name of effect. The flying bullet which wounded Garfield was no part of the motive agency which caused his death. That was exclusively personal; though in all cases connatural causation is resolvable into a series of voluntary acts, each of which depends upon the special design of some sentient actor, to be realized only by the intervention of means altogether insentient and partly fortuitous. These are the components of causation, whereas those of cause are the consecutive volitions requisite to the achievement of a preconceived purpose.

Without the discrimination here propounded, it is impossible to solve the problem of existence, since it is the only demarkation between cause and effect which assigns pre-eminence to the former. It is only by regarding the one sentient and the other insentient, the one active and the other passive, that the supremacy of cause becomes conspicuous. Otherwise considered, their correlation appears to be merely that of antecedent and consequent. This shows the predicament of pantheists, who inevitably confound the Cause of existence with existence itself. But to apprehend them as disparate entities, the one active and the other passive, the one personal and the other impersonal, is prerequisite to a practical conception of what the problem should compass.

The indiscriminate notion of a cause which precludes ability to solve this problem was avowedly cherished by Sir William Hamilton, who thus stated it: "By cause, I mean everything without which the effect could not be realized." But Mark Hopkins wrote with more sagacity, "Without a foundation, a house cannot be; but the foundation is no part of the cause of a house."

5. We must learn to distinguish the products of causation from things of necessity. This is a proximate first principle of philosophy. Whoever fails to recognize it, or to make the discrimination on which its recognition depends, will fail to apprehend the gist of the problem's solution. For what is existence? Does the word comprise all that is? Is it synonymous with the word *being*? So lexicographers define it; and, in the diction of most authors, the two words appear as convertible. But, if there be not a category of *being* beyond existence, where shall we look for the cause of existence? and how shall we evade the solecism of something "which existed before existence,"*—that is, before anything existed? For my part, I know of no other way but to limit the meaning and application of the one word to the products of natural causation, or *things made to be*, in distinc-

*The Theistic Argument, p. 83.

tion from things that must be. And to this classification of all realities we are prone by nature; for do we not know instinctively *what* things are of necessity, and that whatever is not of necessity is *made* to be? In this way, and only in this way, we get rid of the conceit of *self-existence*, which is absurd. Thus time and space are conceived to be of necessity: we cannot imagine their nullity. The same is true of all discrete principles, dialectically styled necessary truths. Whatever is of necessity is eternal, ubiquitous, immutable; whereas, whatever is made to be is temporal, local, and mutable. It is all-important to distinguish these two categories of *being*, which word legitimately comprises all that *is*, in the largest sense of the verb. For the nonce here obtrusive, we must have two appropriate symbols. To supply this want, why not restrict the application of the word *exist* and its derivatives to things *made* to be, and to denote things of necessity coin a new word, say *sempersist* (stand-ever-the-same)? Some such expedient is necessary to insure the discrimination here propounded, without which the Cause of existence must be regarded as itself existing, so that the domain of existence is unlimited: in which case, the conception of causation is nullified by the ideal coalescence of cause and effect, while the conceit of self-existence replaces the postulate of an overt process conducted by an occult agent to an occult issue, the overt process alone being cognized and symbolized as *existence*. Without this postulate, the problem of existence is insolvable.

6. We must learn to distinguish MIND from mentality by other epithets than *finite* and *infinite*. In all my course of reading, I have not met with a single instance of this discrimination. But to regard finite mind as of the same essence as the Infinite Mind is to confound cause and effect. The one is *made* to be, and therefore temporal: whereas, the other is of necessity, and therefore eternal. Mentality is the higher predicament of *instinct*, and as such the offspring of MIND. Instinct is a thing of Nature, the directive agent of natural causation, as force is the operative agent thereof. Both are due to the perpetual volition of the Infinite Mind. But force is primordial to instinct in the process of evolution, *alias* natural causation, though instinct is superlatively complementary of the functions of force. There are two predicaments of force, static and motoric; also two predicaments of instinct, vital and mental. As static force (the base of matter as well as of the ether) is primordial to motoric force; and as vital instinct is primordial to mental instinct as its base, so materiality is primordial to mentality, and finite mind, so called, is as much a product of Creative Power as is matter. Mentality is inconceivable otherwise than as an *impress* of the Infinite Mind, which can neither obtain nor subsist without a body, either material or spiritual. But this conception is important only as tending to enforce the distinction of mentality from Mind, which are correlated as type and antitype.

7. We must identify the Cause of existence with the Infinite Mind, conceived as personal. There is no agent of connatural causation apart from mentality, and connatural causation is the analogue of natural causation. Every agent of connatural causation is voluntary, and volition is not imputable to any other than sentient agents. Therefore, the Cause of existence can be no other than the Infinite Mind. Again, mentality is the superlative part of Nature, the sole mundane habitat of utility, that for which all material things exist, the soul of personality, wherein culminate the noblest attributes of being—intelligence, sympathy, volition, responsibility—as the indispensable means of rectitude and happiness. The In-

finite Mind is thus idealized as the antitype of humanity, the conceptual synthesis of whose perfected attributes typifies the Cause of existence as the *Supreme Person*; though, in reality, human personality is the proper antitype of the Infinite Mind.

If the Cause of existence be not Mind, it must be something superior to Mind. If it be not wise, it must be more than wise. If impersonal, it must be more than personal in a sense that is inconceivable, or infinitely wiser and worthier than the Supreme Person is conceived to be. But to name the Author of our selfhood and Ancestor of human personality "Our heavenly Father" is to employ the best symbol at our command, as connoting what cannot be less relevant to human destiny than hope implies.

8. We must learn to deduce the attributes of the Infinite Mind, and thence the certainty of hope's fruition, from those of its finite analogue, the human mind. Is there any reason for supposing that our moral nature is factitious, that ethical truth is less independent of time and place than mathematical truth? I know that certain theological speculators—like Jonathan Edwards, for instance—have argued that, if God should command us to hate instead of love one another, it would become our duty to act accordingly. But the faith of such thinkers is anything but natural faith. Even atheists, who have no regard for the supposititious will of any deity, cherish a sense of duty to do as they would be done by, and are commonly as good neighbors as their ecclesiastical opponents. None but superficial thinkers and non-thinkers have ever believed that it would be useless to love one another, if the ten commandments of Moses and the later precepts of Jesus had never been given. God commands us through our rational and moral faculties *to do right*, because that is the only way to be happy; and the wish to be happy is instinctive, because he wants us to be happy,—for *instinct is the indubitable word of God* to each of his children. And does not the Supreme Person also want to be happy? Verily, his wants are unbounded and absolute. And can he be happy without doing right? Nay: he has less license in this respect than we, since he is too wise to err; and, were he not too good to do wrong, he must be infinitely wretched. His happiness can be only proportionate to his delight in that of his climbing children.

Thus we forecast human destiny, not merely as germane to the personality of the Infinite Mind, but as the inevitable sequence of the anthropoidal attributes thereof. If our immortality is necessary to the happiness of our heavenly Father, is not the problem of existence solved by this conception, or is not this the key to its solution? It surely is the latter, but discernment of this truth must follow the discernment of the solution of the problem by the rational process indicated above. Few have leisure for this work; and, of those who have, few are disposed to prosecute it. Therefore, over and above the foregoing directions as to *how* the problem may be solved, an earnest desire to solve it must dominate all predilections for other pursuits.

GEORGE STEARNS.

BURNABY THE HERO.

Through the agency of the Press Bureau or individual enterprise, the portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby and an exciting narrative of his adventures have appeared in almost every paper in English-speaking countries. The most fulsome praise is lavished on him, as the "heroic soldier," an "honor to human nature," and his example presented "as a source of inspiration to ardent and generous youth." This latter is exactly what is most to be feared. Of all examples, his should be the

last a right-thinking, moral youth ought to choose. As to his endurance, activity, energy, and adroit expediency, there can be no question. He travelled far and in wild paths, and gave a racy, superficial account of superficial observations. He scented war afar, and hurried to the carnage. He was a volunteer and went to Africa for the purpose of fighting, went for the love of carnage. He had no grievance to redress: the people he drew his sword to destroy had done him no wrong. Even his nation, England, complained of no wrong. There was not the least excuse offered for the war, there was no necessity for a battle, and yet this lauded hero put his revolvers in his belt, and sharpened his sword to go out as one of this band of red-handed robbers and assassins to kill a free people, fighting for their homes. He was found after the terrible battle on the burning plains, "his hand grasping the throat of the Arab whose spear had given him his death wound." Can a more revolting picture be imagined than this of two men, one reared in Europe in the concentrated light of nineteen centuries of Christianity, the other in Asia under the rule of another faith, meeting in the hell of battle, and, like wild and furious beasts, rushing at each other, with bloodshot eyes and demonic curses on their distorted lips; thrusting with spear, gashing with sword; at last clenching in the final throes of death and choking the life out of each other? There they lie on the reeking sand, under the burning sun, glaring in its light, with protruding eyes, their lips drawn from their gleaming teeth, and their distorted features purple black with hate,—marks of ferocity which death itself cannot efface!

And this is the hero! This the example the press holds up for imitation of aspiring youth! Where is Christian faith or moral perception? Such unthinking adulation is the cause of immeasurable harm. It lowers the standard of moral excellence, and places before the youthful mind a wrong and vicious standard. He possessed courage, but so do the brigand and assassin. Heroism he had not, for the hero immolates himself for a great and noble cause. Byron enlisting for the liberty of Greece is in contrast to Burnaby volunteering to butcher Arabs contesting for the freedom of their desert.

HUDSON TUTTLE.

To WHAT is called personal magnetism, he [Washington] could have had little pretension. A vein of dignified reserve, which Houdon and Stuart have rightly made his peculiar characteristic in marble and on canvas, repressed all familiarities with him. His magnetism was that of merit,—superior, surpassing merit,—the merit of spotless integrity, of recognized ability, and of unwearied willingness to spend and be spent in the service of his country. That was sufficient to attract irresistibly to his support, not only the great mass of the people, but the wisest and best of his contemporaries in all quarters of the Union; and from them he selected, with signal discrimination, such advisers and counsellors, in war and in peace, as have never surrounded any other American leader. No jealousy of their abilities and accomplishments ever ruffled his breast; and with them he achieved our independence, organized our constitutional government, and stamped his name indelibly on the age in which he lived as the Age of Washington.—R. C. Winthrop.

THE Cologne *Zeitung* says of Jacob Grimm, the great collector and writer of folk-tales, "He descended into the deep mine of German nationality, German language, and German folk-lore, and what he saw there he taught himself and his people to love; namely, German depth of feeling and German power of intellect."

The Index.

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

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

GEORGE ELIOT wrote to a lady friend in 1852:—

My brightest spot, next to the love of old friends, is the deliciously calm, new friendship that Herbert Spencer gives me. We see each other every day, and have such a delightful camaraderie in everything.

MR. C. D. B. MILLS lectured at Council Bluffs, Iowa, March 3, and Omaha, Neb., the 4th. He is announced to speak at Hastings, Neb., the 6th; at Lincoln, Neb., the 7th; Omaha, the 8th; Topeka, Kan., the 10th, 12th, and 14th.

WE are indebted to some friend for copies of the *Daily Moon*, Battle Creek, Mich., containing sermons delivered in that city by Rev. Reed Stuart, which are marked by more than ordinary ability and boldness. Their influence in the community in stimulating thought and in acquainting the people with rational and radical religious views must be decidedly good.

REFERRING to the movement in this State for the taxation of church property, the orthodox *Congregationalist* has this to say:—

The taxation of church property is up again at the State House. The very poor and the very rich would suffer most, were all church buildings to be taxed. The usual arguments are being advanced, and a strong case can be made out on each side. We should anticipate no harm to real Christianity, were the new move to be carried.

At a meeting of the Woman State Suffrage Association of New York, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton said: "The worst objectors to woman suffrage are fashionable women. At Newport, I saw ladies dancing with low-neck, short-sleeved dresses; and, at the breakfast table next day, they said they were shocked to read that there had been a woman suffrage meeting in Newport. They were shocked at the notion of a woman getting on a platform to talk. I told them it was a matter of taste; that I would rather do it than put on a low-necked and short-sleeved dress and dance in the arms of a man. 'But the names of the women who spoke are in the paper,' objected one of the ladies. 'Well,' I said, 'so are the names of the ladies who danced; and those whose names were not printed were not at all pleased.'"

THE Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune writes:—

Speaker Carlisle said the other day that he believed the time would come when the form of an oath would be done away with in the courts. This expression of opinion was brought out in a general conversation upon the subject of the rejection of the testimony of an agnostic in the Swaim court-martial. Mr. Carlisle said that, under the present methods of taking testimony, the evidence of a most worthless character who took the oath would be taken against that of the most scrupulous and high-minded man who from his very sense of truth could not say that he knew that there was a God. He thinks that there never was a case tried in any court where there was not perjury of some kind on both sides. He never yet has, in all his legal experience, seen evidence that the oath alone restrains a man from making misstatements in his own interests. He would have each man give evidence without any preliminary form, and then it would stand according to the character of the witness. Each witness would be upon his honor. There would be no trouble in providing penalties for giving false evidence as there is now. The oath is a mere empty form with the majority of men, and should be dropped.

A FRIEND sends to us the following: "A grandmother said to a little boy, some ten or twelve years old, 'I think baby loves me better since I carry cookies in my pocket for him.' 'Oh, no,' indignantly replied the boy, 'we don't love you for the good things you make us.' 'I'm glad of that,' replied grandmamma; 'for I like heart love better than stomach love.' 'O grandmamma,' said the boy, 'people used to think we loved with the heart; but we're wiser now.' 'Indeed,' asked the grandmother, willing to learn, 'what do we think we love with now?' 'Why,' said the boy, 'we're wiser now, and—we don't know.'" When the mind comes to see that a statement once accepted as an explanation of a phenomenon is untrue, and admits that it "don't know" what the real cause is, it is in a condition more favorable to the discovery of the truth than when it was content with a false explanation. The above story was probably sent us to illustrate what Huxley says: "Agnosticism is the essence of science, whether ancient or modern. It simply means that a man shall not say he knows or believes that which he has no scientific grounds for professing to believe."

AMONG the passages of memorable eloquence in Robert C. Winthrop's recent oration on Washington is the following reference to the unfinished monument as it stood during our Civil War:—

That truncated shaft, with its untidy surroundings, looked only like an insult to the memory of Washington. It symbolized nothing but an ungrateful country, not destined—as, God be thanked, it still was—to growth and grandeur and imperishable glory, but doomed to premature decay, to discord, strife, and ultimate disunion. Its very presence was calculated to discourage many hearts from other things as well as from itself. It was an abomination of desolation standing where it ought not. All that followed of confusion and contention in our country's history seemed foreshadowed and prefigured in that humiliating spectacle, and one could almost read on its sides in letters of blood: "Divided! Weighed in the balance! Found wanting!" And well might that crude and undigested mass have stood so forever, or until the hand of man or the operation of the elements should have crushed and crumbled it into dust, if our Union had then perished. An unfinished, fragmentary, crumbling monument to Washington would have been a fit emblem of a divided and ruined country. Washington himself would not have had it finished. He would have desired no tribute, however imposing, from either half of a divided republic. He would have turned with abhorrence from being thought the Father of anything less than One Country, with one Constitution and one Destiny.

THE *Religio-Philosophical Journal* says in regard to Thomas Paine: "It is just as well to know

where a man belongs, especially when he is misunderstood and wrongly placed. . . . Thomas Paine was a spiritual thinker with no sympathy or unity with materialism. He would have defended the right of free opinion for the atheist, but was not himself atheistic. Let his own words decide this matter. He wrote the *Age of Reason* to counteract the atheistic tendencies of the French Revolution, and said,—

I believe in one God and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life.

Of immortality, he wrote as follows:—

The consciousness of existence is the only conceivable idea we can have of another life, and the continuance of that consciousness is immortality. This consciousness, or the knowing that we exist, is not necessarily confined to the same form nor to the same matter, even in this life. We have not always the same form nor in any case the same matter that composed our bodies twenty years ago. Limbs may be lost and the full consciousness remains. . . . Who can say by what exceeding fine action of fine matter a thought is produced in what we call the mind, and yet, when produced, as I now produce the thought I am writing, it is capable of becoming immortal, and is the only production of man that has that capacity? Statues of brass or marble will perish, and statues made in imitation of them are not the same. But reprint a thought a thousand times over, carve it in wood or engrave it on stone, that thought is identically and eternally the same, unaffected by any change of matter. If the thing produced has in itself the capacity to become immortal, it is more than a token that the power that produced it, which is the self-same thing as our consciousness of existence, is immortal also."

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in his noble eulogy of the life and character of George Washington, which was read before the President and Congress of the United States, referred to Washington as "believing in Christ." What proof is there that Washington believed in Christ as a superhuman being? Jefferson, in his Journal of 1800, wrote: "Rush [Dr. Rush] observes he [Washington] never did say a word on the subject in any of his public papers, except in his valedictory letter to the Governors of the States, when he resigned his commission in the army, wherein he speaks of the 'benign influence of the Christian religion.' I know that Gouverneur Morris, who pretended to be in his secrets and believed himself to be so, has often told me that Gen. Washington believed no more in that system [Christianity] than he himself did." Rev. Dr. Wilson, in a sermon delivered at Albany more than fifty years ago, declared that Dr. Abercrombie, rector of the church Washington attended when the Congress sat at Philadelphia, had told him Washington was a Deist. In a conversation subsequently with Robert Dale Owen, Dr. Wilson said, "Dr. Abercrombie's emphatic expression was, for I well remember the words, 'Sir, Washington was a Deist.' Now," continued Dr. Wilson, "I have diligently perused every line that Washington ever gave to the public, and I do not find one expression in which he pledges himself as a professor of Christianity. I think any man who will candidly do as I have done will come to the conclusion that he was a Deist, and nothing more." Washington died without having around him any clergymen, without praying, without a word about Christ, without any allusion to the Bible, or any expression implying that he was either cheered by the promises or disturbed by the threats of Christianity. If Paine had made no direct attacks on revealed religion, he, too, would have been canonized among the Christian saints. Lincoln has been already, although there are hundreds living, including those who knew him intimately, who declare that he had no belief in the Bible as a divine revelation.

For The Index.

LIMITATIONS OF REFORM.*

BY HON. GEORGE F. TALBOT.

PART I.

Bayard Taylor thus interprets the purpose of his most elaborate and ambitious poem, "Prince Deukalion": "The central design, the germinal cause of the poem is to picture forth the struggle of man to reach the *highest, justest, happiest, and hence most perfect condition of human life on this planet.*"

Whether or not our individual consciousness survives the shock of death and is able to find a place for itself in the enlarged activities of an immortal life; whether we are amenable to the commands of a sovereign and intelligent personal Will, the Author and End of the creation, or to an underlying law of nature, whose last word is uttered by the concurring voice of the human reason and conscience,—and this, broadly stated, is the great debate which theology has opened,—it cannot be doubted that the prime concern of man is to better himself, to improve his surroundings, in order that their balance of influence shall result in the perfection of himself; to keep right along in that grand sweep of things, which, like the majestic march of the sun and all his planets toward some unknown goal of space, of which the astronomers tell us, carries mankind along from his humble and bestial beginnings toward a consummation of glory and power of which he can now have no adequate idea.

Is the Infinite Energy Unconscious?

Hartmann, the latest exponent of philosophic atheism, contends that the underlying cause of all phenomena, sentient and material, is itself unconscious. In three volumes, recently translated into English and published in this country by Macmillan & Co., entitled *The Philosophy of the Unconscious*, he elaborates his system. He shows how purposive action, without consciousness of purpose, is at work everywhere in the vital processes of nature, in the instincts of sentient brutes, and in the dominant passions and appetites of men. He concludes that what we call God is Will and Idea, existing in an unconscious state, coming to consciousness only in the minds of men.

Reverent Spirit of Modern Atheism.

This is one more attempt to get some clew to the mystery that surrounds our lives, to reconcile with a Creator, whom we are required to think of as almighty, wise, and good, a creation that in its inadequate and defective results seems not altogether wise and, in its complication with suffering and sin, not wholly good. Indeed, the modern atheism is quite another spirit from the atheism of the eighteenth century,—unless, as is not improbable, *that* has been unfairly cried down and traduced,—since it is reverent and tender where *that* was profane and scoffing. The older atheism looked upon God as the great schoolmaster, whose stern tuition and discipline it plotted to throw off, in order to abandon itself to riot and self-indulgence. It was a protest against a scheme of providence, which, when chided with the misery and injustice and favoritism that obviously characterized it, had no reply but this: *Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?* When this form of atheism prevailed, the best known definition of virtue, that which was taught as indisputable ethics in our schools, was,

"Virtue is doing the will of God for the sake of everlasting happiness."

The scepticism of to-day thinks that when "*the thing formed*" is not a potter's pan, nor even a cunning self-acting machine, but a conscious will capable of exercising moral judgment upon conduct, its own or another's, it *may* ask, not impudently, but sadly and earnestly, *Why hast thou made me thus?* It is not so anxious for personal everlasting happiness, and is even capable of the nobleness of choosing to be blotted out of the book of life, if so be some assured good might come to the race of man.

Effort of Man to perfect himself hitherto Unconscious.

Leaving this debate unadjusted, it is obvious that, whether the cause of all phenomena be or be not unconscious, the effort of men hitherto to perfect themselves, which I have ventured to define as the sum of all virtue, has been mainly an unconscious one.

"Dragons of the prime,
That tore each other in their slime,"

did not enter upon their internecine warfare for the distinct object of trying it out in fair fight which dragon was the fitter to survive. Our remote progenitor, the chimpanzee, who with his forepaw first grasped the limb of a tree and swung himself out of the reach of the huge cat that was about to devour him, found out next day that he could grasp a broken limb, lying upon the ground, and brandish it as a club. Thenceforward, the forepaw begins to develop into a hand, and the monkey to play with it, just as a human baby tests, by fumbling and grasping, the powers latent in his pudgy little fist. But, though to manage this new-discovered tool of a hand, the apish brain grew toward the capacities of a Newton or a Humboldt, there was *no purpose* in the ape, or in the race of apes, to enter upon and prosecute this career of intelligence. It is only poetry that asserts that the earth consciously waited and expected the birth and growth of its intelligent progeny, and says of man:—

"Ere he was born, I dreamed that he might be,
And through long ages of imperfect life
Waited for him."

The theologians are right when they tell us, if it is necessary to assume that there was a plan, a proposed result, to be accomplished in the ordering of nature, that plan and purpose was in something outside of nature. The fish did not *intend* to make himself a reptile, a bird, a mammal: the general movement of living organisms from lower to higher forms was not a self-predetermined movement of the organisms. If it is necessary to presuppose a purpose, and if a purpose implies choice, will, intelligence, there must be a personality above creation to account for the evolution of creation.

Here, I surmise, is just where Hartmann evades the sweep of an irresistible inference,—by denying at the outset consciousness, and so personality, to the ultimate energy, that is the cause of all phenomena.

But his speculations are aside from the leading thoughts which this essay is to elaborate. What I have wished to say is that, although self-improvement is the one great end of man's life,—the *raison d'être* of his having the privilege of living,—self-improvement is a task that he has for the most part wrought at hitherto without having purposed it.

This is not only true of all the earlier progress of life through the bestial and primitive human states: it is true of civilized man up to the present time. Not yet, nor for ages yet, has or will mankind, as an organized whole, set for itself the task

to make the conditions of human life on this planet as high, just, and happy as they can be made. It may account for the prevalent tone of sadness that so largely characterizes the poetry of our age, and gives to philosophy its pessimistic aspects, that, just at this crisis, the very progress of civilization seems rather to check and counteract those salutary workings of nature which insured the survival of the fittest. That tender sentiment, the inspiration of Christianity, which has impelled us to reform rather than punish criminals, to give drunkards the best chance to perpetuate their uncontrollable appetites, to insure the permanence of poverty by guaranteeing to it a maintenance, has operated to check those salutary laws which, when men were less controlled by humane sentiments, tended to thin out and slough off the criminal, the vicious, and the imbecile classes.

Hitherto, it cannot be said that society (and by society I mean the human race acting under organization, with its maximum associated power) has even proposed to try how far it may ameliorate the conditions of human life. A few poets have dreamed of a better future, a few philosophers have speculated as to its conditions and laws, a few philanthropists have spent their lives in promoting some specific reform,—like the abolition of slavery, the disuse of alcoholic stimulants, the substitution of a high for a lower religious *cultus*,—but their efforts have been periodical, local, and partial, the treatment oftenest by inadequate palliatives of the *symptoms* rather than the eradication of the *diseases* of society.

The savage life expended itself in defence against enemies, in alimentation, and in reproduction. To the mere maintenance of the human race, these functions were so necessary that nature did not dare trust their performance to the will and choice of men, for fear they might in some dangerous caprice omit or neglect them. So it implanted them in instincts too fierce to be resisted. How much is our civilized condition advanced beyond these primitive concerns? The main care of our modern life is how to get a living. We go to our bank, our office, our counting-room, our farm, driven by the same instinct that compels the savage to take his bow and arrow and sally out to provide for his dinner. On the plains, such buffaloes are born as the fierce instinct of reproduction, checked only by the rage of a stronger one, provides. Is the same instinct, decked with delicate sentiment and sanctioned by religion, any more within rational control among modern men? To a large extent, we have been able to say that only the healthiest, most symmetrical, most serviceable domestic animals shall be born. We take just such children as undisciplined nature gives us, and cannot know whether they are geniuses or little fiends.

The State, as yet too corrupt to be trusted with all the functions which it might and ought to perform, not yet daring to undertake what one day it will,—every work which associated men can do more wisely and effectually than individual man,—what has it done, what is it doing, but imposing a few checks in the way of making the struggle for life a little fairer for the weak, and punishing some of the criminals, with no thought of eradicating crime?

When society shall become aware of the task it has to do, when it shall have equipped itself with a State which shall also be the Church, and shall set itself *consciously* rather than *instinctively* with *purpose* and with enlightened plan to co-operate with that beneficent design in nature or in the mind of God, then, and not till then, shall we find what are the limitations of reform, what are the en-

* The substance of this essay was read before the Fraternity Club of Portland, Me., Dec. 15, 1884.

vvironments incident to human life itself, to which we must learn to adjust ourselves, as the permanent conditions of a finite existence.

Four Cardinal Evils of Human Life.

It will give definiteness and precision to our speculations, if we consider what are the cardinal evils of human life, and how far they may be removed or ameliorated. Nearly all of them may be comprehended in this classification,—IGNORANCE, CRIME, SICKNESS, and POVERTY. Could some New Year's day dawn upon the world, and find that these enemies of human happiness, during the night,

"Had folded their tents like the Arabs,
And as silently stolen away,"

there would not be much in our earthly fortune to deplore, and a career of it reasonably long might be one for which we ought to be thankful to the supernal powers.

Problem of Education.

The first of all necessities is knowledge. Before beginning to do anything, we must diagnose our malady, and understand what remedies, what method of treatment, will be most likely to alleviate and cure it. And really this seems to be the specific thing which, in any concerted way, the world is beginning to do. The problem of education, not only the higher education of scholars and men of genius, not education for the rulers, the priesthood, the teachers, but such general enlightenment and cultivation for all men as shall make them comprehend the responsibilities of living, the equivalent which they ought to render for the privilege of enjoying the universal bounty of nature,—this is what nearly all the governments of civilized States are now devoting themselves to study.

Here, in this country, we differ as to our revenue system, as to what methods of finance will tend to the most just distribution of the products of labor: we are not in accord as to measures of repression and of police, and are keeping up with a slow mitigation modes of punishment in use two or three thousand years, with a general suspicion that their effect in suppressing crime is nearly zero; but all schemes of educating the masses are popular, and command the votes and taxes of the citizen. The original, characteristic legislation of all the States is legislation to expand and make more efficient our system of common schools. The national government is seeking to share in the same work, with a strong popular assent that overrides old theories of constitutional limitations. We hated slavery, because it shut from millions of laborers the avenues of intelligence; and, for the barbarism that makes imbeciles of the freedmen, we confidently prescribe the spelling-book as an infallible remedy. The same matter of popular education is largely occupying the governments of Britain, of France, of Germany, of Belgium, and of Italy. The first thing the man emancipated from slavery, from despotism, from feudalism, asks for, is a book.

I am aware that education alone will not bring any of the results which enthusiastic reformers hope from it. I know how discouraging are the statistics which have been arranged to show that simultaneously with our expanded education have grown the cunning and desperation of our criminals, and that the mere increase of knowledge has little or no tendency to diminish the volume of crime. We may admit the fact without being discouraged, without abating in the least our energy to make education, even intellectual education simply, more thorough and more universal.

The first thing the skilful physician does is

carefully to explore the diseased part with all the natural and sometimes with all the artificial light he can throw upon it. This part of the treatment is not remedial or painless, but it is the necessary beginning of all cure. Before society will resolutely set itself to combat the evils that infest and degrade and make it wretched, it must thoroughly comprehend those evils and how best to be rid of them. The first effects may not be encouraging. Rough surgery aggravates pain: the devil, about to be cast out, first throws down and tears his victim.

We may then conjecture the civilized races of men as occupied, during the centuries lying nearest our own time in the future, in the task of perfecting their education. Man has been hitherto a poor, forlorn, helpless, suffering, and pathetically sad creature, because he was a savage and did not know how to get either the most happiness or the most good out of his life. He will be happier when he is wiser and more civilized,—more civilized in that culture which comes latest, *his moral nature*.

The era of investigation, of speculation, of polemical debate lies immediately before us, in which we shall study and settle the laws of life, get some appreciation which we are far from having now, of the true science of government, the just laws of labor and distribution, and of the rights on the one hand, and, of what has hitherto been little considered, the imperative duties of individual men on the other hand. Inasmuch as men are led by their fundamental principles and by their ideals more than by their interests, we must pray that the succession of great thinkers, great poets, great saviors shall not fail in the world, who impose upon the reverent wills of men, through their docile faith, salutary truths they would never discover by investigation or arrive at by however prolonged a disputation.

When we consider the great *pushes forward* the world has received from such men as Zoroaster, Sakya Muni, Confucius, Moses, Socrates, Jesus, and Paul, how largely our hopes for the future must rest upon the assurance that the succession of such incarnations is to be kept up! When our reverent admiration is at its height, we are ready to attribute the whole product of our civilization to the genius of a dozen lonely, divinely inspired men. Hitherto, the light on the pathway of humanity has been an after gleam from regions of the heavens "where it is always afternoon." May we not expect that the next great illumination shall burst out of the west, before and not behind the Berkeley course of empire; and that the next savior shall come to us, not so much wisely sad at the impotence of man and the failure of life as buoyant with the hopes and omnipotent with the intelligence of the coming better race?

Problem of Crime.

All governments have proposed as an object of punitive legislation the suppression of crime; but no government, and almost no man, has dreamed of realizing such a consummation. We have accommodated ourselves to the culprits, as we have to the weakling and invalids, as a permanent feature of human society. More than eighteen centuries since, an ideal reformer characterized the state of the then world as one wherein moth and rust corrupt and thieves break through and steal. The depredations committed upon property by fellow-men were as destructive as those committed by insect pests and by natural decay. It is just as descriptive of the modern world. What avails our civilization, with its enhanced power, its sound knowledge? Our nights are tormented with fears, just as were those of our forest-haunting Scythian

ancestors. It is no longer the witch and the boggy that we are afraid of: we can sleep through quite a racket, if we suspect it was made by a ghost or a devil, and not by some miscreant, armed with a revolver, prowling after our spoons and our watches. What have we gained over the first settlers of Maine, who slept with ears open to the stealthy tread of the Indians lying in wait with tomahawk and scalping-knife? We are more alarmed lest some boy, who went to school with us, and used to steal our playthings and toys, grown to be a burglar, shall enter our house to-night, as he did our next neighbor's house last night. Every morning, in any civilized community, discovers some theft, some depredation, some nuisance, for which daylight did not afford the impunity, and shows that, among the fellow-men we meet and accost in the street, a certain percentage are criminals, and follow their vocations, unchecked by all the repressive influence of law, and by the stronger power of public opinion. No doubt our fears exaggerate the number of these; but when we aggregate them with the great army of culprits, whom our various grades of courts have certificated by sentences that require the keys of jails to be turned against them, it becomes a formidable class of public enemies.

And we hardly expect it to diminish. We build jails and prisons with the expectation that our posterity will need them as certainly as they will need school houses, more certainly than they will need churches.

Reform of Criminals not attempted.

Our remedies against crime have hitherto been palliatives merely. While a man is locked up in jail and fed and lodged at the general charge, he will have no motive for stealing, and stealing will not be possible; but we dismiss him at the jail door with an *au revoir*, and are sure to see him come back. The slight and unorganized efforts made to reform thieves are voluntary and extra-governmental.

Is crime, therefore, to be succumbed to as a permanent condition of human society? Let us consider how far the evil is remediable. Undoubtedly, a congenital feebleness of the moral sense characterizes all habitual criminals, and any improved external surroundings would leave that defect unremedied. But strong natural tendency is no excuse for evil doing. We have the germs and impulses to all crimes in ourselves, and may say truthfully with the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, when he saw a felon on his way to the gallows, "There (but for the grace of God) goes John Bunyan."

But society in this case will be benefited by a repentance that stops short of a complete reform; and the moralist will be content with a state of things that raises the thief above stealing, and allows a base hereditary instinct slowly to perish for want of opportunity to gratify itself.

It takes three elements to constitute a thief,—a deficient appreciation of the rights of property, an enfeebled moral sense, and a temptation and opportunity to steal. If either element be lacking, the thief gets spoiled as a thief in the making. Many men, in whom the first two requisites are complete, for want of temptation live eminently successful lives as traders, speculators, and monopolists. It were best if all people were honest from *character and principle*; but society is benefited if property is secure, because the over-acquisitive find means of appropriating less shameful, if not less harmful than larceny.

Of the efforts of society to make the criminal virtuous,—hitherto but little tried,—and to make it more inconvenient for him to commit crime,—the method now in vogue,—it may be said, *This ought*

ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone. We may continue to disgrace, to punish, to restrain the thief, for this on the whole makes property more safe; and, though it does not make the thief honest, it deprives him of the opportunity to steal, and it is by thwarting and denying evil propensities that we starve them out, and finally render them abortive. So it becomes pertinent to consider what other agencies than fines and imprisonments may be efficacious in keeping men congenitally inclined to be criminals from becoming criminals in fact.

Suppression of Crime Possible.

Many men are kept from vicious and hurtful practices by finding for them legitimate careers, where they can safely exercise their peculiar talents and make their qualities serviceable. The sagacious schoolmistress manages to repress the big, mischievous boy, whom she has not the courage to flog, by changing his seat or imposing upon him some office of waiter or janitor. The moving breaks up his associations, and deprives him of the little public that applauded his monkey tricks; and the office piques his pride, and employs his surplus activity.

The first settlers of Australia, formerly New South Wales, were felons deported in annual throngs to relieve the plethora of English jails. What an ancestry for a chivalric and virtuous people to celebrate the anniversary of! We have never heard that the present inhabitants of that distant colony are in any way behind their fellow Englishmen of the Cape, or of Canada, or even of Old and New England. A large percentage of the first settlers of Virginia were thieves and prostitutes gathered from the slums of London. Their descendants have taken no mean part in the drama of American politics; nor has Virginia been behind, in morality and intelligence, South Carolina, into whose colonization entered a considerable element of virtuous and pious Huguenots. Texas and California, in their turn "the paradise of rascals," under the responsibility of self-government, with the self-respect that comes with prosperity and good fortune, have sobered into orderly communities where law is respected and the decencies and courtesies of civil order are maintained.

A thorough shaking up, a new deal of the chances of fortune, very often breaks up chronic habits of criminality, and, giving the criminal new hopes and new confidence, starts him upon a life of uprightness. For the listless and apathetic country clown, the bustle and ambition of the city; for the too cunning and aggressive schemer of the city, the quiet and plenty of rural country life,—seem to afford changes salutary to good morals. It will some day come to be considered that the man who has committed some overt offence against society has thereby, to a certain extent, forfeited his right to direct his own conduct. He is to be taken in hand by society as a danger, and as a subject of reformatory experimentation. Well men are allowed to lodge where they please or can,—in a house, a hotel, a camp, or under the sky; but a man with the small-pox we are very careful to provide a lodging for, where, if he may still take harm to himself, he shall not harm us. So the criminal, who has once stood in the docks, must understand that he is under surveillance, not necessarily to be imprisoned or punished, but to be *cared* for, lest his malady break out in some form of injury to other men. But this treatment, to be effectual, implies larger functions on the part of the State and a more inquisitorial oversight of private conduct than our present ideas and our present public opinion will tolerate, and can best be considered in reference to some other cardinal evil of the human condition.

Sickness.—How far is it Remediable.

How far may intelligent and united effort relieve human life of sickness? From this term "sickness" ought to be excluded the natural feebleness of the extremes of infancy and of old age, and the disability which immediately precedes and follows the great demand which parturition makes upon the strength of mothers; and it ought to include all congenital and accidental maiming, all deprivation of the normal activity of the senses or the muscles, whether the result of disease or of accident, and all mental derangement, from pronounced insanity or idiocy to all abnormal and eccentric tendencies to anger, jealousy, sensuality, self-esteem, or melancholy. When our great civil war began to make most searching demands for able-bodied men to brave the peril of military service, we were dismayed to find how many men, with tolerable appetites and average ability to enjoy life, were hopeless invalids. Neither was it all fraud and cowardice. I suspect, if men were set to study their real complaints, a vast number, perhaps the majority, might truthfully report that they were far from being exactly suited to be "*food for powder*." How grand is the spectacle of a great teeming nation like ours, with its laughing maidens and golden youth, with its splendid march of conquest across a virgin continent! But uncover our houses and look in upon the diseases that ravage our communities, the pains, the weaknesses, the vague symptoms that periodically threaten our lives, and see how many of our infirmities we are bravely covering up under a cheerful politeness and self-control. Taking account of all our ailments of mind and body, is it not true of us, perhaps the most favored people on the globe, that sickness is the rule, and good health the exception of our condition?

What England loses from Sickness.

A distinguished English physician, Sir James Paget, in an address delivered last June at the International Health Exhibition in London, from tables of aid rendered by the friendly or benevolent societies of England to their invalid members, concluded that each person enumerated in the British census of 1881, if a female, is sick nine and a third days of each year, and if a male nine and three-tenths days. The statistics of sickness (in times of peace) among the army and navy show a considerably higher proportion of illness. England and Wales, he says, in consequence of sickness lose every year 20,000,000 weeks' work. Reckoned at \$5 dollars per week, here is an annual loss of \$100,000,000 to those two countries. More than half of this loss falls upon the domestic, agricultural, and industrial classes, with an annual cost to them for sickness of \$55,000,000. Computing now that the same persons in the United States—that is, between fifteen and sixty-five—would number 30,000,000, and that their earnings per man would be the same,—for, if the rate of wages in America be slightly higher, the number of youths and women not employed in labor is also larger,—we have an annual loss to this country of \$200,000,000 from sickness, and to the industrial class of \$110,000,000.

Sir James cites one disease common to both countries, typhoid fever, which destroys among persons in the working time of life in England and Wales 4,000 persons in a year. Its mortality is about fifteen per cent., so that, if 4,000 die of it, about 23,000 recover. Of these, the average length of illness is about ten weeks. So that from one disease alone, and that preventable, we have an annual loss of 230,000 weeks' work, or more than \$1,000,000, without reckoning what is lost with those who die. The same, he says, may be

said of nearly all the diseases that are most prominent in the bills of mortality.

But these figures represent the illness of the strongest and soundest of the population in their working age, between fifteen and sixty-five. "The mortality in England for 1882, among children under fifteen, was nearly a quarter of a million. What have they cost? If you say only \$40 apiece, here is a loss of more than \$10,000,000 incurred every year. But they cost much more than this, and much more still is lost by the loss of work they might have lived to do."

I have not looked over our own census or the annual State reports of vital statistics to compare them with these English data; but the rates of sickness and mortality among all civilized people are so nearly alike that any one carefully prepared table will serve as a fair representation of the sanitary condition of any one community or of the civilized world. The modifications due to climate, national habits, unequal supplies of food, and to the prevalence of epidemics,—all tend in the long run to equalize themselves.

How much of this is Preventable.

The learned English surgeon, in the course of his address, asks, "Are not these things the inevitable consequences of conditions in which we choose or are compelled to live?" and replies: "No, certainly, they are not. No one who lives among the sick can doubt that a very large portion of the sickness which he sees might have been prevented, or can doubt that, in every succeeding generation, a larger portion still may be averted, if only men will strive that it may be so." "Let me," he says, "enumerate some of the chief sources of the waste, as they may appear to one's self in practice."

"Of the infectious fevers, small-pox might be rendered nearly harmless by complete and careful vaccination. Typhus, typhoid, and scarlet fevers, and measles might, with proper guards against infection, be confined within very narrow limits. So probably might whooping-cough and diphtheria. Of the diseases due to bad food and mere filth, to intemperance and immorality, in so far as these are self-induced, they might, by self-control and virtue, be excluded. And, with these, scrofula, rickets, scurvy, and all the wide-spread defects related to them, might be greatly diminished. It can only be a guess, but I am sure it is not a reckless one, if I say that of all the losses of work of which I have spoken, of all the millions of weeks sadly spent and sadly wasted, a *fourth part* might have been saved, and that henceforth, if people will have it so, a still larger proportion may be saved."

Improved Sanitary Condition of England.

Sir James thinks what may be done is best set forth by what has been done. I give his facts, without stopping to quote his language.

The average death-rate in England during the last eight years has been less than in the previous eight years, in the proportion of two deaths for every 1,000 persons living. The average number of deaths has been 50,000 less in the last than in the preceding years. The largest gains of life have been in the diminution of the deaths from fever and in the deaths of children under fifteen years old,—the very classes upon which sanitary measures would have most influence.

The annual number of deaths from typhus, typhoid, and the unnamed fevers have been 11,000 less than twenty years ago; and of children under five years old, 22,000 less; and of children between five and fifteen, 8,000 less; and this, too, simultaneously with an increase of population. Computing the diminished number of deaths among the work-

ing classes, he infers that the country has gained a clear annual saving of 185,000 weeks, or nearly \$1,000,000, by the abatement of fevers alone. In a paper read in 1883 at the Statistical Society, Mr. Noel Humphreys showed that, if the English death-rate should continue at the low average of the five years 1876-1880, the mean duration of male life in that country would be increased by two years, and of female life by three and four-tenths years, as compared with the English life tables.

This increase of life Sir James Paget reckons as an addition of more than four per cent. to the annual value of all the industry, mental and material, of the country. He goes on to say: "Any one who has studied the source of disease during the last thirty years can tell where and how it has diminished. There is less from intemperance, less from immorality. We have better, cheaper, and more various food, far more and cheaper clothing, far more and healthier recreations. We have, on the whole, better houses and better drains, better water and air, and better ways of using them. The care and skill with which the sick are treated in hospitals and infirmaries, and even in private houses, are far greater than they were; the improvement and extension of nursing are more than can be described; the care which the rich bestow upon the poor, whom they visit in their own homes, is every day saving life and health; and even more effectual than any of these is the work done by the medical officers of health and the sanitary authorities, now active and influential in every part of the kingdom."

Great Advance of Medical Science.

I appreciate the enormous development of all the sciences in this age. I am conscious of how much the new mechanical inventions, the discovery of new chemical agencies, new properties, and new forces, are adding daily to the power and enlarging the beneficent agency of man; but it seems to me the advance of the medical science, especially the better knowledge of the deleterious germs that constitute the insidious and invisible virus that are the prolific seeds of many of the infectious diseases, and the discovery and application of anæsthetics to relieve painful processes of nature, and to make safe and painless the most daring feats of reparative surgery, has been more marked and more salutary in lessening the great aggregate misery of human life than any other knowledge or agency. I know the stale jest repeated in every circle where a physician is present, that medicine causes more deaths than it prevents. I remember in what conspicuous cases the best medical science applied to has failed to detect the real nature of some deeply hidden malady; and how five of the most eminent surgeons in America probed and tortured the martyred President in an orifice among his throbbing nerves made by themselves, and not by the assassin's bullet—all the while quietly lodging somewhere else! But what of that? Are not all the great lawsuits which end in the pecuniary ruin of one, sometimes of both the litigants, cases in which the losing side has been assured by his lawyer that he had a good *betting* case? The clergyman does not forfeit either his praise or his pay, because his preaching has not made us virtuous or even pious. With all his shortcomings of omniscient knowledge and almighty skill, the studious, enthusiastic, and assiduous physician is better worthy our honor and reward than most of the skilled laborers that arrogate for themselves the highest social seats and the most liberal stipends.

A Healthy Man, a Healthy People.

I cannot leave my accomplished and titled physi-

cian, who has furnished so large a part of my discourse, without quoting his definition of health. He says:—

"A pattern healthy man is one who lives long and vigorously; who, in every part of his life, wherever and whatever it may be, does the largest amount of the best work that he can, and, when he dies, leaves a healthy offspring; and we may regard that as the healthiest nation which produces for the longest time, and in proportion to its population, the largest number of such men as this." "We want," he says, "more ambition for health. I should like to see a personal ambition for renown in health as keen as that for bravery or for beauty, or for success in our athletic games and field sports. I wish there were such an ambition for the most perfect national health as there is for national renown in war or in art or commerce." Again, he says:—

"It is a union of strength with a comparative indifference to the external conditions of life, and a ready self-adjustment to their changes, which is a distinctive characteristic of the best health. He should not be deemed thoroughly healthy who is made better or worse, more or less fit for work, by every change of weather or food, nor he who, in order that he may do his work, is bound to exact rules of living. It is good to observe rules, and to some they are absolutely necessary; but it is better to need none but those of moderation, and, observing these, to be able and willing to work hard on the widest variations of food, air, clothing, and all the other sustenances of life."

For my own part, I can but second this stimulus of a wise and salutary personal and national ambition. I hope the time will come, I believe it will very soon come, when a man will be as ashamed to be sick as to be drunk, and when he will resent the imputation of having dyspepsia as much as he would the imputation of having the itch.

But, with all his improved hygiene, temperance, good nursing, and public sanitary preventives, what does our philanthropic physician expect to accomplish in the way of arresting the miseries caused by disease? He tells us that he expects to reduce the volume of sickness *one-fourth*, "and, if people will have it so, a still larger proportion:" would he say *one-third*? But there is the ugly other two-thirds! Carlyle is credited with the story that, when the cook called up the well-grown chickens with delusive corn, and said she would give them the choice of how they would be killed, whether by beheading, stunning, or garroting, and when one smart rooster interposed by asking, What makes you kill us at all? she crushed him by replying, *Oh, but you wander from the point*. Would it be an impertinent wandering from the point, if I, a prospective victim of cholera, cancer, small-pox, or typhus, or some other fever, should ask, *Why have these horrors at all?*

And here comes in the two methods of combating disease hinted at by Sir James Paget: one is to quarantine them and fence them out by rigid prevention; the other is to give them rope, and make every constitution so robust as to set them at defiance. After all, it is not certain that all diseases are not symptomatic of some general weakness, that men take diseases because they are weak, and nature appoints that method of getting rid of them, and that, if all known diseases were starved out by absolutely secluding even the puniest children from exposure to them, Nature would soon invent some other agency to rid herself of those unfit to survive.

Two young men imperfectly clad take a long drive in a chill afternoon, and one returns with ruddy cheeks and a better appetite, the other with ruddy cheeks and the seeds of pneumonia. The

late Capt. Rackleff, who lived in this city six months after his one-hundredth birthday, told me that he had been exposed on ship-board to yellow fever and other infectious disorders, had stooped above sick men and breathed their breath, had washed and prepared them for their watery burial after their death, but never incurred any disorder. The scarlet fever, the plague, diphtheria, and other epidemics discriminate and turn aside mysteriously from persons of all ages exposed to them. The active cause of Asiatic cholera, said Dr. Koch, is an animal germ, a microbe. *Fudge*, said Dr. Kein, *show me your microbe, and I will eat him*. And he did—with impunity. So, that the thing to do is to make the human body safe amid surrounding conditions of disease; and, to do this, we must begin further back, and be willing to undertake more heroic preventives. The human race will never attain the condition of health which is best defined in the terse language of Horace: a sound mind in a sound body, till it has learned how to breed healthy children. We have interposed a wise control over the procreation of horses, cattle, swine, sheep. We have neither found how nor dared apply the same intelligence to the procreation of men.

IN MEMORIAM.

Died in Philadelphia, on the 3d inst., THEOPHILUS L. SICKELS, a man of very superior intellectual and moral worth. His death is not only a severe loss to the circle of his immediate friends and the neighborhood of his home, it is a grave public calamity.

In his profession, that of civil engineer, Mr. Sickels had won eminent place. He executed, some years ago, important commissions abroad for the government in connection with his profession. He was the engineer, I think, who laid out the line, and had charge of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad; afterward, of important railroads in Colorado; subsequently, constructed the iron bridge over the Missouri River at Omaha, an admirable feat of engineering skill; and at the time of his death, as for some years past, he was consulting engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad.

He was in all ways a man of most noble impulses, thoroughly free and progressive in thought, giving of his means liberally not only, but often munificently, for the diffusion of the best ideas in the secular and religious life. Of the Longwood Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends he was a member and a most staunch and indefatigable supporter. It is not too much to say that of late years, certainly, this meeting has, in some ways, been much more indebted to him than to any other person.

Called by business engagements latterly to spend large portions of his time in New York,—his home was at Kennett Square, Pa.,—he connected himself with the society of Dr. Adler; and to this, too, he yielded a generous and ever interested support. Modest and unassuming, shrinking instinctively from any putting of himself forward, he was at the same time of very positive and pronounced convictions, ready on occasion to own and avow them, and at whatever personal cost to honor. Thoroughly sweet-spirited, magnanimous, he was also one of the most independent, courageous, upstanding of men. Altogether, I think I have never had the privilege to know a more attractive, winsome, loving, and quickening nature than was his. Our country, our world even, has few such to lose. In their departure, we are all deeply bereft.

Bereft, but not orphaned. The essential of the history still remains. The great qualities of character in our dear friend that shone in his life so resplendent, that were himself, abide to raise, cheer, and inspire. The steadfast, indomitable courage and hope shall be our re-enforcement of strength, kindling perpetually to a grander faith and nobler doing. There is no end to their healing, uplifting power. Arjuna, says the Hindu poet, "follows the path unknown to mortals, where no golden sun nor silver moon divides the time; but the mighty hosts of men shine with the splendor of their own virtue, in a light which we that are afar off think to be the tremulous fires of stars."

C. D. B. M.

For *The Index*.

THE RUINS OF LIEBENSTEIN.

Many years have passed away
O'er the keep of Liebenstein:
Now, its tower of mossy gray
Doth the ivy close entwine,
And upon its ruined walls
Oft the timid lizard crawls.

Ere the busy day is done,
While o'erlooks the ruddy sun,
Many a prying traveller
Wanders curious here and there.
But when lengthened shadows fall
Backward from its gleaming wall,
And the night succeeds the day
As the curtain ends the play,
Then the peasant stealing home
From his love-tryst in the gloom
Cometh nigh with many a fear,
For he seemeth oft to hear,
Borne upon the winds of night
Voices not for mortal ear:
Now despairing shrieks of woe;
Then the tones of sudden fright;
And sometimes whispers, soft and low,—
Lovers' vows of long ago.

'Tis but fancy. Ne'er the dead
Walk these halls with silent tread;
Neither tortured captives' groans
Nor laughing maidens, merry tones
E'er disturb the quiet night,
In this castle on the height.
Silence reigns within its gloom,
Mute the dungeon as the tomb.
Yet I fancy, could it speak
And this ruin silence break,
Not in pride 'twould seek to tell
Of the sieges it befell,
Of the grandeur it hath known,
Of the splendors that are gone,
But faintly as a dying moan
Thus would speak the lips of stone:

"O River of Humanity,
Flowing to the silent sea,
Wave by wave ye pass me by,
Live and love, forget and die;
And your life and love, they seem
As an unremembered dream.

"Ah! the secrets that I keep
Of the mortals long asleep!
Mysteries of sin and crime,
Never to be told in time,
Guilty deeds that here were done
That ne'er knew the prying sun;
Cherished hopes and saddening fears,
Happy smiles and bitter tears;
Love that swiftly didst entwine
Hearts that once beat true as thine;
Whispered vows that here were spoken,
Promises that soon were broken;
Kisses that did sweet impress
Lips that now are nothingness;
Friendship that would outlast death,
Yet was blasted by a breath,—
All have vanished! All have gone!
What remains? These walls of stone.

"Dream not, then, your love will stay:
Life and love have but their day;
Death holds all things in his power;
Love he gives the briefest hour.
I am ruins! Yet for me
Time doth wait. I am; and ye,—
Graves shall cover thee and thine
While stand the towers of Liebenstein."

A. L.

THURINGIA, GERMANY, September, 1884.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TEMPERANCE STATISTICS.

Editors of *The Index*.—

My attention has been called to the article of V. B. Denslow, of Chicago, in your issue of February 5, in which he protests against the misrepresentation of facts or statistics used in furtherance of the cause of temperance. If the *Christian Union* or any other paper intentionally published "false statistics" in the interests of either morality or religion, I should unite in condemning it, as I do not believe in "doing evil that good may come of it." I have not the data at command by which to judge of the correctness of Mr. Denslow's estimate of the total annual cost for meats consumed in this country, but think it probable an error was made in the comparative total orig-

inally printed. I will leave that, however, for the papers publishing the same to investigate, and admit or deny as the truth may require.

The balance of Mr. Denslow's article relates to the total sales of liquors used in comparison with the totals for bread, meat, etc., namely \$300,000,000 annually, which the writer appears to consider exaggerated, by assuming that the profits thereon are divided among only 114,404 proprietors and bar-tenders, giving an average of \$8,000 per year to each, and rendering the business by inference too inviting for the "estimated figures given" to be correct. In reply, I believe the total of the drink-bill of the nation is not less than \$1,000,000,000, and that the number of persons engaged in the selling of the liquors (not including manufacturers) is not less than 600,000 instead of 114,404.

(1) By the Internal Revenue report of 1883, the number of retail liquor-dealers paying tax to the general government were 195,869. No one denies that probably thousands of dealers evade the tax or live on "cross-roads" where the tax gatherer does not find them, and we may safely claim that 200,000 does not more than cover all the retailers of alcoholic drinks in the country. These saloons must have on the average thirty patrons each, giving a total of 6,000,000 customers, over one-tenth of our population. These patrons spend, we believe, an average of fifty cents per day, \$3.00 per week or \$150 per year for liquors, making a total of \$1,000,000,000. The *Chicago Tribune* admits that the amount thus spent in the United States is not less than \$900,000,000, and the *New York Tribune* puts it at \$850,000,000 per year. Both the "Beer Brewers' Congress" and the "Association of Liquor Dealers" report larger average sales per saloon than \$5,000; and these figures, with 200,000 saloons, produce the total of \$1,000,000,000. To this amount should be added another \$1,000,000,000 for the indirect cost or "consequential damages," but the mental anguish and loss of happiness resultant from the sale and use of the stimulants cannot be estimated.

(2) The number of persons besides the landlords to share the gross profits of the business I estimate as follows: 200,000 saloons, with an average of three males or females to each, giving the 600,000 mentioned, who ought to be employed in better business for their own good as well as the good of mankind.

The number of dealers, etc., taken from "the census" by Mr. Denslow, is as far from the facts as the "1,101 saloon-keepers" entered as in Boston by the United States Census of 1880, when there were probably 3,500, if not over 4,000, as at present.

Let us increase the total sales of substantial food as much as the truth will permit; and, if more bread and meat were used to prevent and remove the feeling of faintness at the stomach or "internal goneness," there would be less demand for alcoholic drinks, and the above alarming total might be largely reduced. But, while our nation continues cursed with so many thousands of licensed and unlicensed drinking saloons, let us not endeavor to hide or disbelieve the appalling facts, but keep in mind that the yearly excess of receipts over disbursements of our general government are equal to the total revenue of the nation from liquor manufacturers and dealers (\$91,000,000), showing that the whole liquor traffic might be abolished, and the receipts be sufficient to meet all the necessary expenditures of the national government.

GEO. KEMPTON.

SHARON, MASS., Feb. 12, 1885.

THE TESTIMONY OF ATHEISTS.—The facts of daily life, as observed by everybody, show that there is no perceptible difference in the matter of truth-telling between people who say they do not believe in the existence of a God and those who say they do. A declaration of this belief is in fact so easy, and does a man so much good with his neighbors, that nearly all liars make it as a matter of course. A man needs to be very honest and truthful to deny the existence of God; and, as a general rule, the testimony of such men is apt to be as reliable as that of professed believers. The principle that religious belief has nothing to do and ought to have nothing to do with a man's credibility as a witness is now acknowledged in the jurisprudence of most civilized countries, including twenty-eight States of this Union. But the Massachusetts Senate rejected it sternly by twenty-four to ten, after a luminous debate. One senator held that a man who "denied under the genial sun-

light his belief in the Author of that radiance" ought to be punished for it in some way. Another senator opposed putting the man who denied the existence of a God "on an equality with the man who devoutly acknowledged it." The object of a court of law in examining witnesses is to find out the truth about a particular transaction, and not to discourage infidelity. No man conducts his business or his social life on the assumption that atheists are untruthful or dishonest; and to administer justice so as to deprive him of important testimony in his favor, on such a theory, is monstrous as well as barbarous.—*The Nation*.

FROM one of Lillian Whiting's very interesting Boston letters to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* is taken the following paragraph referring to Dr. W. T. Harris and other exponents of speculative philosophy: "Philosophy can bake no bread; but she can procure for us God, freedom, and immortality." These words from Novalis are a condensed expression of the faith of a certain cult of Boston, which is destined to exercise a great influence in the world of philosophic thought. Of this school, Prof. William T. Harris, LL.D., is the founder and the acknowledged leader. Never was a movement, whose importance is widely recognized among select circles, more quiet. Lectures, papers, conversations,—intellectual excursions of the finest quality,—are constantly being given in private parlors to an audience fit, though few; but no mention of them is invited, and, while there is the most generous and hospitable spirit prevailing, the audience simply consists of those who, through a range of intellectual affinities, gravitate to the gatherings. Eighteen years ago, Prof. Harris established the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, of which he has always remained the editor, and, in the estimation of its clientele, its most important and valuable contributor. The magazine was simply a materialized expression of the thought that sought a means of utterance. It originated in St. Louis. There, in a city whose population is largely made up of a foreign and miscellaneous element, where the average intellectual life of the community is not high, a little band of thinkers were drawn together, who formed the nucleus of what is now a recognized school of thought. The names of the leaders have become familiar in Boston now as those of the choicest lecturers and exponents of speculative philosophy; but at that time the little group of six or eight met, talked, wrote, and read their papers, published them and perhaps read them again, with no larger response. Prof. Harris was the superintendent of the public schools of St. Louis; O. J. Snider, an instructor in the high school. In later years, a brilliant and gifted woman, whose kindergarten work has made an era in American education, came to the group. Louis Soldan and Mr. Kroeger, both eminent German translators, were attracted to the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* as a means of expression. Four numbers, often issued at very irregular intervals, made up a volume. The magazine is now published by D. Appleton & Co. in New York and by Trübner & Co. in London. It has a special circulation in Germany. It still appears at irregular intervals, the current number being dated April, 1884."

JESUS AND THEISM.—Rev. Charles Voysey thus defends his position as a non-Christian theist in a letter to the *London Inquirer*: "In so far as Jesus said anything true or did anything good, Theism is not opposed to Christ. In so far as he proclaimed pure theistic truth, we are entirely on his side. What we oppose are doctrines attributed to him in the Gospels which we believe to be false; namely, his pretensions claims to equality with God, his intercession and mediation, his threats of eternal perdition and claims of excessive loyalty to himself. We also stand opposed to those Christians who believe Jesus to be God, and to those Unitarian Christians who, while believing him to be only a man, place him in a position infinitely above all other men, and where they would think it foolish or impious to place any one else. . . . Your correspondent asks me where did I get my thought of God as a benign Father from, if not from Jesus. Let me tell him that I never found out that I had a loving Father until I gave up my belief in Christ and chucked away the New Testament as a spiritual guide. And the same natural but holy guides—namely, conscience and love, which led me to the Father—led me also still further to criticise the portrait of Jesus in the Gospels. We are painfully aware of the difficulties as we are of the grandeur of

our task. No one can set himself deliberately to force his way against wind and tide without foreknowing the effort it will cost or perceiving the repeated discouragements which lie in wait to obstruct his progress. But we are comforted and strengthened by the conviction that we have reason and truth and religion on our side, and that the day must come at last when the 'swollen talk about Jesus'—as the great Channing is alleged to have termed it—will be effectually silenced."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF PHILOSOPHY. A Critique of the Basis of Conduct and Faith. By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., instructor of Philosophy in Harvard College. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885. pp. 484. Price \$2.00.

This work is an attempt to sketch the basis of a philosophical system, and to apply its principles to religious problems. The author states in the preface that, "as he has no present connection with any visible body, and no sort of desire for any such connection, he cannot be expected to write an apology for a popular creed"; yet that his aim is a positive aim, and he hopes "to come to some peaceful understanding with his fellows touching the ultimate meaning and value and foundation of this noteworthy custom so widely prevalent among us, the custom of having a religion." Touching the nature of religion, he says that strength and moral value and elevation of feeling are not enough to make it religious. Belief in the supernatural, in God, "need not be religious belief." Religion has to do with action. But it says, "not merely *do* and *feel*, but also *believe*." It must therefore have a theoretical element, a statement of doctrine. To quote the author: "These three elements then go to constitute any religion. A religion must teach some moral code, must in some way inspire a strong feeling of devotion to that code, and in so doing must show something in the nature of things that answers to the code, or that serves to re-enforce the feeling." Thus defined, religion is necessarily related to philosophy; for both have to do with the fundamental Kantian problems: *What do I know? What ought I to do?*

The nature of moral distinctions, involving the consideration of the priority of ideals in religious philosophy, the fundamental difficulty about all ideals, and altruism and egoism, are discussed through several chapters with much acuteness and subtlety of thought, and with the freest criticism of writers of the experience school of ethics. The facts of life show a conflict of wills. Moral insight, the author argues, consists in realizing their true nature, and involves the will to harmonize them and to demand an end of the conflict. "Get and keep the moral insight as an experience, and do all that thou canst to extend among men this experience." "Act out in each case what the moral insight bids thee do." "Having made thyself, in so far as thou art able, one with all the conflicting wills before thee, act out the resulting universal will as it then arises in thee." In the ideal state of humanity, "the separate men will not know or care whether they separately are happy, for they shall have no longer individual wills, but the Universal Will shall work in and through them, as the one will of two lovers finds itself in the united life of these twain, so that neither of them asks, as lover, whether this is his perfection or the other that he experiences."

Our author's system is, of course, thoroughly idealistic. It recognizes no external world, to the relations of which man must adjust himself; and the only strife it admits is "the conflict of wills." Neither does this system recognize an "infinite creative Power outside of his products." The "concept of producing an external thing involves of necessity a relation to a Law above both producer and product, which determines the conditions under which there can be a product at all." If it be said God created the conditions of any particular creation, still the same difficulty would arise as to the conditions of that creation, and so on *ad infinitum*. The teleology that seeks "a world-manufacturer, and cannot discover him," is treated almost contemptuously. Even if the design argument proved an intelligent Power, it would still fail, it is claimed, to prove that he has moral attributes. The supposed external world is either dumb or given to dark and doubtful speeches. Let the student cease to expect to find a proof of God among the "dead facts of science," and seek the Eternal, not

in experience, but in thought. Not that above all evil powers is there some good power mightier than they, but rather that in all the powers "dwells the higher spirit that does not so much create as constitute them what they are, and so include them all." "No power is it to be resisted, no plan-maker to be foiled by fallen angels, nothing finite, nothing striving, seeking, losing, alluring, growing weary: the All-Enfolder it is, and we know its name. Not Heart nor Love, though these also are in it and of it: Thought it is, and all things are for Thought, and in it we live and move." As our thoughts at any moment combine several fragmentary thoughts into unity, so the Universal Thought combines into a unity of thought all the thoughts that have been or will be or that are possible. This Universal Thought our author "for convenience" calls God.

What we have present in us when we do good is an element of divine existence. In the choice against evil is the essence of goodness. But, in God, the evil impulse of man forms a part of a total good will, and partial moral evil is universal good. The imperfection of the finite is but the fragment of the infinite Whole in which is no imperfection.

"We know nothing," says Prof. Royce, "about individual immortality, nothing about any endless future progress of our species, nothing about the certainty that what men call from without goodness must empirically triumph just here in this little world about us. All that is dark. . . . Whatever happens to our poor selves, we know that the Whole is perfect."

From this outline, the reader will be able to form some idea of Prof. Royce's positions and reasonings. For his thought, he claims but a very moderate degree of originality. Yet he has put together parts of several idealistic systems in a manner to make his own doctrine somewhat independent and unique. The work is stronger in its criticisms of what is rejected, however, than in its support of the positions affirmed. Idealism, in one form or another, will always have a charm for a class of thinkers; but it is not likely ever to weaken general confidence in an objective world or to interrupt the march of science which depends upon observation and experience, and upon that objective order which is affirmed by common sense and, in our opinion, also by the highest philosophy. This work, by repeating with clearness and force a statement of the difficulties of theism on the theory of an external world, in which nearly all people believe, and by making the author's belief in Universal Mind dependent upon subjective idealism, which is constantly contradicted by the common sense and practical reason of mankind, must tend, we think, in its influence on general readers, to scepticism and agnosticism.

B. F. U.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEFENDED BY IRREFUTABLE ARGUMENTS: and all Objections to Woman's Enfranchisement carefully examined and completely answered. By D. P. Livermore. Boston: Lee & Shepard. pp. 222. Paper covers. Price 50 cts.

The family quarrels, estrangements, and divisions which, according to its opponents, are liable to be engendered by woman suffrage, do not seem to crop out very largely as yet in that movement, judging from the attitude, so far as known, of the male relatives of leading women suffragists. Mrs. Stanton's lawyer husband has entered no protest against her advocacy of the rights of her sex; and her son, the author of *The Woman Question in Europe*, has given us in that work one of the most telling, thorough, and admirable contributions to the literature of that question we have yet had, and in so doing has placed himself forever on record as a chivalrous champion of woman's cause and as a thinker in sympathy with his distinguished mother's views. John Stuart Mill, his wife, and Helen Taylor, his step-daughter, were all earnest agitators of the question; Henry Fawcett, the blind Postmaster-General of England, was no less ardent in his advocacy of it than Millicent Garrett Fawcett, his brilliant wife; Charles Stewart Parnell stands equally pledged with his mother, Mrs. Delia Parnell, to a belief in equal suffrage; Richard Cobden's ideas find expression in the efforts of his daughter Jane toward securing this right for her sex; the name of Lord as well as of Lady Amberley is quoted in support of suffrage for women; brave Wendell Phillips' efforts to secure it were indorsed by his wife; Lucretia and James Mott were at one on this as on all other questions of justice, and their son-in-law still carries on their good work in this direction; Henry Blackwell's earnestness in behalf of

woman's enfranchisement is no less marked than that of Lucy Stone and their daughter; and, among the many instances which could be cited of marital unanimity in regard to the justice of woman's demand for political self-representation, this volume from the husband of one of the most popular platform speakers on the question is specially noteworthy, as well for its implied prophecy that the discussion of the subject in families is not likely to cause much division in sentiment between husbands and wives as for its strong, logical, earnest, and elaborate refutation of the arguments brought forward by the opponents of the movement. The scope of Mr. Livermore's work may be inferred from the sub-headings of the book, which indicate the different points of view from which the question is considered, in the following order: "Suffrage a Natural Right," "Suffrage a Political Privilege," "Appeal to our Legislators," "Mrs. Clara T. Leonard Answered," "Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells Answered," "Prominent Objection Refuted," "The Question for Statesmen," "Hon. George G. Crocker Answered," "Hon. Mr. Williams Answered," "Hon. L. P. Poland's Objections Answered," and "Good Results." Mr. Livermore quotes freely and pertinently from distinguished writers on the question, making the work valuable for those desirous of information on the subject. S. A. U.

SHADOWS: Being a Familiar Presentation of Thoughts and Experiences in Spiritual Matters. By John Wetherbee. Boston: Colby & Rich. pp. 287.

Mr. Wetherbee, in this book, relates his personal experiences with (so-called) spiritual phenomena in a pleasant, chatty way, at considerable length and with some repetition, as though his work on the book was a labor of love which he was loath to leave. If these "Shadows" are not so definite in shape as to convince the sceptical reader of the reality of that spiritual intercourse in which the author of this book apparently firmly believes, such reader will at least find food for thought in the manner in which these "manifestations" are said to have taken place, in the general weakness of the matter brought to light through them, and the candid way in which they are discussed by the writer. Mr. Wetherbee seems to be very fond of poetry; and the pages of his book are garnished with frequent quotations from favorite authors, with an occasional original poem added. The book is dedicated to the author's wife.

The Century is becoming of late quite a war magazine; and, in the March number, we find four profusely illustrated articles on the American Civil War.—"The First Fight with Ironclads," by John Taylor Wood, "In the Monitor Turret," by S. D. Greene, "Watching the Merrimac," by R. E. Colston, and "Recollections of a Private," by Warren Lee Goss. Several subjects are treated in "Memoranda of the Civil War," notably the conduct of "Gen. R. S. Ewell at Bull Run." In "Topics of the Times," the *Century's* war series is discussed; and "The Blue and the Gray" forms the subject of one of the "Open Letters." In addition, the article by R. E. Colston, on "The Land of the False Prophet," will be read with much interest, in view of recent events in the war in the Soudan; and C. F. Goodrich has something to say in regard to "The Bombardment of Alexandria." This new departure on the part of the *Century* seems to be a profitable one, since it has largely increased its subscription list, and one hundred and ninety thousand copies were struck off in the first edition of this number. The literary excellence of the magazine is not, however, allowed to be impaired; and contributions by Howells, James, Stedman, O. B. Frothingham, and others, make it one of the most interesting numbers ever issued. A very fine portrait of Daniel Webster, engraved by T. Johnson, adorns the frontispiece page; and Stephen M. Allen gives "Some Reminiscences" of the great statesman. For sale by Cupples, Upham & Co.

MR. E. T. DEWING, whose "Study for a Symbolical Figure," in the New York Water Color Exhibition, has been unanimously accorded the place of honor, was among the artists who contributed to the Prang Prize Exhibition. Mr. Dewing is, in the truest sense, an idealist; and his works have in them just that element of the poetic which appeals rather to the cultivated few than the universal public. It is in the reproduction of such ideal creations that lithography vindicates its claim to rank as a fine art.

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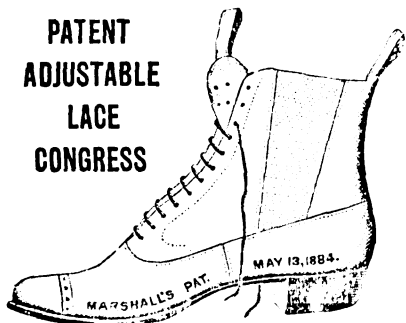
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Evening Record* of this city refers to the Irishman who having tormented a bull was tossed over the fence by the impatient animal, whereupon he picked himself up, rejoicing that he had "had his fun first or he should have missed it entirely." The *Record* thinks that "a large number of the hilarious Democrats now in Washington will be in a condition to sympathize with Patrick, when President Cleveland begins to put in his work."

REFERRING to the series of lectures now closed at the Old South Church in this city, in defence of Free Trade, the Springfield *Republican* says, "The most forcible and telling lecture in the whole series on the tariff was that of Gen. M. M. Trumbull, of Chicago." Gen. Trumbull is an Englishman and a "self made man." He came to this country years ago, and worked as a day laborer with a shovel and wheelbarrow, went West, and at the beginning of the War of the Rebellion enlisted as a private, and soon rose to the rank of general. He is the author of two works which were noticed very favorably in *The Index* some months ago.

GEN. FRANCIS A. WALKER, President of the Institute of Technology, in a lecture before the Lowell Institute, said that in treating of the laws of population the doctrine of Malthus, that population when unchecked, tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence, must be accepted with implicit faith. The great Irish migration, caused by the famine in Ireland in 1846, brought to this country a class of people who had been previously in the depths of bitter poverty. Under the influence of unaccustomed abundance of all kinds, the temptation to raise large families was irresistible, and the birth-rate rapidly increased. Yet, in succeeding censuses, the normal rate of growth of population was not increased, was even, in fact, decreased, proving that the number of deaths must have been correspondingly large. The great forces now acting to prevent over-population are, he said,

an unequal distribution of males and females in different parts of the country; the growth of celibacy; the procrastination of marriage, the average marrying age for males being 26.5 years and for females 23.9 years, and the diminution of procreating force due to immoral practices. Gen. Walker stated that, from various considerations, including the influence of the civil war in increasing the death-rate, it is highly probable that the population of the United States in 1900 will fall a little below 80,000,000.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* writing from Jacksonville, Fla., in a report of an interview with Gen. F. E. Spinner, the "watch dog," as he was termed, of the United States Treasury, represents him as extremely severe in his criticism of the orthodox clergy and the creeds they preach and profess to believe. To this criticism, the general added the following remark: "When quite a young man, I was arraigned for my infidelity in church doctrines and faith in woman's rights, as long ago as Fanny Wright was agitating the question. There has never been any reason why women should not have the ballot. They are better than men; and their influence should be felt in politics, that morals may be improved." The letter says that he is greatly beloved, especially by the young people; and illustrations of his goodness and generosity are given. The account concludes thus: "The dear old man has gone more than a decade over the time allotted mortals, and yet he is as vigorous in health and mental strength as while being intrusted with and writing the crooked autograph upon the government greenbacks. He is spending the late autumn of his life here in Florida among his books and pictures, surrounded by millions of wonderful shells which have been gathered from all oceans. He has presented to the Smithsonian Institution many specimens of this rare collection. Chief Justice Waite has lately been spending many pleasant hours in the general's sanctum, where they have recalled memories of their Washington life."

SOME weeks ago, we quoted a few sentences from Rev. Dr. Shedd's article in the *North American Review* in defence of eternal punishment, and added, "Anything more fiendish than this from a professed moral teacher cannot be found in the literature of the world." Replying to this in the New York *Observer*, Dr. Shedd says: "I will leave it to any intelligent reader whether there is anything in my whole article more terrible than the words which Jesus Christ says he will address to a certain class of men who will stand upon his left hand on the day of judgment: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' . . . The alleged 'fiendishness' of the dogma clings, if to any one, to the Redeemer of sinners and the Judge of the world." We think our characterization of Dr. Shedd's teachings needs no qualification. Whether they are more "terrible" than the above-quoted words ascribed to Jesus is to us a question of no great importance; and, certainly, the truth and justice of our statement do not depend upon the way it is answered. Neither

age nor the authority of a name can make a cruel and degrading superstition wise and just teaching. We here reproduce the language of Dr. Shedd on which our comment was based: "A human judge pronounces a theft to be endlessly a theft, and a thief to be endlessly a thief; but he does not sentence the thief to an endless suffering, though he sentences him to a penal suffering. But this objection overlooks the fact that human punishment is only approximate and imperfect, not absolute and perfect, like the Divine. . . . But the divine tribunal, in the last great day, is invariably and exactly just, because it is neither reformatory nor protective. Hell is not a penitentiary. It is righteous retribution, pure and simple, unmodified by considerations either of utility to the criminal or of safety to the universe."

THE Boston *Sunday Herald* says that the new school of healing, called "mind cure," "faith cure," and "Christian science," is "spreading like wild fire through the selectest circles of Boston and vicinity." These "selectest circles" we will say, for the information of those who live at a distance from this city, do not include the scientific class, nor the recognized intellectual class, nor the practically influential class of the city, but are composed mainly of superficial people, whose minds are filled with mysticism and superstition, among whom, of course, are families of wealth and fashion and what passes under the name of "culture," but who are not essentially different from the mass of men and women who mistake emotion for inspiration, fancy for fact, surmises for science, and the glimmerings of their undisciplined minds and unregulated feelings for "the light that never was on sea or land." Of the "craze" referred to, the *Herald* says that "it has the essential mark of all fanaticism, the contemptuous turning away from reasoned truths and abandoning the mind to wild dreams. Wrapped up in no end of metaphysical jargon, its dogmas have just the kind of imposing sound that produces an impression on people ignorant of philosophy. . . . But Boston and vicinity are nothing, if not intellectual; and to find out suddenly what a stupendous thing mind is, and how it can evolve at will sound lungs, supple joints, electric nerves, and free secretions, and carry them around everywhere as pure mental images, to the eternal discomfiture of materialistic doctors, surgeons, and medical schools,—all this is so exhilarating a discovery for a people justly priding itself on intellect that it must reasonably be expected for a time to turn many heads a trifle topsy-turvy. And yet it might humble Boston a trifle to read a little in the history of the dark ages, and see how completely out of sight the Athens of America has been beaten on this same course by people making no claim to anything but ignorance, excitability, and superstition." Facts as to the reaction of the mind on the body are of course undisputable, and are recognized by all competent physicians in the treatment of the sick; but, with the faith and mind curers, a few grains of truth are mixed with whole bushels of chaff.

VOLUNTARY RELIGION.

In the United States, the voluntary system of supporting religion has been theoretically adopted. On the principle of impartial justice toward all creeds and faiths and of equal respect for the consciences of all citizens, this is the only practicable course. The system, in vogue in some countries, of raising money by general taxation for the support of religion, and then equitably dividing it among the churches of different beliefs, is only a half measure of justice. Not all forms of belief are so organized as to receive State aid under such a system. Nor does this method respect the consciences of a large class of citizens who do not believe in any kind of religious forms or institutions. The only complete measure of justice is that which has been attempted in this country, whereby the State gives up all control of and responsibility for the institutions of religion, and commits them entirely to the consciences and hands of citizens, to be managed by the latter in their individual capacity. This principle is not consistently carried out in all respects; but it is the theory and, in its main feature, the practice of this country with regard to the relation between Church and State.

Yet this has not always been the practice of the country. In the early colonial days, State and Church were closely united. Especially was this the case in New England, where State and Church were at first essentially one. But the principle of religious freedom began to take root here and there, and it grew with the country's growth; and, when the national Constitution was formed, this principle was fully and grandly recognized in that instrument. It has taken time, however, for the several States to adopt the principle and to adapt their laws and practices to it. There are many persons still living who remember when the parish in New England was coterminous with the town, and the town meeting was expected to keep the meeting-house (to call it a church was deemed heretical) in repair as a part of the town's property, and to provide for the salary of the minister in the regular levy of taxes upon the town's inhabitants. And when this custom was abolished by a change in the State laws, and the denominations were left to maintain their ministers and churches in their own way, there was a good deal of alarm felt lest the interests of religion would suffer. But the change proved to be no detriment to the churches, but rather a help. It is now admitted by all who have considered the matter that the voluntary system of support for the churches, so far from weakening them, was the means of putting new life into them. It aroused individual zeal and effort. The system is an acknowledged success. The institutions of religion are nowhere on a securer foundation financially than in this country.

Notwithstanding this fact, whenever it is proposed that this voluntary system for religion shall be adopted and trusted wholly, there are many timid folk who start up with the warning that religion would be imperilled. Such people do not appear to have much confidence in the power of religion to maintain itself in the world. If it be complained that it is inconsistent with the voluntary system, and unjust to many citizens, that the State should continue indirectly to subsidize the religious denominations by exempting church buildings from taxation and otherwise giving aid to certain forms of faith, the cry is raised that the churches would be enfeebled by the withdrawal of such aid, and that at least this much of encouragement and support is owed to the churches from the State because of the moral education which

the churches impart to the State's citizens. If Harvard College makes a move, as it is now doing, for the abolition of its rule of compulsory attendance by the students at daily prayers and Sunday services, it is charged that the college is working in the interest of irreligion and infidelity. If an attempt is made to amend the statute so as to prevent the credibility of a witness in court from being impeached because of his atheistic or agnostic beliefs, there will appear, as recently in the enlightened Senate of Massachusetts, some sapient senator with the argument that a man who can "deny under the genial sunlight his belief in the Author of that radiance" ought to be punished for such denial, and that it is unsafe for the State to put the man who "denies the existence of a God on an equality with the man who devoutly acknowledges it."

Can it be possible, then, that religion in itself is so weak that it cannot hold its ground in the judgment and among the institutions of mankind without being thus artificially bolstered up by the authority of the State? Is the argument for the existence of the churches so feeble that they cannot make good their cause in the court of human reason? If so, then hardly will the State's indorsement save them. But, as matter of fact, there is no evidence to show that the interests of religion would suffer in the least, were this indirect support which it now receives from the State to be withdrawn. Equal justice to all classes of citizens requires that this should be done; and it, surely, must be always among the interests of religion to do justly. Cannot the appeal for religion to the human mind and heart be made so strong that the believers in it will take care of it without asking any help from unbelievers? Is it not even possible that religion should be so presented to young men in college that it should appear to them both rationally and morally obligatory? If not, is it at all likely that their forced attendance on religious services will conduce to this end? And, as to the claim that the State owes a debt to the Church because the Church is a moral educator of society, even if the ground of this claim were to be admitted as a fact,—for some persons would question it,—the argument, if applied as a general principle of taxation, would lead to such a multitude of exemptions from the assessors' books that it would certainly break down of its own weight in practice.

The *Congregationalist*, conservative orthodox, referring to the petitions before the Massachusetts Legislature for the taxation of church property, does not apprehend any "harm to real Christianity, were the new move to be carried." It thinks that "the very poor and the very rich would suffer most, were all church buildings to be taxed." But it might be no detriment to "the very poor," if some of their religious societies, which are struggling with poverty and beggary, should be taxed out of existence, and compelled to consolidate with other societies. Frequently there is no difference of belief that stands in the way of such consolidation. And, if "the very rich" should have to curtail some of their ecclesiastical luxuries, it might happen that neither they nor religion would "suffer" any essential loss. The Roman Catholic Church in this country is not very rich except in zeal and numbers, but it manages to get a great deal of money and to build very costly edifices. The cathedral, for instance, which is in process of erection in the city of Providence, is described in a Catholic journal as follows:—

The new cathedral of Providence will be the most beautiful church in America. A little short in length, owing to the nature of the site, it finds compensation in its increased breadth. This irregularity

of dimensions, no doubt, increased the difficulties that the architect had to meet. Most, if not all, its glory will be from within. Mgr. Hendricken told the architect to take a *carte blanche* as to interior decoration. Anything that talent or taste could suggest or that money could buy for the glory of God's house and altar he promised to supply. How that promise was fulfilled may be known by all who remember that, when the completed church is consecrated three years hence, there will not be a dollar of debt on it. Yet nothing costly or beautiful has been withheld, whether rich marbles, painted windows, or clustering columns of precious stones. The quarries of the New World, the furnaces and the ateliers of the Old, have been searched for every product of nature and art that makes a home of the Eucharistic God worthy of its Lord.

There can be no question that any denomination that is rich enough to build so luxurious a church as this is abundantly able to take care of itself without any kind of subsidy from the State. One might suppose that it would even be proud to pay its just quota of taxes to the State for the possession of such an elegant property in honor of its "Eucharistic God." According to the New Testament story, "its Lord" was born while his mother and her husband were dutifully going up to the city of Bethlehem "to be taxed"; and there is good reason to believe that "its Lord" himself, though born in a manger and remaining poor after he grew to man's estate, yet faithfully paid his small tax-bill. And now that he has become the "Eucharistic God," and has been presented with such an expensive and magnificent dwelling, we cannot believe that the simple but firm integrity of his nature has been so corrupted by the unaccustomed grandeur that he would not still prefer that his costly "home" should share with the other homes in Providence the pecuniary burdens of that city.

WM. J. POTTER.

"OPPOSITIONS OF SCIENCE."

There are oppositions of science which are real enough. They are to superstition and the fears that follow in its train. They are to supernatural religion and the doctrines which, if they have not a supernatural support, have none whatever. They are to ignorance of natural laws and the inconveniences and miseries that such ignorance entails. But there are other oppositions of science which are quite imaginary. Thus, it has been conceived that there is an opposition between Science and the Beautiful in nature and in art. But there is no such opposition. Science is theoretical and practical. As theoretical, it is a revelation of the Beautiful in natural forms and forces. Other things being equal, the beauty of Nature is incomparably greater for the man of scientific knowledge than for the man who comes to Nature without this preparation for the best enjoyment of her graces and her gifts. True, there are men whose scientific knowledge is considerable, if not remarkable, for whom the beauty of the natural world, whether in its major or its minor aspects, is a thing which they do not regard. But for the impression that, if they had less of science, they would have more of beauty, there is not a particle of warrant. "We live by admiration," Wordsworth said. But we do not all live by admiration in the same measure. Some are born responsive to the touch of beauty,—some, but not all. Those who are favored by the bias of their constitution can never, I am sure, suffer the smallest diminution of their love of beauty, or of their enjoyment of the beautiful in nature, by the increase of their scientific knowledge. Indeed, such knowledge opens for them innumerable doors, inviting them to feasts of beauty, of which, otherwise, they would have been in total ignorance. I do not

believe that men of science, as a class, are deficient in their sense of natural beauty. Next to the artists and the poets, I am inclined to think they have the liveliest sense of it. Those who have least would probably have less, if they had not been drawn into the paths of scientific study and research. And how is it with those who are professional devotees of beauty, the artists and the poets? The scientific spirit has been so much diffused of late that every artist has been obliged to take it into his account. That the love of natural beauty has not been diminished by the advance of science, there are two witnesses whose evidence is so important and complete that it requires no confirmation: one is the fact that a century which has been pre-eminently the century of science has been pre-eminently the century of landscape painting; the other is that this same century has been pre-eminently the century of nature poetry, the century of which, in the sphere of poetry, Wordsworth will be, for coming generations, the representative man. True, there is danger that the individual at once in love with science and with art may attempt to carry matter over from the one into the other before it has attained æsthetic transformation. We have had many instances in literature of this defect. Objection was made to George Eliot's scientific illustrations in the first story that she ever wrote, and in her subsequent writings there are many passages in which her scientific data lack something of complete assimilation. But how many more in which the power and beauty never could have been without the scientific data!

I have passed, almost unconsciously, from the consideration of science as related to the love of natural beauty to the consideration of science in its relation to the products of artistic inspiration. Now, in a general way, the periods of scientific energy have been equally the periods of creative art. When Rembrandt painted Dr. Tulp delivering an anatomical lecture, he not only painted his most famous picture, but he registered the fact that to the Dutch who had taken Holland from the Spaniard and the sea anatomical science was an engrossing interest as well as art. If he was not himself eager to learn of Dr. Tulp all that he had to teach, his spirit was very different from Michel Angelo's and Leonardo's. These mighty ones imagined that, other things being equal, the best anatomist would make the best painter or sculptor. In their own work, they proved that Science was the handmaid of the Beautiful. To Turner's lack of science must be charged the fleeting quality of his creations. He did *not*, like Mr. Opie, mix his colors "with brains, sir"; and, consequently, they are already fallen from their first estate.

Here is a fact by which we may effect an easy passage from the consideration of theoretical to the consideration of practical science as affecting natural and human beauty. Practical science is industrial skill. It is the railroad and the telegraph, it is the power-loom, and the printing-press. It is the multiplex device by which the natural force of man is multiplied a hundred-fold. It would not be difficult to enumerate examples of the operation of this practical science that would be exceedingly depressing. It has the defects of its qualities, and they are many and profound. But, if we could balance the account, I doubt not we should find that the amount of beauty in the world had been mightily increased by the application of science to the industrial arts and to the means of travel and communication. The poetry of Shakspeare is the most beautiful effect that ever has proceeded from the creative genius of mankind. But consider, now, the millions of readers that have enjoyed the fruit of Shakspeare's mind,

where only hundreds could have done so but for the printing-press and the steam-engine working together in divine accord. Here is a service of beauty that offsets the persistent reduplication of architectural forms, the multiplication of chromos, the ruin which the railroad makes, spoiling the river's bank, tearing away the bases of the hills. Moreover, the reduplicated architectural forms, once well designed, are not so bad for those of us for whom artistic handicraft is an impossible expense; the chromos soon become a weariness, and are replaced by more genuine reproductions; Nature adopts the railway into her economy of beauty, making the cloven ledges gay with flowers, and touching the receding locomotive's long, low-lying cloud of trailing smoke with the same hues with which she makes her mornings and her evenings beautiful.

Another opposition of science, which is "falsely so called," is its relation to religion. To much that calls itself religion, science is unquestionably opposed. It is opposed to much that is connected with religion, and is conceived to be a vital part of it by many excellent people. But, in the course of time, a great many things which have been regarded as essential to religion have been stripped away, and religion has become all the more manifest and beautiful thereby. "If there are no witches, then there is no God," said the most learned men of Richard Baxter's time, and Baxter with the rest. Witches have gone to their own place, and have been followed there by various doctrines and ideas which had hardly more to recommend them to the rational mind. And are we, then, really becoming less religious? Mr. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, in his new book on *Human Intercourse*, confesses that we are. The ground of his confession is that the sense of Universal Law is becoming rapidly more general and more strong, and that naturally and inevitably, at the same time, the sense of Personal Interference is getting to be less and less general and impressive. The situation is undoubtedly as he represents it, but that his inference is valid I am obliged to doubt and to deny. The most deeply religious persons I have ever known have been most averse to the doctrine of an interfering Deity, most filled and satisfied with the doctrine of an invariable law? Are such religions upon false pretences? I trow not. For, certainly, no sentiment is more religious than a noble confidence, a perfect trust. This is the sentiment that naturally correlates itself with the persuasion of invariable law. The demand for providential interference is an imputation of defect. God is not omnipresent by the canons of this creed. But, for those who have attained to the conception of universal law which science has made possible, the world is full of Deity. Invariable law is but the scientific way of saying Everlasting Faithfulness. "But there can be no religion without mystery." And does the mystery lessen as the knowledge grows? "The more thou searchest, the more thou shalt wonder,"—not only at the vast unknown which lies beyond each new horizon, but at the known whose mighty harmonies shake the responsive heart with awe and gladness as the old mystery of ignorance could never shake the savage breast with awe and fear.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

THE DAWN OF LIFE.

In the Peabody Museum at New Haven may be seen a fossil bone of most enormous proportions, which once formed the femur of an *Atlantasaurus*. This bone is over six feet in length; and a very simple calculation shows that, if the thigh bone were six feet long, the Saurian itself must have been about thirty feet in height and a hundred

feet in length. It is perhaps fortunate that this ungainly brute has been gathered to his fathers with most of his near relations, for they would seem sadly out of harmony with our Western civilization of to-day; yet once their home was in the Western country. The stone books of geology—Genesis in the original—tell us that these monsters, in one shape or other, have existed in nearly all latitudes at different times; for the bones of fossil Saurians and Mammalia have been found from the sterile hills of Patagonia to the frozen steppes of Siberia, and we can only wonder *why* such giant forms have passed away and given place to smaller. But the laws by which we are governed teach us—if we will learn—that the form surviving is ever the fittest form: so we may lay the flattering unction to our souls that the fittest, the noblest (?) form the world has yet seen is man, although that seems an unjustifiable aspersion on the character of the departed Saurians. Geology also teaches us that, before the age of great mammals, there was a time when mammals did not exist, and great reptiles held sway. In the famous *Archeopteryx*, we see the mammal gradually changing into the bird; we see the reptile with feathers, the bird with teeth, a hybrid that gives reality to early Grecian myths, and a charm to the study of geology such as fairy lore had for the child mind in the long ago. Before the Reptilian Age, the Amphibian had left its weird

"Footprints on the sands of time";

and our own book of Genesis startles us with revelations of hideous forms that once haunted the shores of great lakes and inland seas. Yet, before the age of Amphibia, we touch upon a time when the fish was king, and wondrous forms filled the sea. Then we go back step by step, lower and still lower in the scale of life, till the fishes have disappeared, and we have only mollusks and lowly, creeping, slimy things, which can scarcely be said to live. Here we pause, and ask if life really began in the water, if Eden were aqueous. Thereupon, Science, which answers, "Aye," leads to our searching for the "primordial germ" that has troubled so many people in the past, and is bound to trouble many more in the days to come; for man, in his pride, objects to being directed to a remote cellular ancestry that antedates human reason and earthly pride by untold æons. Yet this same proud man has been evolved by simpler process from a single cell in forty weeks, but he objects to the evolution of the race from a single cell through countless ages. Nevertheless, the day is coming on apace when man will value truth more than birth and right more than creed; for the laws of evolution are ever tending toward the one end, and that the survival of the fittest. So we may reasonably suppose that the fittest, in this case, will be the best; and, though the day of triumph may be far off, yet it must come, and come it will

"For a' that, an' a' that."

The earliest form of life—if we may use the word "life" in such relation—may be found to-day, as of old, in the quiet waters of the sea; and, if we only know how to ask questions, mother Nature will show us her first children, her first attempt at life, and, if we use the microscope rightly and seek for truth in loving faith, we will realize what one of our sweet singers sang:—

"No grain of sand
But moves a bright and million peopled land,
And hath its Edens and its Eves, I deem."

This "dry science" opens to us a wonder-world that touches all life with a new glory, and lends a charm to what was once "common and unclean."

Taking a gauze net and a microscope to the sea-shore, we can soon fish from out the clear water a

tiny speck of slime, invisible to all eyes save the student's. Placing it under our powerful lens, we find that the speck moves, that it has life, that it absorbs the oxygen from the water, gives off carbonic acid, and soon makes the drop of water foul. After patiently watching this little speck, we see that there project from its formless centre tiny threads, microscopic fishing-lines that it protrudes and withdraws at its own sweet will. As we watch, we see it absorb particles of living matter still smaller than itself, and, although it has no mouth, no lungs, no nerves, no organs of any sort, it lives: it has life, and preys on even smaller forms of life. So here we have life, in a sense, without organism; here we have the beginning of all life. Yet, in its ultimate analysis, we know not how far this tiny speck has reached through the corridors of time for its progenitor: so, in this first child of nature, we have as great a mystery as in the gathering together of fiery circling suns or the birth of their attendant worlds. These tiny slime spots live, move, absorb food, and learn by slow degrees, as well as by infinitely slight changes, to adapt themselves to new or changing conditions.

Truly, few things are more interesting than to watch the processes of reproduction by division; and, by following this outward and upward, we see in this poor, shapeless, microscopic slime speck the source of countless forms of life, just as one finds the tiny rivulet in the Cordilleras to be the source of a mighty river, on which all the navies of the world might lose one another.

It would be a fascinating study to watch the various forms assumed by this first child of our common mother, with their wondrous divergence from the remote parental type; but we will fasten to one that seems to have adopted the simplest form, and has tarried with us even unto this day.

The first great advance step of the little jellied body was to secrete the carbonate of lime that abounds in the sea, and to build himself a home. From this branch of the family sprang our Mollusca and countless diverse forms; but our special builders learned to form little colonies, then to weave all their little threads together, and to make a sort of silken palace. But, after other forms of life developed, these gelatinous masses formed tempting mouthfuls, as though they were easily digested despite their somewhat stringy construction; so mother Nature—or shall we say instructive necessity?—taught this branch of the family the art of secreting not only carbonate of lime, but also silica; and, with these minerals, they built most wonderful shapes, such as tridents, crosses, anchors, and exquisitely beautiful forms for which we have no names, and these were used in their palaces of thread. Some really were for anchors, and fastened a house to a rock. Many were for weapons of defence, others offence, to catch and kill the microscopic victims of slime hunger; besides the other spicules which seemed devoted to strengthening the mass of slime. Thus, one way and another, this family learned to build for itself a home that was not grateful food to its enemies; and, growing so thread-like and stringy, naturally it went out of fashion as an article of diet in the fish world. Therefore, the slime builders were comparatively free to build, develop, and evolve. Some learned to secrete lime to such an extent that they built islands of lime, which in later days formed harbors for the ships of men, who called them "coral reefs"; others used flint or silica to such an extent that they became the flint sponges. In short, all sorts of fashions were evolved; for these dwellers in the sea multiplied so rapidly that the slightest variation was soon emphasized, and new varieties and species branched out, as Ernst Haeckel has so well shown.

Few people can form any idea of the powers of reproduction in the lower forms of life. It has been calculated that the young of an isolated *Daphnia* would number, at the end of sixty days, 1,291,370,075. Now, the *Daphnia* cannot be more prolific than its lower relations; but, admitting the above figures to be too high by half a dozen, there would still be an enormous margin on which to calculate in the matter of variation, even if the lower forms were no more prolific. Hence, it is not strange that the slime builders branched into many and various channels.

We left our little builders in a silken palace with columns of glass and lime. These little forms also secrete a horny substance that has scarcely a counterpart in any other family, and here we find the first definite attempt at building a body; for we have the slime for the flesh, the earthy secretions for bone, and the keratode for nails. But it took patient Nature a long, long time to weave the different forms from out this shadowy type,—to teach the spider to weave its web from the same silken floss, to teach the silk-worm to make its cocoon from the same soft thread, to form the scattered spicules into bones, to gather from the mass a backbone and a definite form. But it has all been done, and, maybe, well done. Even Helmholtz found fault with the eye; and carping critics are forever finding fault with stomachs, or livers, or legs, or something else. Despite all, it seems as if nature had made a very fair article out of very poor material; and, if it be not the best that is possible, let us hope that there is a better condition of life to come!

When man first examined this silken, slimy plant animal, it was a source of no little wonder; but, so soon as the silken framework was found suitable for a bath sponge, the wonder was lost in the greed for gain, and the poor sponge was sadly neglected until recent years, when its wonders were disclosed, notwithstanding few people recognize them.

One of the strange things about the sponge was the number of little amœbæ, or slime specks, that seemed to adhere to the sponge body. The microscope soon showed that these were young sponges, and it was not long before Dr. Bowerbank and other patient students traced their mode of birth and development. This little amœboid is really a capsule, having within it a mass of tiny cells all fastened to one another like the sections of a mulberry; and, when the capsule breaks and the little mass is ejected from the parent mass by one of the large orifices, it swims off, a free swimming animal. As each of the little cells has a tiny thread, or cilium, which it vibrates violently, and the mass being pear-shaped, it goes sailing gayly through the water, maybe, for several days, until it finds an anchorage. Thereupon, it settles down to the stern business of life, which in all times seems chiefly to have consisted of making a living.

The little free swimmer may have caught a glimpse of our sun by day or our stars by night; yet it could have been only a glimpse, inasmuch as it had little time to spare for observation. The tiny, cellular slime spot settles on a stone or any convenient place. One settled on a crab's back and grew to a great size, yet the crab never seemed troubled about his strange burden; but, as a rule, they settle on stones. Then the cilia disappear from the outside and begin work inside, and by constant whip-like motion produce a current that flows in through microscopic holes into a larger central hole, which has a vent, at what is now the upper end of the gelatinous mass. This current brings in animalculæ for food; and some of the cells are differentiated into builders, while others are weavers. So we have the very first les-

son mother Nature gave her children in the division of labor,—a lesson that each succeeding tribe has to a great extent to learn for itself.

On examining a sponge, it will be found full of small holes, each one of which will be found to lead to a larger one, and all the larger ones lead ultimately to the great faecal orifice; and the domestic economy of the sponge animal, *Zoöphyte*, is clear. Some ciliated cells simply produce the food-bearing, oxygen-laden current; others weave the silken floss that makes the house; others, again, seem to secrete the earthy parts that support the mass. But all toil, and over the silken mass is spread the slime animal, which has no sense, yet builds so well; which has no organs, yet lives; which has blessed us with this "house not made with hands," so common in our bath-rooms, unfortunately so little understood.

Some of the slime builders raise coarse houses with many and large orifices. These use sand and other things in building; and their houses are almost valueless to man, or at best furnish the "five-cent-store" sponges, which hold only a little water and are harsh to the touch. While other builders have learned that the compact, silken mass is quite as good a protection as the harsh, sandy mass, and have given to commerce the soft, silky, Turkey sponge. So expensive is it that men have attempted to cultivate sponges. In Dalmatia, a living sponge is cut into small pieces, each piece is fastened to a stake under water, and in three years a large spherical sponge is the result.

Many are the wonders to be found in this one lowly family; but we may only point out one other, and that is the faculty of making glass that these slime spots have developed. There is a legend that, once upon a time, a man made a ball of flexible glass, but he was put to death for his pains, as it seemed impious to fly in the face of Nature. Nevertheless, of late years it is certain that men have striven persistently to learn the secret of making flexible glass. Is it not startling to find that our poor slimy little relative has been in possession of this art for untold generations?

In the deep waters of the Philippine Islands and in the neighboring seas may be found that most exquisite of all sea forms known as Venus' Basket, or *Euplectella speciosa*, a cornucopia-shaped basket, sometimes twelve inches long and an inch and a half in diameter at its largest end, formed of threads of purest glass, the whole forming a palace as wonderful as ever was built by the genii of the lamp at Aladdin's command. This is the dwelling-place and business house of our humble relation; and the glimpse we get of the harmonious adaptation of means to ends in this work hints of miracles that are all about us, and gives force to the words of the camel-driver of Mecca, who, when his followers asked for a miracle, said,—and there is a Sinaitic tone in the reply for us in this nineteenth century,—"Open your eyes."

Pitiful at times is the ignorance of the "open miracle" that is all about us; and it is only when we truly know what life is, and whither life doth go, that we are able to regulate the affairs of life. To teach men how to live, while yet ignorant of the simplest principles of life,

"Were all as well to bid a cloud to stand
Or hold a running river with the hand."

PETER ANNET.

CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK.

An item in the evening papers on the day of President Cleveland's inauguration was, to one reader at least, of more thrilling interest than any or all reports of the events of that day in Washington, to the description of which the columns of

the evening newspapers were mainly devoted,—of more interest even than the carefully read inaugural address of the new President. The item ran in this wise:—

Last evening, Dr. Holmes and Mr. Howells received a genuine surprise at the hands of the editor of the *Atlantic*. Mr. Aldrich invited these gentlemen to dine with him, to meet Charles Egbert Craddock, the author of *In the Tennessee Mountains, Where the Battle was Fought*, and the remarkable novel now publishing in the *Atlantic*. The surprise lay in the fact that Charles Egbert Craddock is a pseudonym which for the past six years has veiled the identity of a very brilliant woman,—Miss Mary N. Murfree, of St. Louis.

The delighted reader of this item was a woman not remarkably enthusiastic by nature, and now past the age of youthful enthusiasm; yet glad tears came to her eyes, and for one insanely absurd moment she longed to clasp the hands and hold to her heart the fragile creature who had thus scored a most signal victory for her sex. Only the evening before this public announcement was made, this reader, glancing over the new chapters of "The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," in the *March Atlantic*, was struck anew with the intellectual power in that serial, and read aloud for the benefit of those not usually interested in "stories" some of the strong, descriptive passages, with admiring wonder at the original genius and the breadth of thought displayed by this new Southern writer, "Charles Egbert Craddock."

But, after that first tumultuous moment of delighted enthusiasm over the dramatic surprise given by a woman to our foremost critics and *littérateurs*, none of whom had ever dreamed that this pseudonym veiled a feminine personality, there came a sigh of sadness from the woman's heart because of the implied suggestiveness of this *dénouement*. No other incident could more strongly reveal or more sharply define the reality of the mark of intellectual inferiority placed by man on woman, whose sex alone is deemed sufficient excuse to cripple her intellectual energies and belittle her achievements.

For at least the fourth time in the history of literature has a woman won, by pure force of genius, a high place in literature under the disguise of a masculine *nom de plume*.—"George Sand," "George Eliot," "Currer Bell," and "Charles Egbert Craddock," these names have concealed for a time the feminine identity of Aurora Dudevant, Mary Ann Evans, Charlotte Brontë, and Mary N. Murfree.

What a comment on manly chivalry does this disguise, on the part of four brilliant women writers, make! Each seems to have felt her genius, known her power, and understood fully the stigma attached to sex, and to have said to herself, either consciously or unconsciously: "Since I desire 'no favors,' only 'a fair field,' there is at least one way open to me. As a woman, I shall be placed at a disadvantage. Under a masculine *nom de plume*, I shall be judged on my own merits." Acting on this impression, all these women won favor as male writers before declaring themselves of the pariah sex. There are records of many lesser lights among women writers who have resorted to the expedient of concealing their sex under male signatures, but I have so far failed in my efforts to find one male writer who thought it necessary to conceal his identity under a female signature. This fact speaks volumes in favor of Women's Rights.

We have had a nameless "Junius," whose identity is at last pretty surely divined. We have had various masculine writers who, for a brief season, have masqueraded under fictitious male *noms de plume*; but these few are more than offset by the

comparatively young woman, who from childhood has been "unable to use her feet," but who is now "much better," and "can get around with slight assistance," yet who for six years concealed her identity, and who managed so shrewdly that even her publisher, Mr. Aldrich, until the morning of the 4th of March, thought his talented contributor the man indicated by the signature written in so bold a hand as "Charles Egbert Craddock," whose style and force of thought gave no indication to critics of the sex of the writer. Never was more signal victory won by woman than the revelations of the last week show us was gained by Miss Mary N. Murfree, alias "Charles Egbert Craddock."

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

The Rise of Intellectual Liberty, by F. M. Holland, is for sale at *The Index* office. Price \$3.50.

A "CONSTELLATION OF FAIR ASTRONOMERS" will be the subject of an address by Mrs. Sara A. Underwood before the Science Class at Parker Memorial, next Sunday, at 12.20 P.M.

MR. CHARLES H. KERR, editor of *Unity*, is preparing a volume of poems selected from those which have appeared in that paper from Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Hattie Tyng Griswold, Abbie M. Gannett, W. C. Gannett, Frederic L. Hosmer, J. T. Sunderland, J. V. Blake, and others. The price of the book will be \$1.25. To those ordering copies in advance, it will be \$1.00.

MR. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON concluded his recent address before the Liberal Union Club of this city, as follows: "The wine cup and its associations and the degradation of the tobacco habit I dread for my children more than the fear of hell; and if I can teach them to make character, and not abstract belief, determine their friendships, I shall not worry about their intellectual speculations."

SAYS the *Nation*: Nothing has been more clearly laid down by Catholic theologians than that it is the duty of the civil power to suppress heresy; and, whenever the civil power has been won over to this view, they have insisted on its either extirpating heretics wholly, or obliging them to live without public worship, or obliging them to conduct their worship under considerable restrictions as to publicity and locality. In fact, the policy of the Church in every country has been to get from the government all the intolerance of other creeds which she could, but to accept the inevitable diminutions in the amount of this intolerance. The equality of all creeds before the law she only accepts in countries in which there is no chance of anything else, but this toleration was denounced so late as 1864 by Pius IX. in the Syllabus as a damnable error. In Rome, public Protestant worship was never permitted within the walls until the downfall of the temporal power, and was never permitted anywhere in the papal States without many restrictions. Within the past year, Leo XIII. has complained bitterly of the freedom of worship now enjoyed within the city, as an insult to the Papacy and a hindrance to him in the discharge of his high functions."

ACCORDING to statistics published in a religious contemporary concerning foreign missionary work, the Baptists are far more successful than other Protestant denominations in securing heathen converts, of whom they have credited to them 113,263; while those connected with missionary stations under the charge of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Campbellites, and

Episcopalians, all combined, number only 78,744. This is not all. The Baptists make converts at a much cheaper rate than the other denominations. During the year, the average cost per convert has been by the Congregationalists \$248.14, by the Campbellites \$72.88, by the Episcopalians \$592.03, by the Methodists \$117.91, by the Presbyterians \$234.91, by the Baptists \$37.05. The total number of Baptist converts for the year is 11,891: the total number of heathen converts to the other denominations named is 8,732. The paper which gives these statistics remarks that one dollar given by American Baptists to foreign missions accomplishes as much as six dollars given by other denominations. If the figures given above are correct and the conversions made by the Baptists are as genuine and permanent as the others, the facility and cheapness with which they make converts are a strong argument in favor of the other denominations uniting with them and adopting their methods. Sectarian rivalry should be dropped, if the eternal interests of millions of souls depend upon Christian missionary labors.

DEAN (OR CANON) WILBERFORCE, having stated that "an atheistic lecturer in America, named Frothingham, had recanted and returned to Christianity," he was informed that there was no such lecturer, and that, if Rev. O. B. Frothingham was intended, that gentleman was and always had been a theist. Wilberforce writes to his corrector: "I much prefer my sources of information with regard to Dr. Frothingham to yours. It is, however, of little consequence, inasmuch as I am constantly coming into contact with cases of a similar nature." The *London Reformer* quotes the above extract, and says: "Dean Wilberforce ought at least to understand that the words we have italicized clearly show that in his view one precise untruth matters little or nothing, even when detected, if he has 'similar cases' to back it with. What would Dean Wilberforce say, if we charged him with being a pervert to Rome, and, when he indignantly denied, coolly answered: 'It is, however, of little consequence, inasmuch as we are constantly coming into contact with cases of clerical perverts'?" The *London Inquirer* adds: "The *National Reformer* is quite right. Mr.—not Dr.—Frothingham has always been a theist; and he has never returned to any form of supernatural Christianity, while he has deplored the failure of the movement at New York of which he was the very able leader. By the way, the *Reformer* is slightly in error on one point. We suppose that Canon—not 'Dean'—Wilberforce, of Southampton, is referred to."

THE END.

For *The Index*.

[From the French of SULLY-PRUDHOMME.]

Wouldst thou aid me when the shadows
Of my last earth day shall come,
Let sweet harmonies surround me,
Bear my spirit to its home.

I am tired of words, and weary
Of perplexing thoughts they bring;
Sick of counsels dull and dreary,
Filled with subtle reasoning.

There are sounds which soothe and lie not,
Which I need not comprehend,
Only hear and feel their richness
As I near the journey's end:

Let me plunge my soul within them,
Let them ease my latest breath
As I pass from sleep to dreaming,
And from pleasant dreams to death.

WESTBORO, MASS.

ABBIE FRANCES JUDD.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 12, 1885.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

LIMITATIONS OF REFORM.*

BY HON. GEORGE F. TALBOT.

PART II.

PROBLEM OF HEALTH.

Sound Germs and a Sound Progeny.

Inveterate habits, rooted social, ethical, and religious ideas, fenced in by passionate prejudices, time-honored customs, and hardly repealable laws, insure for the caprices and dominant appetites of men such a scope as leaves the result of their operations their hap-hazard chances of good or evil fortune. We imprison the thief and we point the fixed finger of shame at the prostitute; but, when they come together in the holy bonds of matrimony, the minister of religion pronounces it an ordinance of God, and society stands helpless before the teeming swarms of vicious progeny that are to be the fruit of such a marriage.

Nearly all the cases of insanity and of alcoholism, the outbreak of which inflict such unspeakable suffering upon our domestic life, are due to hereditary taint. Is it too extravagant a hope to cherish that the time may come when increased intelligence and a more sensitive moral feeling will deter from marriage those who have inherited a scrofulous constitution, an uncontrollable appetite for alcohol, insanity, causeless and excessive melancholy, or liability to furious paroxysms of anger? Is it past the ingenuity of man to insure that of such unpromising parentage the children of the future *shall not be born*?

But this is not enough. There are no absolutely healthy families. No blood is entirely pure. Go far enough back in the ancestry of the soundest of us, and you will find all the ills, mental and physical, to which flesh is heir. Unless we can induce or compel the apparently sound whom we permit to marry to observe the laws of life in procreation, the weakness that will result will show itself in some reversion to a more or less ancient type of physical or moral disease.

* The substance of this essay was read before the Fraternity Club of Portland, Me., Dec. 15, 1884.

Nature is willing to help, does help, man in his effort to better himself. That is to say,—to state what seems to be one of the vital laws: Healthy parents who do not observe the most favorable conditions for procreation will produce healthy offspring. Unhealthy parents, carefully observing the most favorable conditions for procreation, will produce healthy offspring. In the former case there will be sound children deriving vigor from parents in spite of slight violations of the laws of life. In the latter case there will be sound children, because the parents, though not themselves sound, carried forward their progeny one degree by carefully observing the laws of life. But, if only healthy parents produce the children of a people, and that, too, with a strict compliance with the conditions of procreation, the result will be a steady improvement in the quality of the human race, and the slow breeding out of physical and moral corruption.

We keep up the average health, slightly improve it now, though the few healthy parents do not observe the laws of life, and though the parentage is largely itself unhealthy, because half the human race perishes before it attains the age of ten years. That is to say, nature comes along and looks at our puny progeny, and, saying: Misbegotten things! blots them out with diphtheria, scarlatina, and cholera infantum.

In the earlier stages of human life, by ruthlessly destroying all the weaklings nature insured the increasing vigor of the human animal. When man got his large brain, the most intelligent became more than a match for the most strong, and the best intellect had the best chance to survive. Now, at last, that our moral faculties are coming to dominate our intellectual, as these once dominated the physical, our very humanity and sympathy, the tenderness with which we cherish and try to cure and perpetuate not only the feeble-minded, but the vicious-hearted, will tend to arrest the evolution of humanity, unless an intelligent will takes the place of a blind force in insuring the survival of the fittest.

In what specific direction the reforming agency can be applied, I confess we have neither the requisite knowledge nor courage yet to indicate. The vaguest cautions and hints of anything like dictation or interference are so passionately resented as an infringement of personal liberty, a vulgar exposure of mysteries that all the instincts of living creatures try to keep concealed, that the reformers who venture upon this line of reform will be likely to encounter a fiery martyrdom, compared with which that of all their forerunners was but the comfortable warmth of sunshine. Take the human generations as they come, we are virtually told, without asking how they came or who begot them. Commit to the indiscriminated mass of new-comers the destinies of your country and of the world. If you ask where they arrived from, the pulpit will tell you, from God; and the nurses, if you are more curious, that the doctor brought them in his saddle-bags.

This much may be said without indelicacy or offence. For the married, the law of procreation is plainly enough that, to avoid the keen anguish which attends the putting of the little white faces of our infants in their coffins, the bitter anxieties and disappointments which chronic invalidism, developing itself in our grown-up children causes, the grave responsibilities of incipient parentage should not be ventured upon when either party to it was suffering any serious ill-health or mental aberration, anxiety or depression, nor until the physical organization had been brought to its normal vigor by previous continence.

I glance for a moment at practices, the inven-

tion of refined sensuality in France, and that have spread, if suspicion be not misled, to our own moral and cultivated society. I mean those artificial devices which permit the inter-association of the sexes without their incurring the pain, the expense, or the responsibilities of parentage. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant published some years ago in England a little practical treatise, designed to instruct poor artisans, whose domestic relations gave them all the hope and happiness they had, to mitigate the gloom of a life of poverty, toil, and care, how they might secure the solace of wedlock and at the same time avoid the necessity of casting upon the world a progeny of helpless creatures to be more wretched than themselves. It was for publishing this book, and not for his atheism, which is certainly by no means a rare faith or *non-faith* among the educated classes and members of Parliament in England, that Mr. Bradlaugh has been so mercilessly persecuted. I never saw the book. I dare say it is pernicious in its influence, because not the classes for whom it was written, but the fashionable, the well-to-do, the intelligent, the very classes that ought to be parents, will be most likely to read it and practise its lessons.

The writers, who are benevolent and earnest, not vicious or patrons of vice, and their many virtuous friends, insist that there was a benevolent and salutary purpose at the bottom of this book; and I am ready to believe that.

This much may, at least, be said. It is a beginning, even if a bad and dangerous beginning, of an attempt to bring a natural human instinct, most momentous and consequential in its fruits, under the domain of reason and conscience. It may be a hopeless task to undertake to surmount and repress such a powerful passion as that which brings on the association of the sexes. We may forbid and deny marriage, and nature leaps over the restraint. If we can separate parentage from marriage, and, while permitting the latter to all that may be naturally inclined, so guard the other as to allow society to take the least injury by the birth of such persons as will be injurious to it, a better race is one of the possibilities of the future.

Poverty,—can it be abolished?

The last cardinal evil in the Pandora's box of human miseries is poverty. Let us enlarge our definition of poverty, and consider it as any privation of wealth, sustenance, means of legitimate gratification or culture, induced by laws or usages of acquisition or distribution not completely just or beneficent. It comes last on our catalogue, because it seems probable that it is the last chronic disability of the human condition which society will find out how, or be able to relieve.

The Actual and the Ideal Government.

I say society and not government, because we have been schooled to consider government as an institution of limited powers, confined to the narrow functions of enacting and enforcing the laws, defending the people against internal disturbance and external invasion, and prescribing some of the more general rules that shall regulate commercial exchanges. The historic governments are in such bad repute, they are so disgraced by tyranny and extortion on the one hand, and imbecility and inefficiency to arrest or mitigate any of the chronic evils of mankind on the other hand, that we have been occupied now for some centuries, and shall be for centuries to come, with the effort to restrict the agency of government, and assert the principle of individualism and personal rights. Our favorite saying has been, *That is the best government which governs the least*; and the word that represents the dominant political science is *laissez faire*, which is roughly rendered in the

English maxim, *Every one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost*. Especially for the last century, since our grandfathers made Boston harbor a tea-pot, and steeped in it a decoction that has exhilarated, if not inebriated, the nations, has this bellowing for rights been the loudest noise that has vexed the welkin, shrilling in these last years with the swelling treble of mustering womanhood. It is the note of revolution and doom that startles all the established conventionalities and sanctities of France, Italy, and Germany. Give us our rights! cry the paper caps and blouses; and neither constitutional monarchy nor the sober pattern of the republicanism of Jefferson and Thiers and Gambetta has any satisfactions for the large demand. The fierce democracy has the ablest ministry and the strongest man in England waiting to learn and docile to do its behest. This rage must blow itself out, and happy will the world be if it takes only the twentieth century to do it. But about that time look out for some plain-spoken prophet, upon whose shoulders the bear-skin mantle of Carlyle shall have fallen, who will confront the noisy mob with words like these: *Your rights!* do I gather that much articulate sound in the inarticulate and deafening clamor of your roaring? When you get your rights, the first and last of them, what will any of you be likely to do with them but act out in some more conspicuous position the selfish and sordid puppy and blatherskite that you are? If, on your first advent to the world, you had been roughly taken by throat, and asked, in thunder tones, by what warrant and on whose presumption you had intruded yourself upon the sanctities, the solemn responsibilities, and the soul-trying labors that make human life something other than a fool's holiday, what answer could you have given? Do you know, have you ever thought, what life in this nineteenth century, in all the essential good of which you will share with millionnaires and kings, costs in the blood of battle-fields, the torture of roasting martyrs, the toil of myriads of human bodies bent under burdens, the precious thoughts of sages and poets, inventors and scholars? What equivalent are you ready to render for the privilege of entering upon the fruition of all this work and suffering? Do you appear on the scene to continue the labors of such as these, to take up their task where they laid it down, and push it on to the consummation? Your rights! You will get them in just measure,—the right to be scourged by your vices, balked and defeated in all your selfish schemes, cheated with vanities, finding all the sweet things you have schemed and fought for turned to ashes in your mouth, until you are glad to creep into your graves, and beg oblivion to hide your petty lives. One still, small voice of a right-minded, sane, considerate man, asking to know what his duties are, what he could do for his race and for the world to pay for his seventy years' tenancy of it, would be to my ears a more musical and more hopeful note than all this chorus of Bashan bellowings for rights.

But this is an act of the human drama to be put upon the stage and acted out in its order, with not a little lawlessness, crime, suffering, and discontent as an accompaniment, until men shall find what helpless paupers they are, and how much the comfort of their existence depends upon having the best wisdom of the clearest minds to guide them, and the strong arms of associated effort to defend and uplift them.

The Republic, Democratic and Social.

To the ordinary mind, the word "socialism" brings no idea but some form of having all things in common, as did the primitive Christians, and of an equal division of estates. I am not aware that

the word ever had any such significance. Socialism is something quite different as advocated by Marx, Lassalle, and the socialistic philosophers of Germany, France, and England. *Socialism, the Republic, Democratic and Social*, is that form of society which brings into play as much as possible the power of associated human action, which does by and through the government whatever united and co-operative mankind can do more economically, more easily, more perfectly, and more justly than the individual can do. It undertakes to find for every man a function, a work, a service in the order of the world, and to insure him a reasonable compensation for doing it. It mitigates and, in the long run, will give a truce to the struggle for life. It lifts the burden that has lain like an incubus for so many ages upon the human heart, growing heavier with every generation, aggravated rather than alleviated by every invention by which the processes of labor have been rendered easier,—a burden that has driven uncounted thousands to despair and suicide, and has given to human life the sadness that finds its expression in poetry and in history,—the universal care *how to get a living*. It substitutes co-operation for competition, and its holy scripture is, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, and not, *Am I my brother's keeper?*

Socialistic Tendencies of Modern Governments.

No thoughtful person can fail to notice the marked socialistic tendencies of all modern governments. The pauper laws that for nearly a century have been established in England and in nearly all, if not all, the United States, are purely socialistic. The law says to the poor, Do the best you can to earn your maintenance and that of your family, but do not despair: we guarantee you and them sufficient wholesome food, comfortable clothing and lodging, medical treatment and nursing as long as you live, and pledge to this expenditure all the property in the State, public and private. All the solid men of Boston hold their property subject to this prior mortgage: whether they get any income from their large estates depends every year upon the amount of pauperism to be relieved. If the wants of the poor require all their property, the law has placed no limit to the possible burdens of taxation, which may be so heavy as to reduce them to the poverty which they are compelled to relieve. Could there be any more palpable taking of the property of the rich and distributing it among the poor?

Equally socialistic are our school laws, which make the same requisitions upon all private property for the education of the children alike of taxpayers and non-tax-payers, of citizens and of aliens; and yet no laws are so firmly based upon the popular assent, and no taxes are voted with such alacrity, as those which support the common schools.

Laws regulating the hours of labor, the employment of children in factories, sanitary regulations, the creation of state and municipal boards of health, ordinances regulating river and coast fisheries, and for the preservation of game and birds, are indications of the socialistic tendency of modern legislation.

The post-office is an institution belonging to a socialistic government. Considering how admirably and cheaply it is conducted, and, with its immense force of employés appointed under partisan practices of administration, how little just cause of offence it has given, should we be willing to go back to private enterprise for the carriage of our letters? Would private enterprise deliver a letter to a friend in San Francisco and his reply at our door at a cost to both correspondents of four cents? Is there any reason in the nature of things why, if government ought to carry our

business messages by letter, it ought not, as well, to carry our business messages by telegraph? or why, if it is legitimate to bring us our newspapers, it would not be legitimate to bring us our merchandise and our food? The parcels post, so successfully established in England and partially in this country, shows how much better and more economically expressage can be done by the government than by private corporations. In many countries, the State owns and manages the railways; and, if the United States should offer to capitalize all the railway stocks of the country, and pay the amount to the holders in moderate annuities, terminable with life, would not they gladly accept such a compensation rather than be exposed to the fluctuations in value and income of the last two years? Would not the public be as well served as they are now, if the railroads were let to the highest bidder under the security of bonds for a term of years, just as the carriage of the mails is let, the lessee to keep the track in repair, and to be liable for all losses and injuries caused by his carelessness or neglect?

The systematizing and regulating of insurance and of banking, and the oversight of them by officers created and paid by the State, show that these are considered to a certain extent matters of government and amenable to its control. The scope of legislation and the conclusions which follow the principles laid down by our highest courts, recognizing the fact that railroads, though built by private capital and owned by private corporations, are public ways, and as such can be controlled by the legislature as to what business they shall do and what compensation they shall receive for doing it, seem seriously to impair the integrity of the property rights of stockholders in these kinds of estates. It seems to lie within the sound discretion of legislators to say whether, after paying special taxes, keeping their road-bed and stock in repair, and paying for all injuries to persons and property, the investment of the shareholders shall yield them a moderate income or subject them to an annual charge. The land laws of Ireland, advocated and enacted by some of the most conservative statesmen of Great Britain, and proposed for application to Scotland and England, seem to be based upon the idea that a title in fee-simple to land, hitherto held to be something inviolable, is, after all, a qualified title, subject to the government's right of eminent domain. The principle of the paramount right of the government to appropriate estates, when needed for public defences, for convenient roads, for sites for school-houses and other public buildings, or to lessen or destroy the value of such estates by undermining them by an incessant taxation, shows that there is in the minds of the most conservative men no real respect for the inviolability of landed titles. Should the private ownership of land in such a country as Ireland, for instance, threaten the depopulation or the pauperization of the island, then government might reclaim the land with just compensation to its owners, and reconvey or release it on conditions that would make human existence more tolerable.

On the other hand, there are steps toward a surrender to government of many functions and employments now under private management. The association of merchants, of bankers, of producers of iron, coal, and grain, of lawyers and physicians, and agreements among them as to prices that shall prevail, rates of wages and hour of labor that shall obtain, and all other trades-unions that restrict and suspend the rule of free competition, as well as the counter-combination of working men to reduce the length of a day's work, fix a minimum of wages, or otherwise control the free

competition of workers, are the beginnings of an effort to substitute order and law for mutual strife and chaos. The moment men lose faith in free competition and begin to check it by *regulation*, even if the regulation is something which they agree upon and impose, their action becomes essentially *governmental*. All regulation, all law,—and a trades-union agreement or oath is that,—is the function of government; and, when government regulates business, it is *socialistic*. It will be a slight forward movement for government to make officers of the State the commissioners or committees voluntarily created by the guilds of trade, profession, or industry, and embody their trade regulations into statute laws.

The Purification of Government.

This evident socialistic tendency may be checked. It may meet some scientific limit which shall preserve free competition and individual liberty of action. I confess I do not see where such scientific limitation is; and it seems to me that the tendency is more likely to go on, until men shall have learned to do together—that is, through the agency of government—whatever functions they can perform more economically, perfectly, and justly than they can individually.

But, before this can be thought of otherwise than with apprehension, we must have pure government, and not only that, but government must have been so long pure, under whatever administration had the power to get possession of it, as to allay all just suspicion of its integrity which years of misrule and corruption have excited. Before we trust our deposits to the bank that has failed or our books to the clerk that has robbed us, we require a long probation of honesty.

So that the thing first to do—the order of the day, as they say in the French Assembly—is to establish a government that we can trust; and, until that is done, all other reforms are to be postponed. The civil service reformers and their allies, the *mugwumps*, whether their special measures will be efficacious or not, are laboring on that part of the highway of progress where the car of civilization, laden with all the hopes of mankind, is just now mired and stuck.

This is, however, a far-reaching speculation; and we may as well follow it until, in the remote future, it lands us in conditions, where all the activities of production and of exchange, all provision for the public health, the public education, the public amusement, shall be the ordering of the State. Under this *régime*, society not only educates the children, all the children that belong to it, but after graduating them at its schools assigns to all who desire it a career according to their capacities and ambitions,—so many to the lowest clerkships in trade, so many to the charge of machinery employed in production, so many to the different departments of agriculture and stock-raising, and so many to further study and training to prepare them for the more responsible employments, as teachers, editors, authors, artists, physicians, chemists, engineers, architects, lawyers, judges, and legislators. It will be the organization of human industry, which is now so chaotic, so wasteful, so precarious.

Before the State can handle the Problem of Poverty it must regulate Births.

If we should give the race of rats access to all our stores of food, destroying our traps and *whistling off* the cats, and open to every rodent a career of unlimited bread and cheese for himself and his progeny, how long would it be before the rats would be in force to eat us?

The human animal has not powers of reproduc-

tion to vie with the rats; and yet if mankind were relieved of their chronic apprehension of poverty, if an office and a salary awaited every child that was reared,—especially if early marriages became a usage, as they inevitably would under such a society,—the number of candidates would speedily exhaust all the places, and the great surplus army of men to be detailed to till the ground would soon raise such a surplus of food that it would not pay to harvest it.

See what checks restrain the prodigality of human reproduction. Few sensible men dare place themselves under obligations to support a family until there is a reasonable prospect of some just and honorable provision for its maintenance. If the consideration does not influence the passions of young men, it does influence the cooler judgment of young women; and it is sure to be considered by parents and friends, whose influence is always potent. So that, as our business grows more complicated and the chances of fortune more precarious, marriage gets postponed to the wise years when more and more find how much easier and wiser it is to forego it altogether. But, with all these checks, the contribution to population in nearly all civilized States seems to be in excess of the demands of nature, in excess of the means to provide for them by nearly one hundred per cent.; for what are these diseases of infancy that destroy half the human race before they are ten years old but Nature's interference with redundant births? What if we should find out how to isolate or destroy whooping-cough, measles, and scarlatina? What safeguard have we against new disorders that would take their place?

So that if as now, where the care of supporting children is thrown primarily upon fathers, the fathers must be left to say how many children they will have, when government assumes the obligation to take care of all comers, it must have the power to say how many and who shall come.

When the best wisdom of the race, expressing and enforcing itself in government, shall be able to stand at the entrance frontier of human life, and say who shall pass, it will have the key to open for mankind the better era, the good time coming of the popular thought, the Republic of which Plato speculated, the Utopia of Thomas More, the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney, the kingdom of heaven of Jesus of Nazareth, the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven adorned as a bride for her husband of the Apocalyptic vision. With the abolition of poverty by keeping the numbers of the human race balanced to the supply of the means of subsistence produced in greatest abundance and justly distributed, it will solve at the same time the problem of sickness and of crime by bringing in a progeny in whom the primeval taint of lust and passion, of insanity and sickness, has been reduced to its minimum.

It is necessary, however, to stipulate that for the accomplishment of his high destiny man needs the hope and patience of God. The world-bettering went on in those early ages, when there was no sympathetic heart of man to long for it, no helping hand of man to aid it. If there be not at the heart of the universe some principle or power of good, how vain are human toils, sacrifices, and prayers! It is the faith of democracy that the good purpose we have found in the bosom of nature expresses itself also in the mind of man, the consummate product of nature.

The thing to do is patiently to bear the ills of our condition that are irremediable, and to contribute our brief strength to lessen or remove such as are the result of our ignorance or misdoing. Not by dynamite or the dagger, not by revolution or secession, not necessarily by forming a new

party or propagating a new faith, but by watching the trend of things toward good, and by aiding with voice and vote the specific reform, that the apparently blind, but really guided impulse of the time has made opportune and feasible, shall we best bring nearer the poet's dream "*of the highest, justest, happiest, and so most perfect condition of human life on this planet.*"

For The Index.

STATEMENT OF BEING.*

BY DAVID TAYLOR.

Being, we may say, is truth, reality; it is whatever is, as contradistinguished from whatever is not. Being includes within itself all that is, all that has a real and permanent existence. Indeed, there is no existence which is not permanent. That which is ordinarily regarded as existence is not being in any proper sense of the word, for it is here one moment and gone in another. The constantly changing phenomena of nature are illustrations of this assertion: they are shadows, appearances, manifestations of realities, of forces which we never see, but which are abiding, unchangeable, indestructible, and eternal. The perceptive faculties, the five senses, do not lay hold of truth or being: they have to do with phenomena only, and consequently never enable the individual to see more than the surface of things, the shadow of a reality which is invisible, impalpable, incapable of being weighed, immeasurable, immaterial, and therefore absolutely free from the limitations, contingencies, fluctuations, and uncertainties of what we call matter.

To illustrate just what I mean by the term *Being*, take for example a house. Whether constructed of stone or wood or of any material whatsoever, it is a phenomenon; it is the appearance of something that affects our senses in a certain manner. We see that it has form, size, and color, and, so far as we can imagine ourselves weighing the house, that it has another quality; namely, density or weight. Now, it is evident that these qualities which make up the phenomenon, house, are not self-caused, but are the embodiments of ideas originally conceived in some mind or minds before the house itself was built. And as there would be no house for us to see, if we excluded from our thought the qualities, form and size, color and density; as the very conception of the house would vanish immediately and simultaneously with the removal of these qualities from our minds; and as the action of air, heat, etc., is gradually causing all of them to disappear, and that in course of time the house will no longer be even a phenomenon,—in the final analysis we see the only thing that can properly be regarded as being, as reality, is the mind which contrived the house, and of which the latter is but the shadow, and that, like all shadows, it changes, passes away, while the substance, the absolute cause, from its very nature continues to be.

This fact of being may be illustrated still further. If we transport ourselves in thought to some forest scenery, we shall behold on every hand beautiful proofs of returning spring; we shall see the trees beginning to bud and display a life which, as far as appearances went, did not reside in any one of them two or three months ago. Each tree is a phenomenon, a covering of the reality, the force, the mysterious principle within, which is continually shaping the tree, which is ever determining the manner in which our senses shall be affected. Here, too, as in the case of the house, we find ourselves in closest contact with mind. We see that each tree has form and size, color and weight. By and by, however, we observe first one tree and then another prostrate on the ground, and in a few years that all traces of them have disappeared. But we do not think on this account that the vegetable principle, the life principle, of the tree has been annihilated. Indeed, if we reason correctly from the data presented by our senses, we shall infer that this principle cannot itself pass out of existence, however many of its manifestations may do so. For to suppose that the principle, the absolute cause of a phenomenon could become a non-entity together with the phenomenon itself, or at any subsequent time, would be equivalent to supposing a place where nothing exists,—a thing most absurd and unthinkable. It is as impossible to think such a

* A paper read before the "Highland School of Metaphysics," 7 Mt. Pleasant Place, Boston.

thing as it is to think of an absolute beginning,—a time when a principle was not. We, then, think of being as entirely free from the limitations of time. A little reflection will also force us to a similar conclusion as to space. If being is all that is, if it is the reality which lies behind all phenomena, and if it is the indispensable condition of the latter, it must be co-extensive with phenomena; that is to say, it must be unlimited as to space. For to assert that a part of the universe is devoid of being would be tantamount to saying that being is not where being is, or that a thing can be real and unreal at one and the same time.

With this view of being, what becomes of the physical or material world? It becomes to those who rise to the comprehension or apprehension of being as the most shadowy world of which they can think. Instead of being the most real, it is seen to be in itself the most unreal; and being, the world of spirit, the metaphysical world, is beheld to be the most substantial, as in fact the only real world we know. The qualities cohesion and repulsion, attraction and affinity, form and size, color and weight, are discovered to be nothing more than modes in which our senses are affected by reality. Hence, the various forms under which being presents itself to us. It presents itself in God as the absolute spirit, the absolutely true, good, and beautiful, of which Being man and woman are the highest embodiments or reflections; in the vast and mighty ocean as force; in the mineral world as cohesion and disintegration; in the variegated foliage of the forest trees as vegetable life; in the lower animals as sensation; and in man as mind.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"MISTAKES OF SPIRITUALISM."

Editors of *The Index* :—

One of my Spiritualist friends wants me to define what I mean by the "mistakes of Spiritualism,"—a term used in a former communication to you. If you have space to spare, I will now mention some of those mistakes.

Spiritualists hold that mind can and does exist independently of the body,—a belief common indeed to all forms of orthodox Christianity; that the mind is created independently of the senses, which are only the avenues for manifesting itself and communicating with the external world. But the truth is the senses are component parts, and are the essential means of creating the mind, just as the piano strings are the essential means of creating piano music. Without the senses there would be no mind: without the wires there would be no piano music; the quality of the music depending on the musician guiding the notes, the quality of mind depending on the environment, the social surroundings, education, etc., guiding the senses, feelings, emotions, etc. It has indeed been clearly demonstrated that mind is a combination of sensations primarily, and gradually becoming more complex in ascending from its lower forms in animal life up to man, man being by no means the only creature possessing "mind." These sensations are developed by the action of chemical and mechanical laws, sight, taste, smell, hearing, touch being all excited by the mechanical contact of matter with the retina, the tongue, the nasal organ, the ear, and the hand, just as music is called forth by the action of mechanical force on the piano strings. Without these sensations there could be no memory, no reflection, no reason, no feeling,—in short, no mind. Simply because there would be nothing to remember, nothing to reason upon.

They hold that individual "intuition" is a reliable safeguard in the investigation of truth. But all experience shows that individual intuitions differ according to mental development. The intuitions of the primitive and uncultivated lead them to gratify every impulse of their animal nature; but gradually, after generations of sad experience, these intuitions become changed, and the developed civilized man intuitively knows that he should control such impulses that lead to suffering and misery. The scientific method has also abundantly shown that individual conviction, whether based on intuition or on logical reasoning, is not always reliable, but requires to be tested by the consent of other competent minds, individual conviction, however sincere and earnest, being so apt to see only "one side of the shield."

They hold that "clairvoyance," or clear seeing, is a mental process possessed only by so-called mediums while under the control of spirits. But it is really a passive condition of mind in which the medium allows himself to remain, closing the eyes to shut out disturbing influences and allowing the current of ideas to have uninterrupted sway. During this passive condition, all the known facts connected with the subject examined are called up by the laws of association and reviewed by the clairvoyant; and a judgment is then passed, which may be "clearly seen," if the facts known to the medium are sufficient to form a "clear" judgment. But, if such facts are not known, a clear view is not obtained, and the "conditions" are said to be unfavorable.

The well-known fact that mental action is in a great measure automatic—that thoughts, feelings, and emotions are constantly excited in the mind, independently of the will—is mistaken for communications from the spirit world, instead of being the result of the individual's own surroundings, educational, social, and organic. No one can stop the circulation of these thoughts and feelings even for a few moments, any more than he can stop the circulation of his blood, the quality or character of such ideas and feelings depending upon the individual's environment. All he can do is to turn the current into some particular channel, if he has an object in view; and, even then, his turning the current is always done by some strong motive excited independently of his will.

General abstract truths are mistaken for a special clairvoyant diagnosis of an individual case. *E.g.*, a short time ago, a clairvoyant stated that the subject examined was suffering from indigestion, or from liver complaint, the simple fact being that scarcely any one is free from these complaints! Another medium stated that the subject examined had a relative who had been hurt at some time in his life, either in the back or the hip or the foot, the simple fact being that scarcely any one lives who has not had a relative who was once hurt in the back or hip, etc. The many mistakes of Spiritualism can only be explained by the facts recently brought to light by psychology and the science of the nervous system; and it is to be hoped that the movement lately advocated for forming a psychological society for collecting and investigating such facts will be successful.

J. E. SUTTON.

WALDENA, FLA.

Editors of *The Index* :—

The letter, in a recent number of *The Index*, from a correspondent in Liberal, Mo., encourages me to tell of another liberal settlement which is just springing into life in this favored land of flowers. This new town is Waldena (pronounced Wal-de-na), and is but a few miles from the famous and beautiful Ocala. Marion County, in which it is situated, is considered one of the richest in the State, and rivals, if it does not surpass, Orange County in the production of the golden staple of Florida. Oranges of superior size and flavor are produced in the immediate neighborhood of Waldena, and the whole country is extremely well adapted to their culture. The town is intended especially as a home for those interested in hygienic and liberal reform, and all deeds are given with a proviso against the manufacture and sale of tobacco and alcoholic drinks. The town site contains about one square mile. It also has within its borders three small lakes, gem-like in the midst of an emerald setting of saw-palmetto and moss-draped, long-leaved pine. The founder of the settlement is Mr. Samuel Blodgett, a New Englander, a man of sterling character and thoroughly liberal and progressive. Of the climatic and scenic charms of Florida, nothing need here be said. They are too well known to need description. As a member of Mr. Blodgett's colony, I sincerely hope that some of my fellow-members of the Free Religious Association, who desire a semi-tropical home in the "sunny South," will become settlers in our new town. We would fain have it become a new Concord. I will gladly send circulars and any desired information to all who apply. As we have no separate post-office as yet, apply to

J. WM. LLOYD.

GRAHAMVILLE, FLA.

I would never choose to withdraw myself from the labor and common burden of the world, but I do choose to withdraw myself from the push and the

scramble for money and position. Any man is at liberty to call me a fool, and say that mankind are benefited by the push and the scramble in the long run. But I care for the people who live now, and will not be living when the long run comes. As it is, I prefer going shares with the unlucky.—*Felix Holt*.

MANY politicians are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people should be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim.—*Macaulay*.

It is much easier to find a score of men wise enough to discover the truth than to find one intrepid enough, in the face of opposition, to stand up for it.—*Unknown*.

It's faith in something and enthusiasm for something that makes a life worth looking at.—*O. W. Holmes*.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE RISE OF INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY FROM THALES TO COPERNICUS. By Frederic May Holland, author of *The Reign of the Stoics*, *Stories from Robert Browning*, etc. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1885. pp. 458. Price \$3.50.

Mr. Holland has made a valuable contribution to historical literature and done important service to the cause of rational thought by giving a connected and comprehensive history of Intellectual Liberty during twenty-two centuries,—from the time of the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy and of Grecian astronomy, 600 B.C., to the age of Copernicus and Servetus. Its conquests over classic polytheism, its persecution by Roman emperors and by the Christian Church, its revival in the latter part of the Middle Ages and rapid growth during the Renaissance and Reformation, are all clearly set forth, the facts being arranged in their historic relations and their connection with other events, and their bearing on liberty and activity of thought briefly pointed out in each chapter of the interesting and instructive narrative.

How the innovators from Ionia taught with but little disturbance until Anaxagoras and Alcibiades were driven from Athens; how this persecution inflicted irreparable injury upon the State; how Socrates died a victim of intolerance, and Plato perpetuated his spirit, and other thinkers went still farther than he in imitation of the great Athenian; how Aristotle strengthened the foundations of philosophy, and he and his disciples were banished for political rather than religious heresies,—are the main points of the opening chapter of the work. The author then proceeds to outline the systems of Pyrrho, the Stoics, and the Epicureans, and to show that the religion of Rome was attacked simultaneously by philosophy, science, foreign superstition, and civil war, until, in the time of Lucretius, free thinking was less opposed in Rome and freedom of speech less restricted there than at any previous time anywhere except at Athens, where tolerance prevailed for seven hundred years after Epicurus opened his famous garden.

Nearly a hundred pages are devoted to showing the unavailing efforts of the emperors from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius to protect the religion of the empire from the influence of foreign faiths and domestic unbeliefs, the partially successful efforts of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian to crush out freedom of thought, and its brilliant vindication by Seneca, Tacitus, Juvenal, Dion Chrysostom, Epictetus, Lucian, and others. Mr. Holland thinks that the prospects of rationalism would not have been worse in Lucian's day than in those of Lucretius, "if the diminution of mental activity had not opened the way for the triumph of a new form of superstition and intolerance, while the decline of martial vigor, under the pressure of tyranny, threatened the empire with ultimate conquest by barbarians, whose ignorance made it certain that they would support religion against philosophy."

Mr. Holland claims that no ancient Christian of "unblemished Orthodoxy" "showed himself so friendly to female independence as the sceptical Seneca, Plutarch, Pliny, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. Clement, who on account of his liberality lost his place on the list of saints, urged that women have as much right as men to study philosophy; and he praised Miriam, Sappho, Theano, Aspasia, and Leontium." "These names, with those of Portia, Livia, Agrippina,

the Arrias, Fannia, Sulpicia, Zenobia, and Hypatia, show that more female ability had been developed before the establishment of Christianity than can be found afterward for centuries."

Christianity, during this reactionary age, our author holds, did very little to encourage intellectual activity or to save political liberty, which was fast disappearing. "The subjection of women to men, citizens to sovereigns, laity to clergy, and reason to faith, was insured by the organization of the Christian hierarchy; and those early champions of liberty in the Church, the Gnostics, were cast forth as heretics at the very time that constitutional freedom, literary activity, and mental independence were revived by those philosophic emperors who reigned nearly to the close of the second century, and while rationalism still retained a popularity evident in the impunity with which Lucian made the gods ridiculous forever." Short-lived was the more enlightened form of Christianity which appeared early in the third century at Alexandria, where Clement endeavored to do justice to pagan philosophy and to recognize woman's capacity, and where Origen protested unsuccessfully against endless misery and other superstitious doctrines. The more rationalistic forms of philosophy vanished, and only the conquest of the Western Empire by hordes of illiterate barbarians was needed to consummate the extinction of intellectual liberty. A thousand years was to elapse before a disposition to cultivate science should reappear, and then to be rewarded by the imprisonment of Roger Bacon twenty-four years. "These ten centuries," says our author, "from about 450 to 1450, were as truly Christian as any others before or since. Certainly, there has never been a time when Christianity was so little interfered with by heathenism, worldliness, or unbelief." Mr. Holland then aims to show that the Church used her power to preserve order and obedience, but in so doing opposed political freedom and mental progress. Freedom of thought found her a natural enemy. She confined education to the priests. To kings and emperors, not to bishops and popes, we owe the great universities like Bologna and Padua; and, for popular education, we have to look to Moslem lands. The Christian Church consecrated beggary, and discouraged the industrial virtues.

The revival of ancient learning, the invention of printing, and the activity in literature, art, and commerce which followed, together with the notorious worldliness and profligacy of the popes, temporarily subverting their authority in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, made that country too irreligious to be the cradle of the Reformation. Mr. Holland thinks it is difficult to decide whether intellectual liberty, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, was more indebted to the mysticism which arose in Germany and Holland out of the Bible and Tauler or to the rationalism which sprang from the revival of the classic philosophy. A great obstacle to progress was the failure of either the Renaissance or the Reformation to do more than substitute the authority of ancient for mediæval literature. "Every path to greater knowledge was blocked up by some old book."

There has been a general connection, Mr. Holland maintains, of intellectual culture with political and religious liberty, which flourished together at Athens, were suppressed together at Rome, struggled together against mediæval bondage, and made their influence felt in the sixteenth century as they had not before for ages. He takes exception to Wendell Phillips' statement, that "almost all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation." Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Averroes, Rienzi, and many other scholars, are mentioned as persons to whom was due all that was known about social rights in the sixteenth century. "Still," it is admitted, "Mr. Phillips was more than half right; for most of the members of his own class have always been conservative. So-called education has commonly been perverted into teaching pupils to take for granted the authority of teachers and text-books. The really liberal education of looking at facts directly and independently has scarcely been inaugurated." However, during the period covered by this volume, the friends of progress were mainly among the educated class; while the illiterate class, except when moved by some great wrong, were invariably conservative.

Mr. Holland has done his work well. It shows broad and varied scholarship, great industry in col-

lecting material, and skill in its arrangement; while it is written in a style that is invariably clear, direct, and strong. The book contains a list of important works in English, German, French, and Italian, as well as in ancient languages, which were consulted in preparing this valuable history, together with a chronology and an index. The author hopes before long to publish another volume, extending the history as far as the French Revolution.

B. F. U.

A SOLUTION OF THE MORMON PROBLEM. By John Codman, author of *The Mormon Country, The Round Trip, Free Ships*, etc. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price 25 cts. 1885.

Mr. Codman maintains that Mormonism with all its extravagances enforces the doctrines of Christianity; that polygamy, forming no part of its original canonical teachings, is no essential part of the system; and that the way to solve the Mormon problem is to sustain the anti-polygamous Mormons, the members of the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints," who number, in this country and in Europe, about 18,000, and encourage them to do missionary work in Utah. "Would you," he asks, "sweep away, were it possible, the original and harmless heresy of Joseph Smith, and thus deprive a whole people of a religion which still in all respects but one may be as acceptable to God as any professed by yourselves,—a religion, at any rate, which produces industry, sobriety, and brotherly love in this life, and in death the hope of a happy immortality? or will you let Mormonism survive after the poison of polygamy is purged from it?" A letter is given from Joseph Smith, son of the prophet and president of the "Reorganized Church," etc., who says, "If part of the money expended by government and in other churches could be employed by us in maintaining a few efficient men to labor in the Territory, we could probably make better returns *pro rata* than have been realized to the government so far."

THE Art Amateur for March.—Montezuma has some very good things this month, especially a story of John Luck and the Duke of Athol. Why does he break up a subject into paragraphs, when there is no real change in the matter? It serves only to confuse and weary the reader. The description of Mr. Walters' collection in Baltimore is extremely tempting; the sculpture of animals by Mr. Barye would alone be worth a journey to that attractive city. The illustrations in this number are not so attractive as usual. The delicate beauty of a water color is hardly reproduced in the woodcuts, although there are suggestions of much pathos and tenderness in "The Sick Child" and "Nodding on Post." We could well dispense with such subjects as "The Engaged" and "Threads of Gold" in original or copy. Greta writes a lively letter from Boston, which is hopeful of good things. The concluding number of the paper on Wood Engraving is very interesting. This important art has won great victories in our time. It is curious to see how one thing aids another. It was thought that the photographic processes would destroy the engraver's profession; but it has become his ally and assistant, and engraving has improved as rapidly in its processes as the demand for it has increased. There is much elaborate direction for needlework, for those who care for this art.

E. D. C.

THE Unitarian Review for March contains an article from the able pen of Mr. Edwin Mead, on "The Sabbath Question Once More," in which the writer endeavors to show that President Seelye's argument for the Sabbath is unsound. His task was an easy one. We regret that the essay could not appear in a publication read mainly by those who believe in the sacredness of the Sabbath. Mr. Mead has strong words of praise for the institution of the Sabbath, but he wants its observance placed upon the solid grounds of utility and man's constitution rather than trusted to the debatable appeal to Scripture authority." We presume Mr. Mead is in favor simply of Sunday as a day of rest and recreation and of worship for those who wish to use it in that manner, and is opposed to all "Sabbath laws" which compel religious observance of the day or forbid on that day any act, because of the assumed religious character of the day,—laws such as Mr. Holland showed recently, in *The Index*, disgrace the statute-books of Massachusetts. The other articles in this number are "William Henry Channing," by James Freeman Clarke; "A Story of Some French

Liberal Protestants," by Rev. A. P. Putnam, D.D.; "Some Old Records," by Rev. W. H. Pierson; and "John Ruskin, Economist," by Rev. D. Munro Wilson. The "Editor's Note-book" and "Review of Current Literature" are unusually readable, and add to the interest and value of the number.

In the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Dr. Holmes definitely opens his "New Portfolio," which is exceedingly engaging. Besides the three serials by Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Jewett, and Mr. Craddock, there are several papers which are of value to thoughtful readers. The chief of these, a sketch by Clara Barnes Martin, called "The Mother of Turgeneff," gives a curious account of the early influences which surrounded the great novelist, and a strikingly vivid, but not altogether pleasing picture of Russian home life fifty years ago. Two scholarly articles, "Time in Shakspeare's Comedies," by Henry A. Clapp, and "The Consolidation of the Colonies," by Brooks Adams, an almost painfully realistic story by Bishop, called "The Brown-stone Boy," and a delightful Mexican travel paper, with the grateful title of "A Plunge into Summer," by Sylvester Baxter, complete the longer articles of the number. The continuation of the papers on Madame Mohl must not be forgotten. There are, besides, poems, careful book reviews, and short notices, together with the Contributors' Club. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE Catholic World for March opens with a paper on "Carlyle as Prophet," Part I., by Rev. A. F. Hewitt; "On Christian Childhood," translation from Chateaubriand, by H. T. Henry; "Ireland's Argument," by James Redpath; "Common Sense versus Scepticism," by A. T. Marshall; "Stray Leaves from English History, A.D. 1570-95," by S. Hubert Burke; "A Fashionable Event," by Richard Power; "The Historical Value of Family Names," by C. M. O'Keefe; "Daybreak," by A. M. Baker; "Solitary Island," Part III., chapter 1, by Rev. J. Talbot Smith; "Beatification asked for American Servants of God," by R. H. Clarke, LL.D.; "St. John the Evangelist," by George Rothsay; "Katharine," chapters 26-28, by E. G. Martin; "The Dedication of the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in New York," by Daniel Paul; "Heaven in Recent Fiction," by Agnes Repplier; new publications.

THE English Illustrated Magazine for January and February abounds in illustrations, and contains very interesting and valuable reading matter, including serial stories by Wilkie Collins, W. E. Norris, and Hugh Conway, author of *Called Back*. "Shakspeare's Country" is described by Rose Kingsley, with many illustrations from drawings by Alfred Parsons. In the February number is a description and history of Naworth Castle, situated on the Scottish border, of great historical interest, also profusely illustrated. Continued through both numbers is a most interesting and valuable essay on the Drama and its present outlook, by H. A. Jones. The price of this beautifully printed and engraved magazine is only fifteen cents. Published by Macmillan & Co., New York.

MR. ALFRED H. GUERNSEY, who for a number of years was editor of *Harper's Magazine* and, later, one of the office editors of Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, is now associated with *The Library Magazine*, John B. Alden, publisher, New York. An article from his pen in the February number, on "Constitution and Migration of our Population," is a good example of how a skillful writer can transform the dry pages of a census report, and make them brilliant with interest and instruction. Benson J. Lossing, LL.D., writes in the March number on the question of "Secret or Open Sessions of the Senate." He wields a graceful pen, and what he has to say upon a subject of such interest and importance will deservedly attract attention.

THE contents of the March number of the *Andover Review* are "Optimism," by Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D.; "Reformation Theology," II., by Prof. E. V. Gerhart; "The Man, Thomas Carlyle, at Last," by Hon. D. H. Chamberlain; "The New Psychology," II., by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D.; "The Early Life of Tholuck," by J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D.D.; editorials on "The Crusade against Common Schools," "The Confidence of the Dead," and "Gen. Gordon at Khartoum"; "Theological and Religious Intelligence," and book notices.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

LECKY, the historian, it is stated, stands a fair chance of being elected Principal of the Edinburgh University as successor to Sir Alexander Grant.

THE University of Cairo, Egypt, said to be three hundred years older than Oxford, has ten thousand students, who are being educated for missionaries of the Moslem faith.

A WELL-KNOWN Methodist minister writes us: "I approve of your characterization of Dr. Shedd's recent language in the *North American Review*. To say that God's judgment is 'neither reformatory nor protective,' and that it is 'unmodified by considerations either of utility to the criminal or of safety to the universe,' is, in my judgment, a blasphemy which outranks everything in infidel literature."

REV. JOSEPH COOK's platform last Monday was occupied by himself, who read five letters written, at his request, in reply to the question, "Why do you personally believe the Christian Religion to be a Divine Revelation?" forming "a symposium on Christian evidence," he said; Mrs. Eddy, of "Christian Science" and faith-cure notoriety, who claimed to possess a peculiar power, not merely magnetic or derived from spirits, but the direct working of the Divine Mind within her; and Anthony Comstock, who talked on his favorite theme, obscenity,—a curious combination, indeed. Mr. Cook evidently sees the necessity of this sensational method of attracting attention to sustain interest in "the Monday Lectureship." He is not without ability of a certain kind, but has so many of the characteristics of a humbug that they very much lessen the force of his utterances when he talks sensibly, as he sometimes does.

THE *Catholic Mirror*—quoting from the testimony of a witness before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature as to licentiousness, intemperance, and poverty in Boston—declares that "this, then, is the final result of that stainless Puritanism which boasted of being so much better than the rest of the world," and concludes that "the only stable basis for a true life is the creed of the

Catholic Church." Puritanism, past and present, has sins enough of its own to answer for without being held responsible for all the ignorance and vice of multitudes who know nothing about Puritanism, who are not of Puritan descent, and who were reared under the influences and are now adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. An exchange justly observes: "Boston is not overwhelmingly Puritan or Protestant in its population. Its population is becoming foreign and Catholic. The arch-diocese of Boston—which includes Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Plymouth Counties—reports a Catholic population of three hundred and twenty thousand, the bulk of which, it will hardly be denied, is in Boston. It is not the Puritans who monopolize the liquor business." What is Catholicism doing to counteract, in this city and State, the evil effects of political and ecclesiastical despotism entailed upon us by large additions to our population by immigration from priest-ridden Catholic countries?

THE Fast Day proclamation of Gov. Robinson is about as Scriptural, though not so evangelical as Gov. Butler's and less poetical than Gov. Long's. The spirit of the proclamation expressed in the request that the people supplicate God that "our beloved Commonwealth, reared and perfected by the fathers, may stand before the world the highest ideal in human government of justice, equality, and freedom for all," will have the approval of all good men and women. But of what use are appeals to God, such as our Governor recommends, so long as the people of the State continue to elect to the legislature men of low average intelligence, many of them small politicians, who oppose and defeat important reformatory measures designed and required to help realize the idea of "justice, equality, and freedom for all"? Although he issues this proclamation in accordance with an established custom, the Governor himself probably sees as clearly as anybody that large intelligence, breadth and liberality of thought, political knowledge, moral courage, and sterling honesty are the qualities most needed now in the legislature of Massachusetts. In their absence, no amount of "fasting and prayer" can "secure justice, equality, and freedom for all"; while their presence would, in a few years, lead to important reforms in the government of the State, and go far toward "securing justice, equality, and freedom for all," even though no days of fasting and prayer should be appointed or observed. Indeed, "one of the requirements of justice, equality, and freedom for all" is that such proclamations as that of Gov. Robinson be discontinued. In appointing "a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," calling upon the people of Massachusetts to acknowledge theological dogmas and observe theological practices, the Governor has violated the fundamental principles of secular government, in which only "justice, equality, and freedom for all" are possible. The "highest ideal in human government" will never be reached until the people are left free to follow their own convictions in religious matters without any interference of the State, and the officers

elected by the people be required to confine their official acts and utterances to the legitimate affairs of secular government.

In the list of one hundred and fifty names signed to a remonstrance presented to the Massachusetts legislature against "any further extension of suffrage to woman," we notice the following, which are among the best known: Francis Parkman, LL.D., Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Rev. Brooke Herford, Rev. O. B. Frothingham; Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard College; John Fiske, Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, Rev. E. H. Hall, Rev. F. H. Hedge; Rt. Rev. B. H. Paddock, Bishop of Massachusetts; Rev. J. B. Bodfish, Chancellor Cathedral of Holy Cross; Hon. Charles R. Codman. Mr. Garrison's remarks in regard to this parade of names will be found in another column. On the same occasion, Mr. Blackwell said: "America will not be saved by eminent names. But I will recall a few of our dead heroes whose memory Massachusetts honors, who within twenty-five years have expressed their faith in suffrage for women, and who will outweigh a hundred such lists as are laid before you by the remonstrants: William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Francis Jackson, Charles F. Hovey, Samuel G. Howe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry W. Longfellow, John Pierpont, Stephen S. Foster, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Samuel Bowles, William S. Robinson, Bishop Gilbert Haven, Rev. Jacob Manning, D.D., William Whiting, Franklin Williams, Judge Isaac Ames, Oakes Ames, Amasa Walker, William Henry Channing. Are such men as these likely to have been mistaken?" To this list might have been added hundreds of distinguished names on the side of woman, and among them the following: W. H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Joshua R. Giddings, Benjamin F. Wade, Matthew H. Carpenter, Henry B. Anthony, Carl Schurz, George W. Julian; Governors Claflin, Washburn, Talbot, Banks, Long, and Butler, of Massachusetts; Disraeli, Henry Fawcett, Jacob Bright; Parnell, the Irish leader; Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier; Sir Charles Dilke, Marquis of Salisbury; and Sir Stafford Northcote; John Stuart Mill, Prof. Huxley, Dr. Louis Buchner, Prof. Asa Gray, William T. Harris, Rowland G. Hazard; Prof. Cairns, of England; Chancellor Eliot of Washington University, St. Louis; Prof. Bascom of the University of Wisconsin; Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, of Ann Arbor; Judge E. P. Hurlburt, author of *Human Rights*; Judge R. C. Pitman, of Massachusetts; Judge J. C. Underwood, of Virginia; F. D. Maurice, Thomas Starr King, Samuel Johnson; Bishop Simpson; Revs. Edwin H. Chapin, Henry Ward Beecher, Robert Collyer, Samuel J. May, Phillips Brooks, James Freeman Clarke, H. W. Thomas, and M. J. Savage; Canon Kingsley, Edwin Arnold, Victor Hugo, Björnsterne Björnson, Whittier, T. W. Higginson, George William Curtis, James T. Fields, Henry George, George Jacob Holyoake, Gerrit Smith, Frederick Douglass, and Oliver Johnson, and—but the limits of our space compel us to leave the list only just begun.

UNITARIAN CREEDS.

A month ago, in an article entitled "Which is the Honest Creed?" we quoted certain affirmations of belief which had been printed at *Unity* Office, Chicago, on the cover of tracts, without qualification, as what "Unitarians Assert"; and we put by the side of them the doctrinal portions of the Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference. The two statements did not appear to us to harmonize; and we, therefore, raised the question whether both of them could be regarded as correctly presenting the beliefs of the main body of Unitarians. As we hoped, our question has called forth a reply from Mr. William C. Gannett, who—we trust we divulge no secret that needs to be kept—is the author in chief of the Western affirmations. Mr. Gannett sends his reply, through *Unity*, in the form of an "Open Letter"; and from its columns we very gladly transfer the letter to our own, as really our property. (*Unity* readers, by the way, who do not see *The Index*, have seen only one side of the discussion.) It is so rare, in these later days, that we get anything from Mr. Gannett's pen that we congratulate ourselves on having secured this word from him even in this roundabout way, and though he comes, in part, as our critic. His letter follows:

A Letter to Mr. Potter about Certain Unitarian Affirmations.

Dear Mr. Potter,—I am glad you raised the question in your *Index* editorial (February 19) whether the "Unitarian Affirmations," printed in our little five-cent hymn-book, were true for most Unitarians; and I think your main point well made. It would be fairer to say in some way that that Statement of Faith represents many, rather than all, Unitarians; and, if the others concerned in making it agree, some such word shall go into future copies, perhaps into those already printed. But the others may not feel any need to qualify it.

It is so taken for granted in the Unitarian family that none can try to make an authoritative statement of belief for others without thereby ceasing to be Unitarian, that one easily overlooks the importance of saying this each time he sets forth the Faith to strangers.

But I must add something. I do not think that "creed" nearly so unfair to the majority of Unitarians as you imply: the unfairness that I feel concerns a minority. For I believe not only that very many East as well as West would hail those Affirmations as a noble wording of their noblest faiths, but that a real majority of us would accept them as a *minimum* statement; i.e., as one not wholly satisfactory and adequate, one they would themselves draw up, but as one that states nothing they do not believe, and that does state the central and most vital parts of what they do believe. "*Minimum*," as essences are *minima*.

For instance, as to the five points you select for special criticism,—Jesus, Bible, Immortality, Free Thought, Names that divide "Religion,"—on three of these I should answer to your query *yes*, where you are expecting *no*. I think that the majority of Unitarians to-day do "regard Jesus as only the greatest of the historic Prophets of Religion,"—though, you know, the word "only" is your own, it is not in the Affirmations, which aimed to be as little negative and limitative as possible; and that the old and now misleading titles "Lord" and "Son of God" cover no more than *that* to most of those who still use the titles, and even to most of those who degrade them into shibboleths. But that prophetic ranking still leaves honest room for differing degrees of appreciation. I think the majority do "place all bibles of all religions together, to be judged alike by the standards of

Reason and Right"; but this leaves room for valuing the Hebrew and Christian bible either below or above the other historic bibles. It is poor logic and poor taste and faint-heartedness, but not real misbelief about the bibles, that makes so many ministers read but one—one book from all literature!—at their church services. And I think that to the majority of us "all names that divide 'Religion' are of comparatively little consequence,"—though the adverb, I see, a little blurs the meaning here, which was, "All names that divide 'Religion' are to them of little consequence compared with *it*." Many emphasize and over-emphasize the names "Christian" and "Unitarian," but I think the majority of even these would thoughtfully allow that "Religion" is still the greater word, as in itself covering most of all they value most.

As to Immortality, probably most of us, as you hint, would call their "hope" a "faith." I could hardly tell, for myself, which is the exacter word to express the sort of trust. You know the American Unitarian Association published Chadwick's sermon, "The Immortal Hope,"—its only tract, I think, directly on the subject. "In that hope we rejoice," our affirmation safely said.

And as to Free Thought, of which we said that "Unitarians trust it, they trust it everywhere, they only fear thought bound," the question by which you seek to test the truth of that strong statement includes other bearings, it seems to me, than simply those which our words involve. That is the one sentence, however, about whose truth I felt a little doubt,—it is so very strong; but I have a good deal less doubt that most Unitarians would claim it to be wholly true. You ask, "Has any general representative body of Unitarians ever expressed this trust to the extent of declaring that the limits of their religious fellowship should be as wide as freedom of thought in the search for truth?" I know of none that has expressed it in those set terms; but as coupled with two other emphases, if possible still more important,—the spirit of Love, and the attempt to right the wrong in self and in society,—I think it is implied in the motto of our Western Unitarian Conference, "Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion," and still more specifically in the constitutions of several of our Western State Conferences.

But, as you well know, few of us are wholly logical in such matters as you ask about in your editorial; and the lack of logic isn't mainly lack of "honesty." Instead of saying with you, of the beliefs represented by the Preamble, etc., of the National Conference, and those affirmed in our little hymn-book, "Both of these statements cannot be true of the generality of Unitarians," I suspect the precise opposite is the fact: that both statements are true of the generality, and they do not feel their inconsistency.

If Unitarians believed more mightily what they do believe, the proportions of emphasis would alter for them: the great things would ring out great, and the small things would ring out small! "O ye of little faith!" keeps coming into mind. Not "pale negations," as Emerson put it, but *pale affirmations* describes us. Truly, we have our great ideas; but, if our great ideas had us, we should know that we could put no wind behind them so strong as would arise by saying, each and all, and all together, that our one Supreme Idea is "Ethics, and the Great Faith to which Ethics leads,—Faith in the Moral Order of the Universe, Faith in All-ruling Righteousness." Then all other ideas and names—God, Immortality, Jesus, Bible, and the rest—would find their own due places and proportions of importance. Then, for the first time, we might be able to make outsiders understand "what Unitarianism is." Then, in the National Confer-

ence, "Article X." would become the Preamble: at present, the pyramid is standing on its apex, with its broad base in the air. And then it might be even possible to put forth in National Conference a "Statement of Unitarian Faith," the "Unitarian Affirmations"; for we should frankly say, Within that Supreme Idea for which we stand, all counting it supreme, we freely differ about this and that which others make supreme, some of us believing more, some less,—and we could tell the range. The world would listen in amaze; and we should be "atheists" for fifty years, and then in that sign should begin to conquer.

Truly yours,

W. C. GANNETT.

Since Mr. Gannett concedes our "main point" to have been "well made," there is little occasion to add anything further to the discussion. With regard, however, to his argument that the "Affirmations" fairly represent the views of a majority of the Unitarian body,—at least, that a majority could unite in them as "*a minimum statement*,"—we wish to say that it seems to us to rest too much on individual impressions to have very much weight. On looking steadily at certain phases of modern Unitarianism, we, too, might easily believe that such a broad statement as this is not merely a prophecy, but a fact; that it fairly represents Unitarian beliefs even to-day. These phases are specially conspicuous in the limits of the Western Conference, and yet are not wholly there. The recent announcement that the American Unitarian Association is to publish a selected volume of sermons of Theodore Parker, and the actual publication, already, by the Unitarian Sunday School Society in Boston of Edward H. Hall's book on the Gospels, which does not differ essentially from Parker's view of the Gospels, are promising pieces of blue sky in other quarters. Many other signs of the denomination's progress in the last twenty years are apparent. But, as we pointed out in the previous article, the Western Conference includes only a small minority of the Unitarian churches of the country. And the publication of the Parker volume and of Mr. Hall's Sunday-school manual only means, probably, that such views have a right to official recognition within the denomination, and not that the majority of Unitarians are ready to accept them. When we heard, as recently happened, a Unitarian conference—not an irresponsible choir in a corner, but a whole conference—singing the old hymn,—

"All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown him Lord of all!"

we could not help feeling that, to the large body of Unitarians, Jesus is still somewhat more than one in the natural line of humanity's prophets, though the greatest. These impressions from individual observations, however, on one side or the other, cannot be regarded as such trustworthy evidence of the position of the denomination as is that almost unanimous vote by which, in 1882, the National Conference, a strictly representative body, declared that its Constitution and Preamble "fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches." Nor can we so readily believe, as Mr. Gannett seems to do, that to this majority, who tenaciously cling to the titles of "Lord" and "Son of God" for Jesus, these titles are only metaphors, meaning simply that in a natural group of great men, such as Zoroaster, Confucius, Sakya-Muni, Socrates, Jesus, Mohammed, Jesus is greatest.

But, however this may be, in his closing paragraph, Mr. Gannett puts in noble words a noble aspiration. We wish that, in pursuance of it, he would go to the next National Conference, and

make the effort to persuade it to rescind its Preamble and the whole mosaic of Articles growing therefrom, and to adopt in their stead the simple affirmation that it is a union of churches and societies whose "Supreme Idea is Ethics and the Great Faith to which Ethics leads,—Faith in the Moral Order of the Universe, Faith in All-ruling Righteousness." Should such an effort meet with success, it would solve the riddle of Unitarian creeds.

WM. J. POTTER.

CHURCH CUSTOM vs. BIBLE DOCTRINE.

The inspiration of the Bible, by which is meant the absolute correctness of all its statements, whether of fact or doctrine, is one of the points most strenuously and most frequently insisted on by the orthodox clergy. Nevertheless, strange to say, some of their habitual assumptions, declarations, and courses of action are in direct contradiction of things asserted or things enjoined in that idolized book. For instance:—

1. Rev. Dr. Austin Phelps, writing in the *Congregationalist* of February 5 on the duty of solemnity of demeanor in the house of worship, talks of the "sacredness of the house of God," and calls it "the house where God dwells," seeming utterly unconscious of the fact that his infallible Bible declares that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.

2. It is everywhere assumed by the orthodox clergy that "the age of miracles is past." But the last chapter of Mark's Gospel gives us the express declaration of Jesus, in his last meeting with his apostles, that miracles are to continue without limitation of time, and to be performed, not by the apostles only, but by any believer. These are his words as reported by Mark: "These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and, if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

Moreover, explicit injunctions in regard to the treatment of sick Christians are given in the inspired Epistle of James, in the words following, "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."

No promises in the New Testament are more distinct, no injunctions more explicit, than those above quoted; yet the orthodox clergy ignore and disregard them. They neither repeat and enforce these inspired commands in preaching or private exhortation, nor attempt themselves to perform the miracles in question when members of their families or of their flocks fall sick. Instead of this, they do, and recommend to others to do, the very thing discountenanced by both Old and New Testaments; namely, "seeking not to the Lord, but to the physician," one who makes no pretence of inspiration. Nay, more, when some obscure sect or some individual with faith like a grain of mustard-seed follows the Scriptural injunction, and proves faith by corresponding works, these reverend gentlemen join the unregenerate world in denouncing them as superstitious and criminal.

3. I will mention, finally, a case of divergence between clerical teaching and Biblical command still more peculiar and noteworthy than the above. On the subject of Sabbath keeping, the two parts of the infallible Bible teach two doctrines so diverse as to be incompatible with each other,—the Old Testament enjoining observance of the seventh day of the week by rest, and the New Testament allowing Christians to observe or not observe a Sabbath at their pleasure. The orthodox clergy,

really disregarding both these teachings of Scripture, have manufactured a claim that the first day of the week must be sacredly observed by worship, pretending this duty to be enjoined by the Bible, though nothing like it is found in either Testament.

It is a curious matter for inquiry, and one in which, from year to year, more and more people are interested. Why do the reverend clergy thus openly violate the rule which they pretend to follow, which they emphasize as the right rule for their parishioners to follow, and which they insist upon most strenuously when cases arise of individual disloyalty to their creed and customs? The answer is that the church creed and the church custom have practically, though not avowedly, become their rule of action. When we remember that this creed and these customs have been formed under the guidance of the clergy, it might even be said by their choice and will, and when we notice that the violations of Scriptural rule in question are of a sort to increase the influence and strengthen the authoritative position of the clergy, there seems good reason to believe that the answer above given is the correct one.

It is exceedingly important to the average minister that a fair proportion of his congregation should regularly attend his Sunday services. Since scarcely one in ten of the clergy of any denomination has eloquence or other attractiveness enough to draw hearers as a popular lecturer or a popular singer draws them, the average congregation will be apt to dwindle, unless some powerful influence is brought to bear, and kept in active operation, to draw or drive them into their pews. The unattractive average minister does not have to invent or to search for such a motive power. An energetic one exists, ready shaped to his hand, formed for the very purpose in question by his early clerical predecessors. In fact, he himself and all those whom he wishes to gain as hearers have been brought up from their childhood to believe that Sunday is "God's day," that the parish meeting-house is "God's house," that he who stands in the pulpit is "God's ambassador," that the book from which he reads is "God's word," and that to listen to him on that day and in that place is the divinely appointed duty of the people. To insist on these points, then, with appropriate solemnity in the pulpit, in the prayer-meeting, in the Young Men's Christian Association, in the publications of the American Tract Society, and in the weekly papers self-styled "religious," is the obvious (not to say the only practicable) method of filling the pews, and keeping the credit of being "God's ambassador," an authoritative guide of the people in matters moral and spiritual. No novel assumption needs to be made, no new attitude of authority taken: all the claims above mentioned are as old as the Westminster Catechism, which the writer, in his childhood, was obliged to commit to memory, and repeat every Sunday afternoon, and which since that time has been over and over again reprinted, with its dishonest array of "Scripture proofs," by ministers who saw that their fraternity needed such help. In fact, Mr. Worldly-wise-man himself could devise no instrumentality better fitted than this to accomplish its purpose. If the young children of a parish are taught to receive as axiomatic truths, and fasten firmly in their memories, the notions that Sunday is God's day, that the meeting-house is God's house, and that the man who has been hired to preach there at that time is God's ambassador, a great step will have been taken toward the quiescence of the parish for thirty years more under its old creed and its old customs. And, if this policy is skillfully followed up in the denominational paper

(say the *Congregationalist*) by commendation of the writers who support these notions, and depreciation of those who show reasons for questioning them, and persistent exclusion of such reasons from its own columns, and hints that such critical investigation as that of Rev. Heber Newton in this country and of Rev. Dr. Samuel Davidson in England comes perilously near to infidelity, then the probability is strong that the pews will be filled and the pulpit sustained for another generation.

It would seem that the orthodox clergy ought either to conform their language and conduct to the teaching of the Bible, or to justify their divergence from portions of that teaching by candidly admitting the human origin of the books, the numerous errors, both of fact and of doctrine, incorporated in them, and the need of discriminating, as Heber Newton has done, between the right and the wrong uses of them. Until our ministers do one or the other of these things, whether they should be called dishonest or not, it is quite certain that they are untrustworthy.

C. K. WHIPPLE.

PRINCE BISMARCK AND HIS KALEIDOSCOPE.

The member of the German Parliament who conducts a stranger into the gallery is careful to inform him that the present quarters are temporary. Germany will soon have a splendid environment for its legislators. Since the timely French milliards came by the remorseless roulette of war, Berlin has been steadily transformed. The city which Goethe ridiculed and Heine hated has now become a world-city. Not only is it the best-governed city in Europe, but it is becoming one of the most beautiful; yet here and there a fragment of provincial Berlin remains, and one of these is the big Quakerish room where the Reichstag meets. Its ugliness is not altogether unpleasant, however, when one discovers that it is comfortable, well-lighted, and of excellent acoustic qualities. When one has taken his seat in the gallery, and has spread out before him the plan of the assembly, so that every seat can be noted at a glance and the name and politics of its holder known, he perceives that, if in one sense the room is without decoration, in another it is highly variegated. There are ten political groups, each distinguished on the map by a color: the German Liberal party, numbering 60, scarlet; the National Liberals, 49, green; the Social-Democrats, 24, red; the Centre, 106, slate; the People's party, 7, sage; the Alsace-Lorraine members, 15, purple; the German Conservatives, 76, indigo; the German Imperialists, 28, rose; the Poles, 16, light blue; those belonging to no party, 8, yellow. From the seat of the Speaker,—who works hard, by the way, and on no salary,—the parties ray out, beginning with the leaders, among whom one is glad to see on the Left Prof. Virchow, just entered on the seat of the Jew-baiting court preacher. By his side is the large, red-haired Bamberger, whom the Conservatives dread. In front is thick-set Dr. Windhorst in clerical dress, beside a Frankenstein who is not easily raised. Among the leaders is Moltke, unchanged in appearance since I saw him on the battle-field in France,—still, as a lady next me graphically describes him, a "Death in uniform." One sees a large number of good heads in this assembly; one hears more terse and fluent speaking than in the English House of Commons, with far less noise in the way of assent or dissent. But there is no doubt that Prince Bismarck was correct in describing it the other day as "a kaleidoscopic assembly," however doubtful may have been the wisdom of his course in disregarding its will on that account. The result has already suggested

that it would be wiser to study Goethe's famous Science of Colors, and try by the like method to classify these political hues and shades of his kaleidoscope, so as to discover the secret of their unity and the law of their harmony.

Prince Bismarck has recently expelled several correspondents of foreign journals from Berlin, with the natural result of placing an iron collar around the necks of those who remain. From a political point of view, letters for publication sent from the German capital have been so reduced in value that it is well enough to advise my reader that I am writing out my Berlin notes on a bank of the Neva. When I had an interview with the German Chancellor just before the battle of Gravelotte, he told me that, if I would be safe, I must keep near the king; and I found it good advice, although his Majesty is now portrayed at that battle with bombs bursting around him. But now, in order to be safe, a voracious writer must keep a frontier between himself and the Emperor. Such is Bismarck's latest notification.

On Tuesday and Friday last, January 8 and 9, I sat in the gallery of the Reichstag and listened to two debates which have supplied Europe with matter of discussion. The subjects before the Parliament in each case concerned national expenditure. In such matters, the German empire has inherited the ideas of economy belonging to Prussian traditions. Somebody once said that Prussia had starved itself into a great country. The Reichstag still jealously watches every mark of the national treasury. The first day's debate related to some small domestic economies, and the warmth with which they were discussed reminded me of a play which I saw in Berlin fifteen years ago. This play was called, I think, "The Muttonburgers," and showed the magnates of a remote village in council beneath the scales of justice,—iron scales held by a plaster ballet-dancer, whose eyes were bandaged with a handkerchief,—the subject being some village improvement for which three hundred thalers were demanded. The councillors disputed as hotly as if the amount had been three millions, and I think they came to blows. In this Reichstag debate also, they finally came to blows—in a metaphorical way. But I perceived that it was not really the money that was causing the excitement. Prince Bismarck has so repeatedly disregarded the will of the "kaleidoscopic assembly" in everything subject to the imperial prerogative that he has left that body no weapon wherewith to strike him, save its indisputable authority over the national purse-strings. Its refusal of five thousand dollars, to enable him to employ an assistant in the Foreign Office, was the Legislature's resentment for the degree to which he has lowered it. And now a discussion on the estimates for the Interior suddenly broke out into a tempestuous altercation about the new colonial policy of the government. A Social-Democrat spoke bitterly of the effort of the government to get rid of its children instead of providing occupation for them at home, and a Radical ascribed the enormous increase of emigration to the protective tariff. Then Prince Bismarck arose,—he had to say something,—and uttered the paradox that increasing emigration is a sign of increasing prosperity. This nonsense may be attributable to the fact that the debate was sprung upon the Chancellor. This being the first day after the holidays, it was not supposed that anything so important would be brought forward. The colonial debate was set down for the following day. Prince Bismarck, having suffered himself to be surprised into a speech, was speedily floored by a man he particularly detests,—Herr Richter. This man—a striking figure, in two senses, of the Extreme Left—

owed the Prince a personal blow for having recently said (as he has often said to critics, when they became personal) that he refrained from replying to him (Richter) as he deserved, for the sake of good breeding. But, on this occasion, he could reserve it, being able, with the utmost politeness, to illustrate Bismarck's new theory of emigration resulting from prosperity by pointing to the notoriously poor districts of Germany, which chiefly supply the emigrant ship, and to Ireland. Finally, he raised a laugh on the Prince by asking, "If emigration is a sign of the nation's prosperity, what will become of us when the climax of prosperity is reached?" Bismarck diverted attention from his discomfiture by announcing that the duties on corn are to be raised. "Dear bread and more emigration," was Richter's comment, with the applause of his party. "We now know the bribe to be offered the farmers at the next election. We take up the gauntlet you throw down, Herr Reichskanzler!" "I object to being apostrophized in this unceremonious way," exclaimed Bismarck, with warmth, "and must request Herr Richter to observe parliamentary etiquette more carefully."

On the following day, the Reichstag was fairly full at the hour of meeting,—one o'clock: and the buzz of conversation before the president sounded his bell was rather louder than on the previous day. No sound drew attention to Bismarck when he entered, not even yesterday, when the assembly first convened after the Christmas adjournment. The House of Commons would have rung with applause at Gladstone's entrance after a vacation. It was rarely that Bismarck, when speaking, elicited a "bravo," even from his own wing of the Reichstag. The first matter mentioned was the appointment of a Governor for newly annexed Kammeroon, and the salary to be paid him. I could not quite gather how that was disposed of, or who is to be the unhappy man sent out there. Kammeroon is a desert, and they who go there to remain may abandon hope. Once, when Lord Palmerston had appointed somebody to a post in a malarious region, the official asked, "What is the pension on retirement?" Palmerston bluntly answered, "That question has never arisen." It is not likely to arise in several of these new German annexes, certainly not in Kammeroon. The Reichstag did not seem inclined to stint the heroic Governor so long as he may last. But, on the main question of the day, the opposition made a stand, and by a majority of seven defeated Bismarck again. The proposition was to add 50,000 marks (\$12,500) to the 100,000 (\$25,000) annually devoted to the scientific exploration of Africa. This demand had been submitted by the government to the Budget Committee, which reported unfavorably on it through Dr. Von Bunsen, who opened the subject in a neat and clear speech. Bismarck desired the Reichstag to decree the increase, his opponents to recommit the matter to the Committee, which was eventually done. The majority did not appear disinclined to give the money, and it will probably be voted; but there was a determination to wrangle for a time over the new colonial policy of the government, and that was achieved. The famous Catholic leader, Dr. Windhorst, spoke three times, and proved himself a formidable opponent. He did not object to exploration or to colonization or to paying money; but he thought the places the government was selecting for colonies were poor, barren, and destined to prove useless. In Windhorst's speeches, and in many others of the long debate, there was plainly perceptible a suspicion that Bismarck was appealing to German vanity instead of securing real advantages; that he wished the astonished world to

echo his "What a great man am I!" but without pulling out any real plums from the world-pie. A humorous turn was given to the debate by Herr Hartwig, of Dresden, who said that he was glad to vote for the additional money. He thought colonization a capital thing,—it might take off a good many people whom they would all be glad to get rid of at home. Then it would open markets for German products. There were, for instance, many varieties of colored paper made in Berlin which the Japanese bought to cut into strips, and lay on the tombs of their dead. It is to be hoped that, among the Africans, tribes may be found with a similar fondness for decorating graves with Berlin colored papers. Hartwig put the Reichstag into a good humor, but Richter again rubbed the government with teasing till he had to be called to order.

During the larger part of the discussion, Prince Bismarck did not seem to be paying any attention to what was said, but was fumbling over some large printed documents, on which he every now and then wrote something with a pen or pencil whose handle was a foot long. But, while Hartwig was speaking, I observed that he was shaking with laughter; and once, when he rose to reply to a sharp speech, he shook slightly with another kind of excitement. He does not speak very well. He has stiffness without repose, and often clears his throat audibly. His only gesture is a rapid, nervous, and continuous movement of the right hand or fist in a small circle. With his stately ways and his military costume, it is impossible not to think of the peacock train. On the other hand, it must be said that he is handsome, his snow-white hair and moustache having softened his face since it appeared on the battle-fields; and there is a certain *bonhomie* about his countenance which contrasts curiously with the "lean and hungry face of ever-silent Moltke." ("Would he were fatter!") What Bismarck says is interesting enough,—the Reichstag listens breathlessly to his every word; but, when one comes to think over it, he finds the speech interesting mainly because Bismarck uttered it. "I am not an individual, but an event," he once said. Even so these speeches of his which I heard were not individual: they contained no ideas,—except that absurd one about prosperity shown by emigration,—but they were impressive, because everybody felt that Europe was listening, that every word was an event. He is an imposing person: when he enters, all the hundreds of necks are bent over the gallery; but he is not loved in Germany.

He was careful, by the way, in the last speech I heard to say something friendly toward America; but it did not strike me as candid,—perhaps, because it is certain that one of his main reasons for working up the colonial fever is his desire to keep Germans from emigrating to America. There the products of their labor are out of his reach, their sons cannot be claimed for military service, and all they send back is a progressive influence, a republican inspiration,—not agreeable to a monarchy resting on faith in its divine right. There is some reason to suspect that Bismarck's amenities toward America just now cover an ulterior purpose connected with the gathering together of predatory powers about the helpless form of Africa. There was a kind of sanction in the presence among them of the American eagle, which has a reputation for never stooping from the heights of freedom and equality. All signs portend, however, that the Congo Conference is about to establish in Africa a group of embryonic monarchies, a miniature Europe armed to the teeth, and with as little right as if the joint establishment were to be in Mexico. The American

Minister at Berlin has no apprehension of this kind, but there are other Americans of diplomatic experience who have.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE CONCEPTION OF LIFE.

I.

In one of the first chapters of his *Principles of Biology*, Mr. Herbert Spencer has arrived at what appears to me the most complete definition of life until now formulated. And yet, while conceding to this definition, representing life as the result of a "continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations," the value which it justly deserves, I cannot rest fully satisfied with it. For not only does this definition appear to include the processes of death as well as those of life, but, even assuming that this "continuous adjustment" of internal to external relations is to be understood to take place under the influence of a power inhering and proceeding from within the living organism (a qualification which the definition does not state), it still seems to me plainly evident that the continuous mere "adjustment" of relations, while possibly sufficing to maintain intact any life already existing, can in no wise tend to increase, but must rather incline to diminish, its quantity. That life might be increased quantitatively, it would be necessary that the sum total of the changes at any time taking place in the internal relations of the living being should not only be adequate to, but that it should be in excess of, the hostile demands of the sum total of all simultaneously eventuating changes in the environment.

As the comparatively perfect co-ordination of its so heterogeneous constituent materials and actions would seem to indicate, the organized living being is to be considered as a *chemical and dynamical plexus of multiform modes of matter and motion*; and what is commonly understood by "vital force" is but the fact of the *con-inertia of the plexus*. But what, we must here further ask, is the true nature of the secret force by which this unity and con-inertia of the plexus of life is established and maintained?

There was a time when science did not venture to propose a solution for any of the problems of life. But, in the course of the current century, science has fashioned the lens of a new thesis of extraordinary power. Viewing the organic world in the light of its focus, we have accustomed ourselves to regard the specific differences of its countless forms, and their relative advance toward an undefined but none the less real standard of ideal perfection, as the inevitable result of a never-ending competitive strife for the necessitous objects of desire,—food, safety, and reproduction,—an unceasing struggle for existence, in which the fittest must survive, the unfittest become extinct. But, passing strange, it seems to me that the extension of this law to the eternal conflict between the abstract forces of life and death themselves has been either unaccountably overlooked or realized only with a force entirely incommensurate with the importance of this wider meaning of the struggle.

Materially the union of the plexus of life is maintained by the assimilation of foods, dynamically by that of forces acting upon the living being from without. But, in the course of this process, instead of the internal relations of the living being adjusting themselves to the external relations of its environment, it is rather the latter which accommodate themselves to the former. And, in so doing, they lose their external character; they become the loyal subjects of the autocratic power of the form; they submit themselves to the sway of life, of which they henceforth are a part. Assimilation, in the true philosophic sense of that

word, is the most perfect mode of conquest of environment matter and force by the environed being of which the latter is capable. It is the complete conversion of hostile powers of nature into a loyal allied host.

The cannibal engages in a personal contest of strength with his antagonist, kills him, cooks him, and eats him. But having thus

"Mong social pleasures, round the roast,
Consumed his enemy on toast,"

the assimilated muscles of the latter are employed to maintain or possibly even increase his own strength, and are thus pressed into service as willing allies against the still living friends of his well-digested, late political opponent. In a more advanced state of civilization, such as that of certain species of ants, the conquered forces of the enemy are only in part consumed as food. Another portion is deliberately set apart and trained to the office of intelligent slave-cohorts, always ready, should the political exigencies of their masters demand it, to be hurled against the very state and nation to whom their allegiance is, by birth, legitimately due. In a civilization still more advanced, cannibalism entirely disappears, and only the enslavement of prisoners of war remains. Finally, even this enslavement is eliminated; and, in our day, we rely solely on the force of the annexation of conquered territory to accomplish the complete subjection, the political assimilation of its inhabitants. Digestion in the stomach of the personal conqueror has developed into digestion in the stomach of the social conqueror.

Whenever food is assimilated, it takes upon itself the structure of the tissues into the composition of which it enters. Whenever force (or motion) is assimilated, it accommodates itself to the rhythm of the dynamic plexus. All that is assimilated serves to sustain and extend the power of form of the organism by which it has been taken up. This power of form (*morphocratism*), be it considered in its elements or its totality, constitutes the essential central power in life.

To what extent this power of form is a ruling power is best seen by the examination of another phase of its activity, that of reproduction and inheritance (heredity). When we consider one of those cases in which a son appears physically and mentally to resemble the father only, and take into account the minuteness of the spermatozoon by which this form has been conveyed, we may well be struck dumb with wonder at its vast power. Without entering here into the details of a calculation, the weight of a human spermatozoon may be roughly estimated at one two-thousand-millionth of a grain. Taking the weight of the adult son to be in round figures one million grains (about 143 lbs.), it would thus appear that, in this hypothetical case, this mass of matter has been brought under the complete morphocratic sway of a particle of possibly less than one-two-thousand-billionth ($\frac{1}{2000000000000}$) of the former's weight! But, wheresoever the manifestations of power may be concentrated, there it is also that its source should be sought for. And for this reason it is in the power of form to impress itself upon any matter with which it may come in contact,—the principle of *morphocratism*,—that we seek for the essence of life.

In one of the opening chapters of the book already referred to, the author very properly states, in language which I cannot now exactly recall, but to the effect that the logical standard by which the value of any definition is to be estimated should be that it shall not only include the greatest possible extent of the domain of fact sought to be defined, but that it must also exclude the greatest possible extent of the territory foreign

to the former's sovereignty. And, measured by this standard, how will our location of the essence of life be judged?

That this definite location is correct for all forms of undisputed animal or vegetal citizenship seems to me so clear as scarcely to need further elucidation. But, we must ask, is this essential principle of the morphocratic power confined to the organic world exclusively, or does it likewise invade inorganic existence? Does it hold only in the realm of life, and not in that of death as well?

The only phenomenon of inorganic nature in which the morphocratic power makes itself strongly manifest is that of crystallization. Any, no matter how minute, crystalline particle placed in a concentrated solution of the same substance will attract and assimilate other particles which adjust themselves in harmony with its individual and specific form. The crystal so generated feeds itself, and, if the solution is from time to time replaced, may be made to grow indefinitely.

Thus, it would at first sight appear as though our location of the essence of life in the morphocratic power were at fault, as though a line of distinction between life and death could not by its logical aid be drawn. But, before we hastily conclude to regard our efforts in this direction to have been in vain, it will be well to recall the dignity of our purpose, to define *things*, and not mere *words*. While it is true that the word "life," in its popular sense, is only applied to organic forms, is it not possible that it is this restriction of the word which is improper rather than our philosophic conception of the reality before us? Unquestionably, the crystal and the human being are swayed by the same innate central power. But the former "lives" as truly as the latter. *Life manifests itself in two modes, the organic and the inorganic*. Their correspondence and essential unity have been pointed out: marked differences are still to be noted.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that, with but few exceptions, more apparent than real, the crystal can assimilate to its own form only particles of the same or similar composition; while the power of the organic form is capable of binding together the most dissimilar materials to the absolute service of its dynamic unity. In the second place, it is to be noted that every point of the concentrated solution of a crystallizable salt is equally capable of becoming an independent centre of crystalline assimilation. *The morphocratism of the crystal (crystallocratism) is homogeneous and molecular, that of the organic form heterogeneous and molar, in character. The continuity of the life of the organism is due to the molar, that of the inorganic form to the molecular, con-inertia of its dynamic plexus.*

CHARLES FROEBEL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"THE RISE OF INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY," by Frederic May Holland, is for sale at this office. Price \$3.50.

MR. PETER ANNET (from whose pen we gave last week a fine article on "The Dawn of Life") is prepared to deliver scientific lectures, upon application, from places within a hundred miles of this city. His lectures aim to popularize science, and have awakened much interest wherever given. Mr. Annet's address is P.O. Box 2468, Boston, Mass.

In his "interlude," on March 2, Rev. Joseph Cook, speaking of the testimony of atheists in courts of justice, making a distinction between atheists and agnostics, said:—

But, if a man be a real atheist, I do not care to do

business with him. I do not want him at my family table. I do not want my property and life put at his disposal, by his testimony as a witness before any court. [Applause.] In the recent debate on this topic before the Massachusetts Legislature, I confess I should have voted unhesitatingly with the majority, who, as I think, have wisely excluded the testimony of real atheists from admission to courts of justice.

Of course, Mr. Cook would have voted with the majority. We may know with reasonable certainty, in advance of any utterance by him, about where he stands on a question involving the rights of free thinkers. Notwithstanding his indorsement of the action of the Massachusetts Legislature in refusing to repeal a most unjust law, we believe with the *Boston Transcript* that "in a few years the yeas and nays will be curious reading." As the *Nation* observes: "No man conducts his business or his social life on the assumption that atheists are untruthful or dishonest; and to administer justice so as to deprive him of important testimony in his favor, on such a theory, is monstrous as well as barbarous." Of the same purport is the following from the *Christian Register*: "The assumption that a man who is an agnostic or an atheist is therefore incapable of telling the truth in a court of justice is one of those legal outrages which the laws of Massachusetts still perpetuate. Any such witness in her courts may have his testimony discredited. It is time that this relic of superstition was abolished; and Massachusetts, which has done so much for the development of civil liberty, should have been the first to remove it."

It is stated that Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman has been summoned to New York to act as "spiritual adviser" to Gen. Grant,—not at his instance, but to gratify some of his pious relatives and friends. According to published reports, he has never been concerned about his condition after death; and "there is no reason to suppose that the nearness of death has made any change, though his wife is very solicitous that he should arouse to mental activity on the subject. 'He does not, apparently, bother himself about the life hereafter,' says one trustworthy informant, 'seemingly, being willing to take his chance with the millions who have gone before him, in the same frame of mind.'" Although Gen. Grant in health and strength, has been, and even now is indifferent to theological matters, it is not to be supposed that a man so distinguished and honored will be permitted to die without furnishing, consciously or unconsciously, in word or act, some kind of a basis for the claim that he died believing and trusting in Christ. A mind enfeebled by sickness has always been regarded by the orthodox clergy as peculiarly favorable for the discernment of truth and the reception of grace. Littré, the distinguished Positivist, when reduced by age and illness to actual imbecility, importuned by his wife and urged by priests, consented to receive the sacrament. Some of Littré's friends affirmed that the dying man did not even know what was said or done. Yet news was flashed all over Christendom that the great "infidel" had fallen asleep in the true faith of the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. George Beard, when he died two or three years ago, was made by an attendant the subject of what had the appearance of being a pious fraud; and Joseph Cook, and hundreds of other preachers on his authority, declared that the agnostic died a believer in Jesus Christ, until relatives and friends of the family were compelled, in the interests of truth, to publish a correction. With these facts in mind, we need not expect that any man of fame, greatly honored by the people, who has lived simply unconcerned about religious matters, will be allowed by the

clergy to die without saying or doing something which will enable them to associate his name with the faith they represent.

At the monthly meeting of the Unitarian Club at the Hotel Vendome, on the evening of the 11th inst., Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, who presided, in a speech introductory to the general after-dinner speaking, said that the Unitarian Church was not a proselyting body, that it recognized the members of all the rival sects, the Roman Catholic included, as members of one brotherhood, and, respecting their main tenet, it had no disposition to disrupt the several organizations to which they hold allegiance. But he suggested the query whether it was not the duty of the Unitarian Church to seek to proselyte "those who are of no church, who by profession, at least, know no religion, and the number of which seems to be steadily increasing." Rev. E. E. Hale maintained that the Unitarian Church should stand for reform and progress, and strive "to bring in the kingdom of God in the particular community where it is situated," and in so doing it would be likely to gain to its membership "those who, having withdrawn from the other churches, now occupy a neutral or indifferent position." The idea of adding to the membership of the Unitarians from those who are now outside of all churches is one to which the leaders of that denomination are likely in the future to give considerable thought.

From those who after religious experience in orthodox churches have withdrawn from them, and now "occupy a neutral or indifferent position," Unitarianism is not, we think, likely to receive any large or valuable accessions. Indeed, additions of "neutral or indifferent" people are more liable to be an element of weakness than of strength. There is nothing in the uncertain creed of Unitarianism that can renew the enthusiasm or revive on a new basis the religious belief of those who have outgrown the positive faith in which they were reared and have become indifferent to religious matters. Such will generally, from business or social considerations, remain silent members of the orthodox churches, or at least will be likely to avoid identifying themselves with heterodox organizations. Those reared in the orthodox churches who become earnestly opposed to theological teachings prefer to browse in freedom outside of all religious organizations. Only, perhaps, after years of isolation, when they have become dissatisfied with the results of an intense individualism and the predominance of the critical and destructive spirit among the majority of Liberals, when they have come to see the great need of united effort in encouraging and strengthening the highest moral convictions, and are strongly influenced by the long repressed demands of their social nature, do they turn to the most liberal society they can find, and work with it and for it. In the West, the Unitarian societies are composed in part—and, in some places, mainly—of Agnostics and other free thinkers, who are attracted to them by the social and moral advantages which they afford, and because they stand for the best liberal thought in the communities in which they live. Not a few of the ministers of these societies are themselves Agnostics, and they are all men of broad and radical thought. Now, perhaps, it is from the liberal class to which we have referred that the speakers at the meeting of the Unitarian Club really expect to obtain the largest accessions. With this object in view, possibly the National Unitarian Conference will yet see the importance of modifying its constitution, so that not only non-Christians, but Agnostics can be members on equal terms with theistic and Christian Unitarians, like Mr. Hale.

AMONG the most careful and interested readers of *The Index*, from the time it was started at Toledo, is a lady living in Providence, R.I., Mrs. Susan F. Fillmore, who was born at Plymouth, Vt., March 12, 1795. When she was in her fourteenth year, her parents removed to New York, where she was sent to an academy at Plattsburg, and where she boarded in the family of Dr. Oliver Davidson, the father of the two precocious Davidson sisters. It was while she was a member of this family that the elder sister, Lucretia, then five years old, made her first attempt at poetical composition in some verses entitled "An Elegy on the Death of a Robin," which were "printed" in capital letters, since she had not learned to write. This poem was found among her playthings by her mother, and Mrs. Fillmore assisted Mrs. Davidson in deciphering it. Later, Mrs. Fillmore was principal of the female department of an academy in Chester, Vt. She was married in 1823. Pressing domestic duties and cares have not prevented her taking a deep interest in philosophical discussion and in all social and moral movements. She was a life member of the Female Anti-slavery Society in Boston, and is an ardent woman suffragist. At the age of ninety, she reads without glasses, and the best literature of the day. Dr. Fillmore, her son, informs us that the philosophical articles from the pen of Mr. W. I. Gill, which have been very difficult reading for some of our subscribers, are those which she has read with the profoundest interest and admiration. She has written a number of poems. To show the breadth of thought and strength of expression of this non-agenarian, we give below a few verses from a poem entitled "A Matron," written in her ninetyeth year:—

Earth's primal races, tribes and nations,
Doubtless, their rude minds perplexed
By pondering the self-same questions
That the modern brain hath vexed.
For of the wondrous cause of nature,
Of primeval light and life,
Each had its own ideal picture
With incongruous fancies rife.
But, from to-day's clear light of science
And philosophy's broad sway,
We trust results worthy reliance
Pristine whims will sweep away.
For not in lore of by-gone ages
Do we find life's problems solved;
Nor yet by late truth-seeking sages
Are grave questions all resolved.
All things have come by evolution,
Say scientists, by laws of force.
This of our query's no solution:
Whence came laws, shaping their course?
Whence sentient life? Is Philosophy
Sure how its first seed was sowed;
Though wise Darwin, like simple Topsy
(By long searching), "suspects we grewed."
Science discloses second causes,
Nor does the first overlook,
But pronounces the Cause of causes
"Unknowable,"—a sealed book.
Is there no science of perception?
Are there no laws of mind,
Of thought, of consciousness, reflection?
Are we intuitively blind?
Though finite mind may never measure
The boundless Infinite,
Yet grand conceptions it may treasure,
Surpassing visual sight.
That a human God has been provided
Seems a preposterous dream,
The question by reason decided
Can admit but *One Supreme*.
Thanks, light has shone on old traditions,
Exposing myths by saints believed;
While science's lucid expositions
Of theories new are wide received.
Yet the great absorbing life-questions—
Its source, design, duration—
Are unsettled, open to suggestions
And doubtful speculation.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

EMERSON: THE PATRIOT.*

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK.

As compared with those who have preceded me in this course of essays, I am at a serious disadvantage. They have brought to you the freshness of their leisured inspiration; but I can only bring the too familiar product of my habitual employment, and at a season when I should be glad to lay the weary pen aside. My theme, moreover, in its general aspect, is one to which I revert so often that it would not surprise me if some of you should say to me of Emerson as Voltaire of Jesus, "Let me never hear that man's name again!" Indeed, the painfulness of my situation reminds me of a story of the old age of George III. For his weariness and feeble-mindedness, his physicians prescribed an hour's reading every day by one of Queen Charlotte's ladies in waiting, a young and very charming person. The senescent king had come to reckon a good deal upon this entertainment; and one day at the appointed hour, hearing a step along the corridor, he was in a state of most agreeable anticipation. But, alas! the step grew ominously heavy; and, finally, the Queen herself appeared, with book in hand. Thereupon, the king ejaculated, "Nobody but old Charlotte!" and bestowed himself to make good the saying of the playwright French, "Sleep is an opinion." For you to-night there is nobody but old Charlotte in the place of the young and charming readers you have heretofore enjoyed; and, if you follow the example of the king, the parallel will be complete. I shall be sorry, but I shall not be surprised.

The literary side of Emerson as a poet, a scholar, a philosopher, a student of nature, of ethics, of religion, is made evident in one or more of his essays dealing specifically with poetry, scholarship, nature, ethics, or religion; but we have no

lecture or essay from his hand dealing specifically with patriotism and the patriot. Best remembered of anything of his upon this head is the quotation, to which he has given a much wider currency than it had before his day, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel"; and, for the correction of this estimation by his own, we must look at many of his essays and read aright the meaning of his personal career.

It would have been very strange if Emerson had not been a patriot, an American, in his blood and bones. His family roots went down into the soil the entire depth of the English occupation. One of his sixty-two grandfathers, at the seventh remove, was Peter Bulkeley, the original founder of Concord in 1635. "If any one would know what Mr. Peter Bulkeley was," says Cotton Mather, "let him read his Judicious and Savory Treatise of the Gospel Covenant, which has passed through several editions with much acceptance among the people of God." He was the first minister of the Concord church as well as the original settler of the town. His son's daughter married Joseph Emerson, a son of Thomas Emerson, who gathered the first church in Ipswich. Genealogically, then, our Emerson was an American of the seventh generation. Moreover, his ancestors of his own name and many others were Americans of the Americans. They were Congregational ministers; and no other class was so thoroughly identified with the colonial enterprise, so jealous of its rights, so forward to demand its independence of the crown. Five of Emerson's six American ancestors of his own name were ministers. Edward, the missing link, was "some time deacon of the church in Newbury." Emerson's grandfather was minister of the Concord church in Revolutionary times, and he was much given to preaching politics. The Concord fight was simply one of the "applications" of his word of prophecy. The Sunday following the fight, he preached to seven hundred soldiers in the village church, his trumpet giving no uncertain sound. Nothing would satisfy him but to join the army at Ticonderoga, where he sickened before long, and died upon his journey home. Emerson's father had been born in Concord a few years before (in 1769), and Emerson himself was born into the Concord tradition as perfectly as if he had been born upon its sacred soil. But he was born into the Boston tradition also. It was a Boston boy that wrote the Boston Hymn. With such an ancestry, with such associations clinging to his heart, the man was under bonds to be American. So help him God, he could no otherwise. Nothing he ever said, nothing he ever did, was un-American, or betrayed a doubt of the substantial merit of our institutions and their ultimate transcendence of all special limitations. "Here is the home of man," he said; "here is the promise of a new and more excellent social state than history has recorded."

It would not be difficult to discover in his writings here and there expressions which, if taken by themselves, would go far to convict him of an Americanism that was narrow and provincial. His praise of Whittier was that he had never been to Europe. "Travelling is a fool's paradise," he said. "The soul is no traveller." A declaration of American independence could be made out from his writings more thorough than that of Jefferson; more thorough, if possible, than Horace Greeley's,—a declaration of isolation. He would have us not only raise our own cereals and manufacture our own fabrics, and so on: he would have us raise our own literature, manufacture our own arts and sciences, ethics and religion. But the distinction between literature and dogma must be made in Emerson as well as in the older Scriptures. He

dipped his pen in the blackest ink, he tells us, because he was not afraid of falling into his ink-pot. He was not afraid of exaggerating, too much for the impression that he wished to make, the subserenity of our manners and ideas to the European models. He could be just and even kind in dealing with a foreign civilization, when it served his turn. His *English Traits* is a volume that an Englishman must like to read, it has so much of hearty commendation in it mixed with a little blame. Against the French he had a kind of spite, and liked to tell a story to their disadvantage, the story of a duel in the dark. The parties were an Englishman and a Frenchman. The Englishman, not wishing to injure his antagonist, felt his way round to the fireplace, and fired up the flue. Down came the Frenchman, to their mutual surprise! As a typical story, reflecting on the courage of the French, this is as false as possible. But Emerson's admiration of Montaigne and many other Frenchmen was so immense that he corrected his eccentricity in no small degree, and closer acquaintance with the French people would have made him a warm admirer. Their industry, their frugality, their hold upon the soil, would have counted largely in his estimation. Much of the seeming disrespect of Emerson for European customs, manners, laws, was but the expression of his abiding faith in the superiority of soul to circumstance. For the same reason that he was a good American, he would have been a good Englishman or Frenchman or German, if he had been to the English, French, or German manner born. The comparative indifference of places was a favorite article of his creed. He would have the passion for America cast out the passion for Europe, not so much because Europe is an inferior development as because it is not *our* development. He would have America fresh, original, her new garments, like his own forester's, of colors borrowed from the immediate wood and soil,—no harlequin pattern, taking here a patch and there a patch from a decaying past. It was because he loved America so much, because he wished her to have a life, a civilization, a religion of her own, that he sometimes brought a railing accusation against her monkey tricks, her apish mimicry of European customs, manners, arts. "This mendicant America, this curious, peering, itinerant, imitative America, studious of Greece and Rome, of England and Germany, will take off its dusty shoes," he said, "will take off its glazed traveller's cap, and sit at home with repose and deep joy on its face. The world has no such landscape, the æons of history no such hour, the future no equal second opportunity. Now let poets sing! now let arts unfold!"

In the general sweep of his discourse, Emerson is pretty certain to correct whatever aberration he may be guilty of at one point of his orbit or another. Did he announce himself as a discoverer with no past at his back, and would he recommend this personal ideal to the national intellect and taste and to the national conscience? Nevertheless, from first to last, he was a royal borrower, as Dr. Holmes has arithmetically shown, as every reader of him knows; and he did not deny his debt. But all the gold and silver coin that his argosies came heavy-laden with from Europe and from farthest Ind he converted into bullion and reminted every shilling with the stamp of his own individual genius. So, doubtless, in the last analysis, he would have had America enrich herself with the most various plunder of antiquity and foreign parts, if only such *impedimenta* might not, like Atalanta's golden apples, be a hindrance to her in the race; if only they might suggest to her the possibility of nobler manners, purer laws.

*One of a number of essays read in Brooklyn, N.Y., by members of an association connected with the Second Unitarian Church, and now studying various aspects of Emerson's life and thought. Each essay is followed by a discussion.

But Emerson's Americanism was something more than a specific illustration of his general doctrine of the indifference of places. It was a criticism upon this doctrine. It was a deduction from it. His passion for America was in good measure the exponent of his faith that, in this fresh, new world, man has a better opportunity than anywhere in Europe to free himself from the paralyzing spell of old associations, habits, laws, and creeds, and achieve an original relation to the universe. Where do I find the proofs of this relation of his patriotism to his fundamental message to mankind? "Anywhere," as Thoreau said of the Indian arrow-heads. It is not so much here or there in his writings as it is everywhere.

It was as a stupendous possibility that America was a delight to Emerson's imagination, and a satisfaction to his heart. He was no devil's attorney. He never undertook to prove that all her geese were swans; that all her crudities were virtues; that the defects of her excellences were also excellent. Indeed, there has not been a sterner critic of her imperfections and exaggerations. When he begins, "This great, intelligent"—the Fourth of July orators fancy he is become as one of them. But no. The total characterization is, "This great, intelligent, *sensual, avaricious, America*." Our democratic system does not stand in his scheme of values for any absolute and final good. But it has obvious advantages. "The lodging of the power in the people . . . has the effect of holding things closer to common sense; for a court, an aristocracy, which must always be a small minority, can more easily run into follies than a republic, which has too many observers—each with a vote in his hand—to allow its head to be turned by any kind of nonsense, since hunger, thirst, cold, the cries of children, debt, are always holding the masses hard to the essential duties." Carlyle objected to the popular vote that it made Judas count as much as Jesus in the determination of affairs. If Emerson had little patience for such idiocy as this, perceiving that men like planets have their attractions in proportion to their bulk, and that one powerful man will drag along a hundred or a thousand voters in his train; if he saw certain positive advantages in an extended suffrage, saw that it is a safety-valve for popular passions, that they mix with it like nitro-glycerine with clay, losing thereby something of their explosive energy; if he also saw that popular votes are bonds that the more educated give to educate and elevate the less,—nevertheless, in spite of these perceptions, he was not unaware of dangers lurking in the system, as such, nor of various practical illustrations. Our oily politicians did not take him in their cunning snare. Lobbying and being lobbied, "We feel toward them," he says, "as the minister about the Cape Cod farm. In the old time when the minister was still invited, in the spring, to make a prayer for the blessing of a piece of land, the good pastor, being brought to the spot, stopped short,—'No, this land does not want a prayer: it wants manure.'" These politicians are past praying for.

"'Tis virtue which they want; and, wanting it,
Honor no garment to their backs can fit."

"We have seen the great party of property and education in the country," he says, "drivelling and huckstering away for views of party fear or advantage every principle of humanity and the dearest hopes of mankind; the trustees of power only energetic when mischief could be done, imbecile as corpses when evil was to be prevented." This in 1878, his theme "The Fortune of the Republic." But this address was a mosaic, manufactured out of parts of many earlier notes and writings, so that I am inclined to think that the Whig party is

to be understood, and not the Republican; but it may be that he was sterner with the latter than I think.

There are many counts in his indictment of our party politics. "We do not choose our own candidate," he says, "no, nor any other man's first choice, but only the available candidate whom, perhaps, no man loves. . . . The country is governed in bar-rooms and in the mind of bar-rooms." Meantime, the better classes do not what they might to counteract the evil tendencies. "They stay away from the polls, saying that one vote can do no good! Or they take another step and say, One vote can do no harm! and vote for something which they do not approve because their party or set votes for it."

Emerson saw so much and more of limitation and defect in our political system; but he did not despair of the republic,—no, not for an hour. To Matthew Arnold's confidence in "the remnant," the moral and enlightened few, he added an equal confidence in "numbers,"—not as numbers, but as men, whose fundamental instincts are for justice and the common weal. Not only this, but he was impelled to the conclusion that there is a sanity in the constitution of the body politic which corrects the selfishness and folly of the selfish politician. "In our popular politics, you may note," he says, "that each aspirant who rises above the crowd, however at first making his obedient apprenticeship in party tactics, if he have sagacity, soon learns that it is by no means by obeying the vulgar weathercock of his party, the resentments, the fears and whims of it, that real power is gained; but that he must often face and resist the party, and abide by his resistance and put them in fear, and the only title to their permanent respect and to a larger following is to see for himself what is the real public interest, and to stand for that." In confirmation of this view are the statistics of Mr. Parton, to the effect that no one eagerly aspiring to the Presidential office ever succeeded in obtaining it. His statistics are now twenty-five years old, but the course of history has not diminished their validity. It has increased their volume and momentum many-fold.

I must not trench on the domain allotted to the essayist who will speak in this course of Emerson's cosmopolitan sympathies; but I am obliged to say that his Americanism was not of the sort which looks for our salvation to the industrial barbarism of other nations or to the exclusion of their manufactures from our markets, if haply our consumers may be compelled to buy our own of an inferior quality at a much higher price. He had been a Whig before the surrender of the party to the pro-slavery conspirators; but there is no evidence that he was at any time an admirer or defender of the "American system," as maintained by Henry Clay. The Kantian dictum, "Law fit to be law universal," had, he thought, as strict an application here as to any sphere of moral action. He was unable to perceive, as many have been always, that we have not here a moral question, a question of justice. He fancied that in large industrial affairs, as well as in those of the individual, the method of self-reliance is productive of the best results; that the protective system everywhere is a premium upon inefficiency. For our infant industries, he would have prescribed as in the quatrains which, like a herald's trumpet, announces that his essay upon "Self-reliance" is at hand:—

"Cast the bantling on the rocks,
Suckle him with the she-wolf's teat;
Wintered with the hawk and fox,
Power and speed be hands and feet."

But, even if Emerson had been persuaded that the protective system was better for us than the sys-

tem of commercial freedom, he would not have considered this a final recommendation. He did not believe that it was good for us. But, however this might be, "We want," he said in 1878, "men of original perception and original action, who can open their eyes wider than to a nationality,—namely, to considerations of benefit to the human race,—can act in the interest of civilization; men of elastic, men of moral mind, who can live in the moment and take a step forward." And, again, "I wish to see America not like the old powers of the earth, grasping, exclusive, and narrow, but a benefactor, such as no country ever was, hospitable to all nations, legislating for all nationalities. Nations were made to help each other as much as families were; and all advancement is by ideas, and not by brute force or mechanic force. . . . The right patriotism consists in the delight which springs from contributing our peculiar and legitimate advantages to the benefit of humanity." This is the nearest approach to a definition of patriotism that he ever made, and it is worth remembering.

It was impossible that Emerson should make the blunder, which is made so often, of confounding the nation with the government, or with the form of government. In our own form of government he had generous faith, less in its practical efficiency. He saw with infinite regret that the career of politics had lost much of the attractiveness for the ablest men which it had at the beginning of the century. He also saw what many failed to see,—that the men are more to blame for this than are the politics. These are avoided, because they have not millions in them. They are degraded by those who, once engaged in them, are impatient of their small legitimate returns, and endeavor to convert them into a kind of brokerage for speculative stocks. But the government, at any given time, legislative, judicial, and executive, is only the roughest metre of the national health. As a people, we are better than our politics. Emerson's doctrine of Individualism did not forsake him here. His patriotism was much more than admiration of our political system, much more than satisfaction with its practical workings, which were seldom to his mind. It was devotion to our national worth, and he saw that this is co-extensive with the number of intelligent and moral individuals upon the soil. He said many things to this effect, and once he put the charcoal under such enormous pressure that this diamond stanza was the significant result:—

"When the State is social worth,
When the State-house is the hearth,
Then the perfect State is come,
The Republican at home."

For thirty years, the touch-stone of all touch-stones for the testing of patriotism in America was the anti-slavery crusade. I do not mean that patriotism was impossible for men who did not enlist in this, or did so tardily, or, having once enlisted, fell away. The Union-saving sentiment of 1850 and before and after was intensely patriotic. And from its womb came the compromise measures of that year,—the Fugitive Slave Law a single incident of their pervasive wickedness. Love for the Union was a passion of those times,—a passion which the Free-soilers and the Abolitionists might laugh to scorn, but it was as genuine as their own. There were those to whom the Union seemed so vast a good that, if it could be preserved only by making slavery perpetual and giving it the freedom of the continent, they thought the price was not to be withheld. There were those who thought that it could not be preserved in any other way. And these were patriots; but so, too, were they who thought that to preserve the Union for any length of time with slavery was an impossible

thing. Here was an atmosphere that loosened every joint, that made every grain of mortar a repellent particle. And so, if these had loved the Union above all other things, they would have said that slavery must go. But there were other patriots for whom the Union was not worth preserving, if slavery must be preserved along with it. And Emerson was one of these, well-nigh from the beginning of the anti-slavery crusade in 1831. That the Union could be preserved and slavery along with it, he had not a particle of faith; but this was a consideration by the way. The main consideration was that slavery was an injustice not to be endured. He was the truest patriot who would rather that his country should cease to be among the nations than that she should suck her vampire substance from the vitals of the slave.

It was the habit of Emerson to travel only on stop-over tickets on the various lines of social and political reform which made such a bewildering network of the period of his earlier manhood. Through tickets did not suit his individual mind. He could never make himself a partisan of any reform, an apologist for all its methods. He could never so far identify himself with any as to abandon his vocation, which he distinctly apprehended as that of the thinker and the scholar, and give all his time and talent for the advancement of a special end. Nevertheless, there was hardly any one who was not specially and officially connected with the Abolitionists whom they regarded as their friend and fellow-laborer so much as he. His church, so long as he remained a settled preacher, was freely offered to Samuel J. May and even to Garrison himself for the advancement of his principles; and it was used by May and others. To appreciate such action, we must remember that a little later Dr. Channing's society would not allow anti-slavery notices to be read from his pulpit, and refused his personal request for the use of the church for the funeral services of Charles Follen, the saint among the Abolitionists *par excellence*. In the Transcendental Club, he stood up for Garrison when others cried him down. When his brother Charles said that he would rather see Boston in ashes than that Harriet Martineau should be gagged, Emerson said his Amen by making her his guest. Miss Martineau was never over-generous with her praise of those who did not take the abolition side; but, in 1855, she wrote of Emerson in her Autobiography, "He is now and long has been completely identified with the Abolitionists in conviction and sentiment, though it is out of his way to join himself to their organization." In 1844, his address in Concord on the anniversary of Emancipation in the West Indies identified him with the Abolitionists as completely as anything could do, except a formal agency of their society. Dr. Holmes says in his Life of Emerson, "This discourse would not have satisfied the Abolitionists." But Mr. Higginson has proved conclusively that it *did* satisfy them by quoting the *ipsissima verba* of Garrison to this effect. "The first of August was," he says, "their day; . . . and nobody else celebrated it. As to the Concord meeting, they had tried in vain to obtain any church for it." They finally obtained the town hall. "The other speakers of the day were of the straightest sect of Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass, Samuel J. May, etc." They printed Emerson's address; and Wendell Phillips used to circulate it freely among "the upper-crust scoffers," as he called some of the Boston gentry to whom the sting of Garrison's invective was worse than what it stung. But some of Emerson's words in this address are strong enough for Garrison. "I am heartsick," he said, "when I

read how the slaves came into slavery and how they are kept there; for language must be raked, the secrets of the slaughter house and infamous holes must be ransacked, to tell what negro slavery has been." And he complained that "names which should be the alarms of liberty and the watchwords of truth are mixed up with all the rotten rabble of selfish and tyranny." From first to last, we have had much complaint of Emerson's incomprehensibility. "My gals understand him," said the redoubtable Jeremiah Mason, "but I can't." But, if that giant of the New Hampshire bar, with whom Daniel Webster studied, had heard any of Emerson's political speeches, he would have had little difficulty in understanding him. Not Wenham ice is clearer than his thought on these occasions. It were easy to convince one's self from reading his political addresses that, if he had chosen politics for his profession, he might have been one of the greatest orators of his generation. There are passages in these addresses that have a Websterian solidity and strength. Thus, in the anti-slavery address of 1844, referring to the imprisonment and sale of free Northern negroes in the South, he said: "Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts as the floor on which we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. The poorest fishing smack that floats under the shadow of an iceberg in the northern seas or hunts the whale in the Southern Ocean should be encompassed by her laws with comfort and protection as much as within the arms of Cape Ann and Cape Cod. And this kidnapping is suffered within our own land and federation, whilst the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States ordains, in terms, that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the Governor break the broad seal of the State; he bears the sword in vain. The Governor of Massachusetts is a trifle; the State House in Boston is a play-house; the General Court is a dishonored body, if they make laws which they cannot execute. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity."

Emerson's sympathy with the abolition party did not involve his satisfaction with all the methods of their propaganda. The voting Abolitionists appealed to his habitual common sense as the non-voting Abolitionists did not. When the Liberty party of 1840 and 1844 had developed into the Free-soil party of 1848 and 1852, Emerson conceived that here was a practical instrumentality with which he could ally himself without falling from his abolition grace. The fall of 1851 actually discovered him upon the stump in Massachusetts, for John G. Palfrey, the Free-soil candidate for Governor. His Cambridge speech was pronounced excellent by the Southern law students of the University; that is to say, they hissed it frequently. Webster was held aloft as an example of what poison slavery could inject into the noblest minds. He pictured him as the leading horse straining at Slavery's horrid car, engirt with sickening abominations. Emerson's admiration of Webster had been great, and his disappointment on account of his course in 1850 was immense. In 1854, he gave a lecture in New York on the Fugitive Slave Law, in which he spoke of Webster for a quarter of an hour. Some of his hearers must have said at the seventh or eighth minute, "Did we come here to hear a eulogy on Daniel Webster?" But, as Emerson went on, they found that they had not. "I remember his appearance at Bunker's Hill," he said. "There was the

monument, and here was Webster." The praise was said, then came the condemnation: this with the rest, "that, with a general ability that impresses all the world, there is not a single general remark, not an observation on life and manners, not an aphorism that can pass into literature from his writings." The opening words of this address are a sufficient exposition of the general attitude of Emerson with reference to questions of reform in politics and social life. "I do not often speak," he said, "to public questions: they are odious and hurtful, and it seems like meddling or leaving your work. I have my own spirits in prison; spirits in deeper prisons, whom no man visits, if I do not. And then I see what havoc it makes with any good mind, a dissipated philanthropy. The one thing not to be forgiven to intellectual persons is not to know their own task." He spoke, he said, for scholars; but there were passages which carpenters and hod-carriers could understand. "If slavery is good, then lying, theft, arson, homicide, each and all are good, and to be maintained by Union Societies. . . . These things show that no forms, neither constitutions, nor laws, nor covenants, nor churches, nor Bibles, are of any use in themselves. The devil nestles comfortably into them all. There is no help but in the head and heart and hamstrings of a man." His relation to the Abolitionists is declared in the concluding passage: "I respect the Anti-slavery Society. It has foretold all that has befallen, fact for fact, years ago; and no man laid it to heart. It seemed, as the Turks say, 'Fate makes that a man should not believe his own eyes.' But the Fugitive Slave Law did much to unglue the eyes of men, and now the Nebraska Bill leaves us staring. The Anti-slavery Society will add many members this year. The Whig party will join it. The Democrats will join it. I doubt not at last the slave States will join it. But, be that sooner or later, and whoever comes or stays away, I hope we have reached the end of our unbelief, have come to a belief that there is a divine providence in the world which will not save us but through our own co-operation."

On the 22d of May, 1856, Charles Sumner was struck down in the Senate Chamber by a cowardly assassin. On the 26th there was an indignation meeting in Concord, at which Emerson spoke to certain resolutions. His essay on "The Superlative" is known to you. He objected to the superlative. But how is this for the comparative or positive degree? "Life and life are incommensurate. The whole State of South Carolina does not now offer one or any number of persons who are to be weighed for a moment in the scale with such a person as the meanest of them all has now struck down."

Emerson was a man of peace. His lecture upon War proves that he had no vulgar admiration for this aspect of historic evolution. But, from the first, he saw that there are wars and wars, even as there are deacons and deacons. "When the cannon is aimed by ideas, when men with religious convictions are behind it, when men die for what they live for, and the main-spring that works daily urges them to hazard all, then the cannon articulates its explosions with the voice of a man; then the rifle seconds the cannon, and the fowling-piece the rifle, and the women make the cartridges, and all shoot at one mark; then gods join in the combat, then poets are born, and the better code at last records the victory." With these perceptions, he does not surprise us by his "Speech on Affairs in Kansas,"—his demand for clothing, food, and rifles to be sent to the New England settlers there. Of the Squatter Sovereignty and other cant of 1856, he said, "They call it otto of rose and lavender: I call it bilge water." And does

not the closing passage justify my claim that, when speaking on great public occasions, to great political questions, our Transcendentalist became as clear as sunshine, as concrete as granite or as iron? "Fellow-citizens, in these times full of the fate of the Republic, I think the towns should hold town meetings, and resolve themselves into committees of safety, go into permanent sessions, adjourning from week to week, from month to month. I wish we could send the sergeant of arms to stop every man who is about to leave the country. Send home every one who is abroad, lest they should find no country to return to. Come home, and stay at home, while there is yet a country to save. When it is lost, it will be time enough then, for any who are luckless enough to remain alive, to gather up their clothes, and depart for some land where freedom exists."

In 1859, while John Brown had still two or three weeks remaining ere he should make, in the high phrase of Emerson, "the gallows glorious, like the cross," Emerson demanded in Tremont Temple, "Is that the kind of man the gallows was built for?" "It were bold to affirm that there is in Virginia's broad commonwealth at this moment another citizen as worthy to live and as deserving of all public and private honor as this poor citizen." "All gentlemen of course are on his side," he said in Salem; "for the arch-Abolitionist, older than Brown and older than the Shenandoah Mountains, is Love, whose other name is Justice, which was before Alfred, before Lysurgus, before slavery, and will be after it."

From the beginning of the war, the hope of Emerson was ardent that it would not end till this word of his own prophecy had been fulfilled. In January, 1862, he lectured upon "Civilization" in Washington at the Smithsonian Institute. Lincoln and several of his cabinet were auditors. The *gravamen* of his lecture was a plea for immediate emancipation. "It is like free trade," he said,—“certainly the interest of nations, but by no means the interest of certain towns and districts, which tariff feeds fat; and the eager interest of the few overpowers the apathetic, general conviction of the many.” "Emancipation is a principle: everything else is an intrigue. . . . Better the war should more dangerously threaten us,—should threaten fracture of what is still whole, and punish us with burned capitals and slaughtered regiments, and so exasperate the people to energy, exasperate our nationality." Whether Lincoln, with whom Emerson talked the matter over the next day, was much affected by his public or his private utterance we may not know; but eight months later came the preliminary emancipation proclamation, the herald of that final good which makes the 1st of January, 1863, the finest day in all our annals, one of the finest in the annals of the human race. I must repeat the boast I made at your last meeting,—that I heard in Music Hall the address which signalized the joy of Emerson in the September proclamation. It was the most impressive utterance that ever fell upon my ears, upon my heart. Let me illuminate my page with the few words that I remember best: "It was well to delay the steamers at the wharves until this edict should be put on board. It will be an insurance to the ship as it goes plunging through the sea with glad tidings to all people. Happy are the young who find the pestilence cleansed out of the earth, leaving open to them an honest career; happy the old who see Nature purified before they depart! Do not let the dying die. Hold them back to this world till you have charged their ear and heart with this message to other spiritual societies, announcing the melioration of our planet."

There are other witnesses to the patriotic element in Emerson's life and writings that I should like to call, but there are gentlemen "in waiting" from whose reading of this matter my own is keeping you too long. I should like to speak of his address in April, 1865, when Abraham Lincoln died, his perfect characterization of the man; and of his Harvard Commemoration Speech; and of that in Concord at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument. The heroisms and sacrifices of the war gave Emerson a new assurance of the worth of the American population. "Ah! young brothers, all honor and gratitude to you," he said. "You manly defenders, liberty's and humanity's body guard! We shall not again disparage America, now that we have seen what men it will bear. We see, we thank you for it,—a new era, worth to mankind all the treasure and all the lives it has cost; yes, worth to the world the lives of all this generation of American men, if they had been demanded!"

And I should also like to show you how the patriotic element in Emerson's thought and feeling voiced itself in his poetry. As the political occasion, the patriotic impulse, always brought some clarifying genius to his prose, so did they to his verse. He was never quite so lyrical, never quite so eloquent and resounding in his verse at any other time as when his country was his theme. I note with interest that the first scrap of poetry coming from his pen of which I am aware, written in 1820, when he was seventeen years old, in Mrs. Dr. Farley's album, had this inspiration. It would have been more original, if Bishop Berkeley's "Course of Empire" had not been written about a century before; but it had at least one original line, the second of these two,—

"And to the West shall empire come,
And in our mountains stall her steeds."

It was a patriotic impulse that begot the Concord Hymn in 1836,—a hymn to which Matthew Arnold concedes that wholeness of tissue, that perfectness of every word and line, for which Emerson is not generally remarkable. Here was indeed a shot heard round the world. It was another patriotic impulse that begot the Concord Ode of 1857, with its opening stanza of surpassing beauty,—

"Oh, tenderly the haughty day
Fills his blue urn with fire;
One morn is in the mighty heaven,
And one in our desire."

The "Boston Hymn," written to celebrate the final edict of Emancipation, is a rugged piece of verse. But here and there it reminds us of the traveller on the Western railway: the train was running so smoothly that he thought it must be off the track. The "Voluntaries," which appeared a little later, was a much more complete and beautiful expression of his sentiment and thought. "It is in this poem," says Dr. Holmes, "that we find the lines which, a moment after they were written, seemed to have been carved on marble for a thousand years,"—

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must,*
The youth replies, *I can.*"

And it is in this poem that those other lines occur, to me as beautiful and dear, which, from the moment when I first agreed to read to you this essay, I have said in my heart should be its golden ending:

"Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this,—and knows no more,—
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore;
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain,
Forever."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S REPLY TO THE "REMONSTRANTS."

Remonstrants against "any further extension of suffrage to woman" had a hearing on the 2d inst. before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, at the State House. After they had concluded their argument, which consisted partly in referring the committee to a list of names signed to a remonstrance against female suffrage, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, son of the distinguished abolitionist, called upon to make some remarks in reply, responded in a brief but most effective speech, from which we give the following:—

"We are not overawed by the imposing list of names arrayed against us, representing, though they do, the prejudice of men high in social, mercantile, and professional life. We acknowledge their eminent respectability. But we beg to remind you that no movement in behalf of human progress ever yet failed to encounter similar opposition. No student of history can show us where the great reforms that mark the eras of civilization had the scholarly and wealthy classes on their side, save in the hour of triumph. I beg to offer you an illustration to the point. Thirty-five years ago next month, within the easy memory of many now present, a list of Boston's most honored names appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* to overawe the reformers of that day. The occasion was Mr. Webster's infamous 7th of March speech, which fastened the Fugitive Slave Bill upon the country and made Massachusetts the hunting-ground of the kidnapper.

"Shakspeare says:—

"In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt
But, being season'd with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil? In religion,
What damned error but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve it with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?"

"And, in that day of disgrace for our Commonwealth and her great senator, the overwhelming weight of these distinguished citizens of Boston was thrown into the scale of slavery. They rallied to the support of Mr. Webster in a public address of thanks. As in the remonstrants' petition, I can point you to the names of the president and the Greek professor of Harvard, of the venerated colleague and successor of Channing (whose successor is among the remonstrants), of the illustrious historian of Ferdinand and Isabella (paralleled by the remonstrating signature of Boston's historian of to-day, the palliator of the cruel expatriation of the Acadians), of others, famous at that time in law, in trade, in scholarship, and in religion. How crushing the demonstration seemed against the handful of men and women with no acknowledged influence or reputation, at whom it was aimed! I need not remind you that the Fugitive Slave law is no more, and that Boston is now building monuments and statues to the men whom that address was to annihilate. Nor need I add that the descendants of the signers are too filial to parade that roll of shame. It may be that a quarter of a century hence, when women are enfranchised, the descendants of our remonstrants will remember to forget the protest of to-day. We are not disturbed that the president of Harvard College labors for our defeat. Perhaps his instinct recognizes the movement that is yet to revolutionize and regenerate the venerable university which he controls. Many noble women have added to its endowments, but its doors are too narrow to admit the sex. It is a sufficient commentary to say that the question of college morality prevents many parents from trusting their boys to the temptations which the educational conditions of Cambridge present to-day. Who doubts that the dangers will be lessened when the sisters take their rightful places at their brothers' side? We acknowledge only encouragement at the hostile consideration we have aroused. It demonstrates that our movement has passed the epoch of contempt, and is deemed important enough to justify this opposition. It is too late. Over or through these genteel barriers, the goal will be reached. As long as the Legislature of Massachusetts continues to assemble and equal suffrage is refused, so long shall we continue to sit at your gates with our petitions, invoking for our sacred cause, in the famous words of Abraham Lincoln, 'the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'"

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CHINESE QUESTION.

Editors of The Index:—

A case of exceptional interest, upon which it would seem that fair-minded people could look but in one way, and yet which has raised much excitement and dispute in San Francisco, is now passing through the California courts. Its decision is of much importance for the Chinese in California; and it is gratifying to know that the legal decisions, thus far, are all in favor of what is manifestly the side of right and justice, and that there is little doubt that these decisions will be sustained by the higher courts. The case concerns a Chinese child, named Mamie Tape, who was born in San Francisco, where her parents have lived for fifteen years. It is admitted that her father is a householder and tax-payer. It is admitted that Mamie Tape is a child of good habits, good character, and good health; that her playmates are the American children in her neighborhood, that she is dressed like white children of her station in life, that the language used by the family in their home is the English language. She applied to the principal of the Spring Valley Primary School, Miss Jennie M. A. Hurley, to be enrolled as a pupil in that school, being the school nearest her residence; and, though the accommodations are ample and the school is not full, she was denied admission, solely because she was of Chinese descent. And the principal of the school seems to be sustained in her position by Mr. Moulder, the superintendent of the public schools of the city and county of San Francisco.

The attorneys for Mamie Tape in this interesting case, which is likely to become a much quoted precedent, are William F. Gibson and Sheldon G. Kellogg; and we have received a printed copy of the "points and authorities" with which they appeal to the Supreme Court of the State. It is a pamphlet of considerable size, and the points are argued with unusual thoroughness and acuteness. The positions taken, and, it seems to us, fully sustained, are that Mamie Tape is a citizen, both of the United States and the State of California; that she is entitled to admission to this particular school, both under the Constitution and the laws of California; that, even if she had been born in China, she would still be entitled to admission to the public schools, under Article 6 of the Burlingame Treaty, which provides that Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States, like citizens of the United States residing in China, "shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation"; and, finally, that denial of the child's admission to the public schools by the State would be in clear contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"In the court below," conclude the attorneys for the child, "counsel for appellants attempted to justify the exclusion of Mamie Tape as an exercise of the police power of the State. The police power of a State cannot, as we have seen, be directed against a race as a race, but is used against particular person or practices, in the interests of the public health and public morals. By the allegations of the petition, Mamie Tape is unobjectionable as to health and morals, and the sole reason for denying her application is on the ground of race, or color.

"Any consideration of policy may be out of place in a strictly legal argument. We will, however, say that this child and her parents are permanently in the State. It is for the interest of the State that she shall be educated. To deny to persons within our boundaries educational advantages is only to increase ignorance and crime. The question under consideration has no connection whatever with the policy of the restriction of Chinese immigration.

"Is it not strange that this little girl, who conforms and whose parents conform so fully to the requirements of Christian and American civilization, is denied admission to our schools? When the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted, it was universally believed that equality of right before the law for all American citizens had been secured, and that once and for all time all discriminations on account of race or color had been prohibited. Long before these Amendments, the wisest and most enlightened of our citizens believed such dis-

criminations to be impolitic and unjust. By their adoption, our country placed herself in full harmony with the spirit of the age. Shall California, the freest, the most liberal, and in many respects the most enlightened of American commonwealths, now give the signal for retreat? In the light of her laws, in the light of the Fourteenth Amendment, which she helped to adopt, in the light of her liberal and educated public sentiment, shall she not rather march forward in the plain path of wise policy and eternal justice?"

E. D. M.

OLD THEOLOGY.*

Editors of The Index:—

The author of this volume regards mankind as living in a kind of waking dream, or material, temporal state away from God; that matter is produced by the soul through its material thought; and that God alone is Substance, compared with whom the soul of man is shadow. Just as darkness must always represent the absence of light, so matter represents the absence of spirit; and the material universe is regarded not as the creation of God, but as a product of the spiritual life which God created.

Although the ideas of the author are diametrically opposed to the philosophy of Locke, who considers all matter to be substance, Dr. Arens would certainly agree with Locke in what the latter says with regard to prejudices and opposition to new doctrines: namely, "He that is strongly of any opinion must suppose . . . that his persuasion is built upon good grounds, and that his assent is no greater than what the evidence of the truth he holds forces him to. . . . Now if, after all his profession, he cannot bear any opposition to his opinion, if he cannot give a patient hearing, much less examine and weigh the arguments on the other side, does he not plainly confess it is prejudice that governs him?"

"The imputation of novelty is a terrible charge among those who judge of men's heads, as they do of their perukes, by the fashion, and allow none to be right but the received doctrines. Truth scarce ever yet carried it by vote anywhere at its first appearance: new opinions are always suspected, and usually opposed, without any other reason but because they are not already common."

Now, although one would scarcely look for "novelty" in *Old Theology*, yet, according to the writer, the original science has been so long in disuse that it is quite new to the present generation. Therefore, we may expect to find it encountering opposition, either in the form of argument, ridicule, or indifference. Dr. Arens justly says that, if one man calls five and five fifteen, while another stoutly maintains that their sum is only twelve, both cannot be right. In fact, neither is. So, likewise, when one religious teacher says, "This is the way!" and another in direct opposition cries, "Lo, here!" and yet another, "Lo, there!" surely not more than one is right, and possibly all are wrong.

The author presents his understanding of immortal truth in contradiction to the existing opinions and beliefs regarding it, and invites the attention of the thinking world. He does not claim to be the originator of this doctrine, which he says Jesus and the apostles preached and applied to the casting out of devils and to the healing of the sick, and of which there have been advocates from that time to the present. He merely stands as the more advanced exponent of an eternal truth that he is confident will revolutionize the world. He is a firm believer in the authenticity of Scripture, but holds that its spiritual truths are necessarily clad in a material garb, and that men in general recognize the latter only,—pay regard to the "letter that killeth," and do not discern the "Spirit that giveth life" on account of their materiality, since spiritual things must be spiritually discerned. Objections are anticipated, and to the doubter he says: "I can demonstrate my interpretation." "How?" "By healing the sick." And, in confirmation of his statement, he gives several pages of testimonials from invalids restored to health without medicine and independent of faith on their part, but simply through *Old Theology*, or the understanding of God which the healer himself possesses.

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* *Old Theology in its Application to the Healing of the Sick, the Redemption of Man from the Bondage of Sin and Death, and his Restoration to an Everlasting Life.* Vol. I. By E. J. Arens. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers. 1884.

—or theology—as we have said, and furnishes very entertaining reading; and, while it has yet to win a recognized place in the world of metaphysics, it is evidently the work of an honest, earnest, conscientious worker.

D. O. S. LOWELL.

BOOK NOTICES.

How Success is Won. "Little Biographies," Third Series. By Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., Franklin and Hawley Streets. pp. 245. Price \$1.00.

The men selected by Mrs. Bolton as examples of "how success is won" are Peter Cooper, John B. Gough, John G. Whittier, John Wanamaker, Henry M. Stanley, Johns Hopkins, William M. Hunt, Elias Howe, Alexander H. Stephens, Thomas A. Edison, Dr. William T. G. Morton, and Rev. J. H. Vincent, twelve in number, comprising the pursuits of manufacturers, lecturers, poets, artists, merchants, explorers, inventors, statesmen, discoverers, and preachers. Each brief biography is accompanied by an excellent portrait of its subject. The author has the knack of bringing into prominence briefly all the salient points in the characters portrayed, and by a few rapid strokes of her pen gives her readers a forceful and recognizable summary of the social and domestic qualities of each of her representative successful men. No reading can be more helpful to the young than biographies like these, which do not tire by their length, and which, written in a lively and interesting style, are sure to arrest the attention and awaken the ambition of even the least thoughtful of her young readers.

ALDORNE, and Two Other Pennsylvanian Idyls. Together with Minor Poems. By Howard Worcester Gilbert. Boston: Index Association. 1885.

Of the poems in this book of one hundred and forty pages, the first three are of considerable length, and consist of romantic tales of Pennsylvania life, entitled respectively "Aldorne," "Mary Craven," and "Wyndham." Mr. Gilbert, whose name is familiar to the readers of *The Index* through his occasional contributions both in poetry and prose, seems to be an ardent and genuine lover of Nature in all her aspects. There is wafted through all his poems the breezy odor of simple, natural, and delightful out-of-door life. Many of the minor poems celebrate the beauty and rehearse the virtues of such well-known flowers as the daisy, trailing arbutus, fringed gentian, Jack-in-the-pulpit, and sweet-scented life-everlasting. There are also poems "To a Sky-lark," "To a Hermit-thrush," and "To a Robin." The author's sympathy with free and rational thought is evidenced in his poems on Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, and Charles F. Hovey. The finest poems of the volume, in our opinion, are "Niagara" and "Isis."

Who would not "be a child again," if such rich treasures of literature and knowledge were open to him as are open to the children of this generation in *Wide Awake*, and also in other magazines devoted to teaching "the young idea how to shoot"? The March number of *Wide Awake* shows no falling off from previous issues in the quantity or quality of its illustrations, stories, poems, or instructive articles. Rev. E. E. Hale, Sarah W. Whitman, Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, Rose Kingsley, Ernest Ingersoll, Susan Coolidge, Yan Phou Lee, and Charles Egbert Cradock are among the contributors for this month.

In view of the recent inauguration of President Cleveland, the handsome frontispiece picture in the *St. Nicholas* for March of "The Inauguration of President Garfield" is very interesting. Edmond Alton, in his series of papers "Among the Law-makers," gives an interesting description of this event. One of the most interesting of the articles is Lieut. Fred. Schwatka's "Children of the Cold," which has eight illustrations descriptive of Eskimo child-life. J. T. Trowbridge, E. P. Roe, and Celia Thaxter have contributed to this number. Sold by Cupples & Upham, Old Corner Bookstore.

MORE of us do harm by groping along the pavement with blind hands for the beggar's brass coin than do folly by clutching at the stars "from the misty mountain-top." And, if the would-be stargazers catch nothing, they keep at least clean fingers.—Elizabeth B. Browning.

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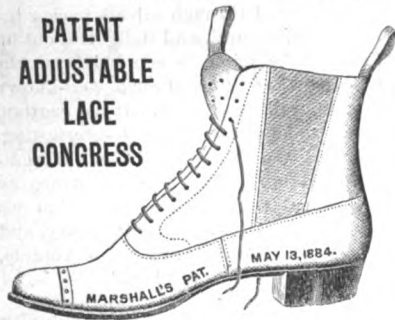
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. ROWLAND CONNOR, we see by a Michigan paper, is having large audiences in his new church at East Saginaw, and the interest in his able and radical discourses is very marked.

THE Kansas and Nebraska papers make very favorable mention, and some of them give good abstract reports, of the lectures of Mr. C. D. B. Mills, who has spoken recently at Omaha, Topeka, Lawrence, Lincoln, and other places in the States mentioned.

THE *Catholic Review* says that "it is fourteen hundred years since Patrick preached Christ, not from the lore of books, but 'from the signs of divinity laid bare' to him by Christ Himself. Could fable and dream have lasted so long? Could aught but truth survive such trials and so many centuries?" How about Buddha and the movement he initiated several centuries before "Patrick preached Christ" and before "Christ Himself" preached? Our contemporary would do well, too, to give a thought to Mohammed and the religion he founded, with its 200,000,000 adherents. "Could fable and dream have lasted so long?"

We were pleased to receive last week the *Radical Review* of March 15, the only number issued since Nov. 8, 1884; but we regret that there is no prospect of the continued publication of this able and honest journal. The Liberals of the country should not have allowed one of their best papers to be reduced to a financial condition compelling it to suspend publication. Mr. and Mrs. Schumm have kept the character of the *Radical Review* high; and their good service to the liberal cause is appreciated, and will be gratefully remembered by many friends. The editors say that there is just a possibility that some action may be taken to place the paper on a solid basis, and thus secure its regular publication. We hope this possibility will soon become a probability, and that the probability will rapidly develop into a certainty.

THE petition that Harvard undergraduates over twenty-one years of age be permitted to exercise their option as to attending morning prayers at the college, and that those under that age be governed by the option of their parents, has been rejected by the Corporation. A yearly extension is given to the elective system in the choice of studies, but no choice of time and place of prayer can be allowed! This compulsory attendance on morning prayer is in principle the same as compulsory participation in religious exercises. Its requirement indicates narrowness and illiberality on the part of the Harvard authorities. Their course is not one that will inspire the students with reverence, nor will it increase confidence in the duty and utility of praying. The injustice of the rule and the humiliation of submitting to it will rather tend to make them regard prayers with contempt. Referring to the rejection of the petition, the *Nation* remarks: "The President and Fellows unluckily do not give their reasons; but the only creditable reasons must be either the belief that God is pleased with the presence in a chapel or church of unwilling, irritated, and irreverent worshippers, brought thither by the fear of temporal punishment, and does not mind the set against all religion which such a process is very apt to give young men, or the belief that a man is benefited by being present in any place in which prayers are being offered, no matter in what state of mind he may be, and no matter what agency has brought him there. But neither of these reasons is modern, or, if we may make a bull, rational."

WE have received—from the author, it is presumed—a copy of a circular issued at Chicago "To Tramps, the Unemployed, the Disinherited, and the Miserable." It is by a woman, and certainly the most revolutionary and sanguinary document that has reached this office. It is written from a moral stand-point far below that of "tramps"; and, since it cannot command their respect, it is not likely to influence those of a class who, whatever outrages they commit, never attempt to justify them on moral grounds. We quote the concluding portion of the circular: "Stroll you down the avenues of the rich, and look through the magnificent plate windows into their voluptuous homes, and here you will discover the *very identical robbers* who have despoiled you and yours. Then let your tragedy be enacted *here!* Awaken them from their wanton sports at your expense! Send forth your petition, and let them read it by the red glare of destruction. Thus, when you cast 'one long, lingering look behind,' you can be assured that you have spoken to these robbers in the only language which they have ever been able to understand; for they have never yet deigned to notice any petition from their slaves that they were not *compelled* to read by the red glare bursting from the cannons' mouths, or that was not handed to them upon the point of the sword. You need no organization, when you make up your mind to present this kind of petition. In fact, an organization would be a detriment to you; but, each of you hungry tramps who read these lines,

avail yourselves of those little methods of warfare which science has placed in the hands of the poor man, and you will become a power in this or any other land. *Learn the use of explosives!*" How the destruction of life and property would revive business, increase the demand for labor, and raise wages, the circular does not state. Its writer does not seem to understand even that the security of life and property is one of the primary conditions of civilization, and that, in proportion as this is imperilled, we return to a state in which industrial pursuits are impossible, in which might is the rule of right, and war is the chief business of life. The social contrasts presented by the extremes of wealth and luxury, on the one hand, and of poverty and wretchedness, on the other, are indeed painful to contemplate. How to secure a more equitable distribution of labor's products, and to equalize the opportunities for success in life, are problems worthy the serious thought they are receiving from many of the broadest and best thinkers; but these are problems to be solved by thought, not by explosions of dynamite. And the needed reforms must come by agitation, education, and the exercise of the franchise, the methods of civilization, and not by individuals, each acting as judge and executioner, condemning and killing men because they are rich, and destroying property because they themselves have none.

THE movement for the disestablishment of the English Church, which aims, not merely to prevent the Church receiving further State recognition, but to disendow it of some of its accumulation from past public and private bequests, is fast gaining strength. The cost of education presses heavily upon the people; and they listen with approval to the proposition that some of the large estates which have been accumulated by the Church be thrown into a common educational fund, the interest and revenue therefrom to be applied to the cost of national education. The advocates of disendowment point to statements like the following from Lord Chief Justice Coleridge: "If men give property to the Church, and the Church takes it, the property is given and taken subject to State control, on State terms, upon conditions laid down from time to time by the State, and liable to be altered by the power which has laid them down. If men dispute or deny this, and talk of the sacredness of church property and of the sacrilege of State interference with the conditions on which it is held, I do not understand the construction of such minds." This measure is likely to have the support of the working classes. Says the *Ottawa Free Press*: "Those who know how officious the rural clergy of the State Church were in frowning down and seeking to stamp out the farm laborers' movement when started by Joseph Arch, and who remember also that a bishop of the State Church publicly declared that Arch ought to be ducked in a horse pond, will not be surprised if the newly enfranchised farm laborers should revenge themselves in the manner suggested by disestablishing and disendowing the State Church." The ultimate success of this movement is reasonably certain.

A REVIVED DEBATE.

An interesting and vigorous discussion has been going on in recent numbers of the *Christian Register* between Mr. F. E. Abbot on one side and the editor and James Freeman Clarke on the other, with regard to the theological significance of the Preamble and Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference. The discussion arose from a criticism which the editor of the *Register* made against a portion of Mr. Abbot's address on "The Intellectual System of Liberalism," printed in *The Index* of January 1, the present year. The *Register* article in general was highly appreciative and eulogistic of the address, but took exception to its statements that "the organic idea of Christianity is that the human race is to be governed by a divinely appointed Christ or king," and that the Roman Catholic Church has been the one specially logical form of the Christian system. As against these statements, it pointed to the practical brotherhood and democratic character of the primitive Christian churches, and to the republican organization of New England Congregationalism as a new recognition of the primitive type of a Christian church.

To this criticism, Mr. Abbot replied (*Christian Register*, February 5) that he was looking on "Christianity as a whole," and not at "two or three isolated facts" merely; that "whoever views Christianity as one vast organism of strictly historical growth, as a natural product of historical forces which has developed in strict accordance with the laws of all historical evolution, will find it impossible to view Catholicism otherwise than as the historical maturity of the primitive Christian Church, and New England Congregationalism as a very small and exceptional fact in the history of the Christian Church in its organic totality." But, as showing how all forms of Christianity, even when not so strictly logical as Catholicism, and though professedly liberal, do yet adhere to the germinal idea of "the royalty of Jesus," Mr. Abbot went on to quote from the Preamble to the Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference, to prove that the advanced Unitarian denomination had planted itself on that same idea. This, as he says, made the very gist of the discussion at the Syracuse session of the Conference, when an attempt, which he himself led, to amend the Preamble in the interest of a broader statement failed; and, by the consequent retention of the confession of the "Lordship and Kingship" of Jesus, he and others were excluded from the Conference. In this part of his reply, he referred to some recent public statements of Mr. Clarke (who was also one of the foremost in that debate), which implied that the Conference had never taken any action that excluded its heretics, that it allowed them full liberty, and that it was the mission of Unitarianism to show the reconciliation of Christianity with absolute freedom of thought. Mr. Abbot, on the contrary, points to the Syracuse Conference as excluding a number of its members, because it "adopted the royalty of Jesus as its basis of union."

In the same number of the *Register*, the editor makes an elaborate and scholarly reply to Mr. Abbot's article, devoting himself mainly to maintaining the thesis that the Catholic Church, especially of the Middle Ages, is a corruption of Christianity, and that the organic idea of the Christian religion, as shown in the primitive Christian organizations, and in the growth of Protestantism, has never naturally developed into a despotic monarchy, but rather into democracy and brotherhood. As to the assertion that the National Unitarian Conference has based itself on the idea of

"the royalty of Jesus," he is disposed, remembering how far from anything monarchical Unitarianism is in its organizations, to laugh at it, and declares the use, in the much discussed Preamble of the phrases, "the Lord Jesus Christ" and "the Kingdom of His Son," to be "simply, purely, metaphorical."

There the debate rested until the *Register's* issue of February 19. In that number, the three disputants appear together. Dr. Clarke replies to Mr. Abbot's criticism of his statements. Mr. Abbot replies to the *Register's* elaborate editorial defence of its first article. The *Register* replies again to Mr. Abbot's reply.

The main point in Dr. Clarke's article is that Mr. Abbot and his friends were not excluded by any action of the Conference, but excluded themselves from its fellowship by a wrong interpretation of its action. Speaking for the majority, he says, "We were sorry that he felt obliged to part company with us, and we saw no good reason why he and his friends should leave our body." In support of this view, he urges that "the clause in question was not adopted with the purpose of excluding heretics, but of expressing loyalty to Jesus as leader and teacher"; that "the object of the Preamble was to say distinctly, but simply, 'We claim to be Christians and followers of Christ'"; that there are many senses in which Jesus may be called king, and that the Conference left each member free to elect his own sense for that appellation; and that it was also distinctly affirmed that "those to whom the phrase was repugnant were not bound by it." (As regards the Syracuse Conference, Dr. Clarke is mistaken as to there having been any such affirmation made by the Conference.)

In his reply to the *Register*, Mr. Abbot asks the question whether the Preamble, after all, is only a metaphor, and urges, with earnest feeling as well as good reason, that it cannot be possible that all this long and persistent debate, this sundering of cherished ties and breaking of fellowships, originated in a simple difference of judgment on a mere matter of rhetoric. In further elucidation of his views, he argues that the royalty of Jesus, though it may not, in all Christian sects, have a visible representative head, as in the Roman Catholic Church, yet is, nevertheless, recognized in all; that "allegiance to Jesus as Lord and King always has been, and is still, the universally accepted test of membership in the Christian Church"; and that the theological phrases in the Preamble were a form of this habitual recognition, or what Dr. Hedge calls the Christian Confession,—that is, "the confession of Christ as divinely human Master and Head."

The *Register's* rejoinder to Mr. Abbot insists that the chief issue between them grew out of the assertion of the latter, that "the organic law of Christianity is monarchical" and its most logical form of development "despotism," and claims that Mr. Abbot's admission that many Christian churches have existed under democratic forms of government materially affects the accuracy of this assertion. As to the phrases of royalty applied to Jesus, the *Register* defends itself for calling them metaphorical, and classes them with various other titles given to Jesus in the New Testament, as "Lamb of God," "Chief Corner-stone," "Saviour," "High Priest," etc.,—with reference to all which it says that "it was inevitable that the moral and spiritual pre-eminence of Jesus should be recognized and expressed in redundant language." The important distinction which Mr. Abbot had made between a "visible monarchical head" and "an invisible monarchical head"—invisible, but still conceived as having

royal authority, which is the common Christian conception concerning Jesus—the *Register* passes by; expresses, without hesitation, its own preference to describe Jesus by such simple terms as friend, helper, brother, rather than by resorting to epithets of royalty; declares its entire acceptance of "that lofty ideal of Christianity" which was contained in Mr. Abbot's rejected amendment at Syracuse, and thus gracefully retires from the discussion.

We may here add that, while we have never been able to adopt Mr. Abbot's view, at least with such rigidity as he does, that the Roman Catholic Church is the one specially legitimate and logical product of the Christianity of the Gospels, we yet think him entirely right in maintaining that the application of terms of royalty to Jesus has much more than a metaphorical meaning. They are a confession of Jesus as the Messiah, and were meant to accord to him a position of supernaturally kingly authority.

In the *Register* of March 12, Mr. Abbot returns to the field with new vigor in a rejoinder to Dr. Clarke. He attacks his antagonist in front, on the flank, and in the rear, with merciless persistency. No abstract can give an idea of the logical strength of this article. It must be read. Suffice it to say that he sets out by asking Dr. Clarke, "Is it true, as you maintain, that one who does not believe in the Royalty of Jesus can innocently retain membership in a conference which professes in the forefront of its constitution to make that doctrine the very foundation and *raison d'être* of its existence?" He then goes on to say that it is not with him a question, as Dr. Clarke had implied, of accepting the doctrine of the Kingship of Jesus in some sense, as he himself might elect, but that he rejects it in every sense. To quote his own emphatic words, he says, "I reject that creed, absolutely and unconditionally, in every sense that can be put upon or tortured into the words." He adds that this is "from no want of rational reverence for the character of Jesus," but because "the soul's supreme allegiance of right belongs to that impersonal, eternal, universal, and uncreated LAW OF HOLINESS which every man names, consciously or unconsciously, when he calls God himself 'a holy being.'" Inquiring if it can indeed be possible that Dr. Clarke should see "no good reason" why he (Abbot) should have left the Conference, he proceeds to awaken Dr. Clarke's perception of the situation by an imaginary case. He asks Dr. Clarke to imagine himself invited to a great council of "all Christian churches," and that he accepts in good faith, but finds, when the council organizes, that it has put into its articles of organization a stiff Trinitarian creed. Protesting in vain against such a creed in the organic act of the council, would not Dr. Clarke, as an honest man, then feel compelled to withdraw from the council? And would he not, in that case, honestly say that it was the action of the council that excluded him? Having thrust home this pointed question, Mr. Abbot assails successively the positions Dr. Clarke had taken to show that he (Abbot) had not been excluded from the National Conference by its action, and easily shows their weakness, and finally closes with this other question, "Do you now tell me, in view of this whole letter, that I have a moral right to be a member of the National Unitarian Conference?"

To this question, Mr. Abbot requested a public reply. The reply came from Dr. Clarke in the *Register* of the following week (March 19), and is so brief that we can give it entire. It is as follows:—

After carefully reading Mr. Abbot's letter in the last number of the *Register*, I am obliged to admit

that he did right in withdrawing from the Conference. His hostility to the platform of that body, which I had supposed to be chiefly formal and logical, I now find, from his recent statements, was more profound in its character. I see that, with his views, he could not honestly be a member of the Unitarian denomination, nor indeed of any Christian body.

Dr. Clarke thus candidly and honorably surrenders. But what, then, becomes of his claim, made in his address at the Unitarian Club, and so constantly repeated by Unitarians, that "the mission of Unitarianism is to show men that the gospel of Christ is on the side of the freest thought"? "We have allowed," said Dr. Clarke, "our heretics to think and say all they wished [and he meant, presumably, without their being obliged to go outside to do it]; and we are now prepared to go to work together." But here is Mr. Abbot, who, he admits, was obliged as an honest man to withdraw from the National Conference because of his "views." Now, how could that be possible,—why should his "views" be any bar to his membership,—if the mission of Unitarianism were really to reconcile Christianity with "the freest thought," and the National Conference were true to that mission?

WM. J. POTTER.

THE NEGRO IN GEORGIA.

A lawyer in Georgia, who once travelled all over the State as a Baptist missionary, but who has now adopted such advanced views as he finds very few Southerners willing to express, writes thus: "Whiskey is the greatest curse to the negro race imaginable. We can never expect to better their condition while they can get whiskey. They spend all their earnings for it; and, when they can't get it any other way, they steal. The whiskey men control them almost absolutely. . . . When you make the comparison of the two races, when you look at them in their true relations, when you remember that the negro race are so illiterate and degraded as a race, when you reflect that they are almost universally our menial servants and but recently our slaves, when you see their low grade of intelligence, when you see their utter incapacity for the suffrage or for any office or test of public responsibility,—when you keep all these facts in mind, and then imagine an attempt to put them (the negroes) above the white population who have the intelligence, the property, etc., of the South, or at least, if not above, equal to the whites,—then, putting these two facts together, you would see philosophically what a state of feeling would be generated in the breasts of the whites against them. The greatest harm ever done the negroes of the South was the attempt to fasten upon the white people the 'Civil Rights Law,' or, in other words, the attempt to make the negroes the social equals of the whites. At the time, it created a feeling of bitterness against the negro in the Southern heart that would never have existed, if that question had been let alone to adjust itself in the process of time, as all such questions must do. . . . Legislation can never substitute statutory laws in the place of the uniform action and force of natural social laws. The problem is best let alone, and then only will it work out itself in a satisfactory and wise manner. Every attempt made to disturb the action and evolution of a natural social law will but result in failure, and will frustrate the end aimed at. No legislation in the world can transform a people's menial servants to their social equals. Nor can legislation force the superior order or class of population to mix or mingle in any manner with the inferior class. Only when, through the slow process of evolution, the inferior becomes in reality equal to the superior, will the

latter socially recognize in the former, or suffer in any manner a violation of these relations. Of course, the white population of the South desire to accord to the negroes all their political rights; and we do all in our power to that end. I know of no exception to this statement. I have never known a negro voter deprived of his political rights. If it has ever been done in Georgia, I do not know of it. . . . I but voice the sentiment of the whole South, when I say that the universal desire down here is that all sectional strife should cease, and that sectional memories and hate and bitterness be buried, where they belong, in the tombs of all past blunders. We realize that the interests and prosperity and well-being of all our people are interacting, interdependent, and correlated. The progress of one part of our country is dependent upon that of the other, and to this fact we all give our hearty acquiescence. We are always more than willing to meet our Northern brethren on half-way ground."

These general sentiments are such as I must re-echo cordially. I don't know that we have a right, as a nation, to claim any more for the negro at the South than that he should have full enjoyment of all his rights of person and property, including education and the suffrage. It is to protect such rights that government exists. If the negro, as a race, is ignorant and degraded, there is all the more need that he should have special protection against oppression. Such cases as that of a colored man being imprisoned for several years, I think in Mississippi, for marrying a white woman, might properly receive notice in Congress. Nor should the people of any State have permitted a colored clergyman to be cruelly beaten with impunity for taking a seat among whites in a railroad car. It belongs, of course, to the Southerners themselves to right such wrongs; and it is quite likely that they are less willing to do so than they would be if no laws in advance of public opinion had been inflicted upon them. Here, at the North, however, the Civil Rights Law is not in advance of public sentiment. If there is any feeling against it, it is among people who are behind the age. Our political freedom, industrial prosperity, and moral safety all depend on our recognizing each other as born free and equal. We cannot afford to suffer any social distinctions to be made on account of birth and race. Of course, gentlemen and ladies will associate with each other rather than with menials. But gentlemen and ladies at the North ask no questions about each other's color, and take no note of complexions, but only of habits and tastes, in deciding who is within their own circle. It is pleasant to remember that we have many colored gentlemen and ladies who are in every way worthy of the name. Let us, here at the North, do our best to treat them as such, and in due time the South must follow our example.

F. M. HOLLAND.

MYTHOLOGY.

IX.

Resuming now the thread of inquiry that has been for unavoidable reasons interrupted, I feel impelled again to say that the researches of to-day are showing more and more clearly how deeply the element of mythology is present—in many instances active—in all the departments of our thought and life.

The proverbs, as is now known, are many of them traceable to mythologic origin. This is a field that lies yet to be explored. Very little has thus far been done to possess it. "To lock the stable after the cow (or horse) is stolen" carries

such reference, and the original meaning is hinted in some relations of the old Vedic and other mythology. "To let the cat out of the bag" is an expression that has like origin, and bears to the belief in the witch, originally night, or a sinister sprite of the darkness, then its representative the black cat,—a belief by no means yet extinct even among ourselves. "Devil take the hindmost" has a clear ancestry in a known myth. The old German, also Slavonic and Italian proverb, "Even the black cow yields white milk," referring to the birth of the alba, or the milky light from the dark night, is of course thus of mythologic origin; and the expression that "cow's milk is poison to the serpent," a proverb current in India, and I think also found in the Western world, is probably from the same source. Darkness, or night, was the throttling serpent, widely so described in the Eastern mythologies; and the dawn of day is fatal to that. It often requires considerable study to get the genesis, growth, and varying fortunes of a proverb; and this, once ascertained, will illustrate frequently an important chapter of history.

The expression, "the moon made of green cheese," carries us to an old myth or legend of the wolf, at the instance of the fox, attempting to fish the moon, whose image he sees, from the water; and even our familiar game of blind man's buff seems to carry back to the same mythic ancestry, the original story being that of the sun looking amid darkness for his lost bride.

The characters of Shakspeare, several of them we can see,—notably, Hamlet and King Lear,—go back to the same source. The prototype of Lear and Cordelia appears in the old Hindu epic, the Mahabharata; and here the conception was originally mythic, describing the devotion of the young dawn, or sun, to the old father. In this epic, the youngest son Puru, for his self-surrender in taking on the old age, out of regard to his father, for the latter's deliverance, is finally made heir of the kingdom. The two elder, having each refused, when besought, to do this, are expelled from it. Probably the nature myth out of which the relation in each case grew was common to the original Aryan ancestry; and we find it in part now in the variants given by distant peoples, each working it out on its own soil independently.

The tale of Romeo and Juliet we have in an Oriental form in the Tuti-Nameh, Persian; and this seems plainly to have come from a primeval nature myth. The beautiful girl and the lover, separated by whatever hard fate here, are united in death: the evening aurora and the sun expire together, and are one in the world of the shades. The same thing is re-enacted in the loves and tragic end of Pyramos and Thysbe.

Cinderella is very old, and shines bright in the most ancient stories. The tale is told, with not essential variations, almost all over the world. The original, or what approaches to it, we find in the Rig-Veda. Mitras, who is the sun, follows the beautiful young maiden, who is the first of them who walk afoot, yet herself without footsteps, and whose shining slipper he finds,—slipper that no other foot on earth or in sky can fit. Other features have been filled in by the story-teller, as the ill-disposed step-mother, the moon, and the envious sisters, the clouds. The drudging in the kitchen, sitting in the ashes, etc., come in very naturally. She appears exceedingly beautiful only when she finds herself in the prince's ball-room, or in church, in candle-light, and near the prince: the aurora takes on her beauty when the sun is near. The human mind seems always to have affected such a tale, and it has its unfaded charm for us still. "Every fresh addition," says Mr. Cox, "made to our stores of popular tradition does but bring

before us new phases of those old forms, of which mankind, we may boldly say, *will never grow weary.*"

King Rene's daughter we have in the tale preserved to us in one of the old Hindu hymns of the young girl, the Aurora, blind, but restored to sight by the grace of a wise one who was Indra himself, and became enamoured of her. The milk-pail of Perrette, apparently, has come to us from that cup of abundance, of innumerable legends, and that miraculous pipkin of Persian tale, found by the wood-cutter. It gave exhaustless supply to its possessor, and reminds of the Holy Grail, which indeed is really its successor and representative. We approximate here certainly, if we do not reach the original of that far-travelled story of the milk-maid,—story which we all read in our spelling-books in the early childhood. From that, doubtless, was born the wholesome proverb, "Count not your chickens before they are hatched."

The wood-cutter invites his acquaintances to his house for a banquet from the marvellous stores of that pipkin; but, as the guests were gathered for the feast, he becomes too giddy to contain himself. He puts the vessel upon his head, and begins to dance. Down came pipkin, and was broken to fragments, all the wealth vanished, and he waked up a wiser, though a much poorer man.

The legend of the Lady Godiva and her ride naked through the streets of Coventry,—laid in the eleventh century,—we find in one of the Calmuc and Mongol tales, these confessedly of Hindu origin. In this case, the story is plainly mythic. The lady is the king's daughter, Light of the Sun is her name, whom no one must behold, walking out as she does on the fifteenth of the month. The king orders all doors and windows to be closed, all eyes turned within, and death is the penalty of the first disobedience. The Vedic poets frequently represent the Dawn as appearing nude, unveiled, as she ascends the skies.

A minister of the king, Ssaran by name (moon), peeps out from a balcony. The girl makes signs to him to join her, which he does. They are both arraigned before the king, but, through some intrigue and deception practised upon him, are both acquitted. Thus, we have the original of Peeping Tom of Coventry, or his equivalent, in this Ssaran.

The Wooden Horse, which was so dire a calamity to the Trojans, and has so exercised the imagination of every school-boy in Greek since, finds its interpretation in mythology. It forms, as Max Müller says, "an essential part of a mythological cycle," and fits in well with other features of the story. It, or its equivalent, is very frequently employed to hint the concealment or disguise, sometimes in wood, then again in the skin of some animal, under which the warrior entered the domain of his enemies, and rose up against and vanquished them.

The whole narrative of the Trojan conflict—whatever of historical incident may in time have come to intermingle there—is essentially mythic, and is told in not widely differing form in all the great epics of the world. Sigurd, through nameless peril, must rescue the imprisoned Brunhild; Rama must storm Ravana's castle, and recover the stolen Sita; Wainamoinen must visit Pohjola and obtain the mystic sampo; and with all this hold the numberless tales of "Sleeping Beauties," "Snow-white Maidens," etc., that are to be rescued by some hero from the power of the monster who keeps them imprisoned. "Blue-beard" gives us in part one of the variants.

Reference has been made to the *cat*. This creature has long played a leading witch-role both in the Eastern and the Western world. It was an ancient superstition that, as witches, they come and suck the blood of children. The appearance

of a black cat on the cradle of a child, or upon the bed of a sick man, is thought, in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, a premonition of death. If it is seen upon a grave, it tells that the soul of the departed has passed under the devil's power. In Shakspeare's "Macbeth," when the witches are to prepare their evil enchantments, the first witch commences with repeating the words,—

"Thrice the brinded cat hath mewed."

The belief that the cat will, if near, suck the child's breath away in his sleep, and thus take his life, I remember as generally held in the neighborhood of my own childhood; and the most sedulous care was taken to avoid exposure in that way. It is, I find, widely current in Europe also. It is a superstition purely of mythologic origin, a notion, as Mr. Dyer says, "without a particle of truth."

The subject literally has no end. The farther we go, the more the horizon enlarges, and new fields open to view. Many of the proverbs not only, but numbers of the fables, animal fables, have their source in mythology. Examples in point are the fable of the wolf and the lamb,—another of the old spelling-book stories; the elephant (or the lion) and the mouse; the goat, the little kids, and the wolf; the cat metamorphosed, etc. The Arabian Nights' entertainments, certainly many of them, are of the same ancestry.

For myself, I own that I read with new interest, heightened gratification, the old nursery melodies, household tales, and the stately epics also, as I learn what they have come of, and what meaning in many instances they originally carried. The thorough preservation they have in their main features had, amid all this wide diffusion over the globe, and through immemorial ages, borne down mostly by oral transmission alone, opens to us a new chapter of human history, and shows afresh the oneness of our race.

The inquiry why the human mind should so universally gravitate in this direction, seem inevitably to incline or even be compelled to pragmatize and to personalize all that has come to it in thought, would carry us to one of the most pregnant, far-reaching, and fruitful of questions. It would go to the very sources of religion, the foundation principles, the beginnings of our mental life. I cannot open it here. Can only say that the savage must have a god he can see. He cannot believe in, cannot conceive of any reality that may not be cognized by the senses. The myths, starting as sensuous conceptions, became more and more pragmatized, realistic; and we mark this in all the stages along through the mythology proper, then in the legends and tales.

This tendency, or bias we may say, so pronounced in the child-mind, and evinced so clearly in all the rude races, is in us all in a degree, and holds with wonderful tenacity and strength. From it come the marked sensuous type of our religions and the numberless fairy and elf tales of our nurseries.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

THE CHURCH AND MORALITY.

The Church is the recognized and established moral institution. It is as well equipped for its work as any other institution, governmental, educational, social, economic. We have the same right to hold it responsible for results as to require a reckoning from any other institution intrusted with a specific duty. If something should happen to bring suddenly to the knowledge of a community the fact that a considerable number of their children are grossly ignorant, they would turn at once to the public schools for an explanation. "How is this?" would be the inquiry. "We have established schools for the education of our chil-

dren, yet our children are ignorant." And the conclusion would be, "There must be something radically wrong with the schools." It would be a very poor reply to such a charge for the teacher to answer that the fault is in the children, not in the instruction; that it is owing to their intellectual depravity, and consequent failure to understand his instruction, which is all-sufficient, if they would only avail themselves of it. This would not do. People know that children are capable of education, and that no particular lot of them are essentially different from all others. All are ignorant, if untaught or poorly taught: all are reasonably intelligent, if well taught. If the teacher's methods do not reach a pupil's case, he modifies them till they do. Thus, no such case as I have supposed ever occurs, simply because education has come to be based upon principles, and conducted by methods universally applicable. May we not infer from opposite results in morals an opposite condition in the Church?

The average town spends as much money on its churches as its public schools. The churches employ constantly several active, intelligent, cultured men of the highest degree of moral fitness for their work, besides scores of volunteer workers in the sabbath schools. *Does the community reap any adequate harvest of moral strength and purity from this bounteous sowing?* is a question whose importance cannot be overstated. It is the vital question of practical morals. Is the Church improving morals as much as it ought with the means at hand? Why is it that most middle-aged business men are monuments of stupidity, and neglect all healthy mental and social tonics? Whose business was it to cultivate the better qualities in them? They don't go to church. But *why* don't they? If the Church has never thought that the answer to this last question might lie within itself, it is time that it should begin to investigate when a large number of the young people naturally under its care and naturally susceptible to moral teaching go radically wrong. There is not a business or professional man or young man or boy, but has been time and time again to church services. Why do they not continue? Why does not the teaching of the Church take hold upon their lives and form their characters? It will not do any better than in the case of the school to say the trouble is in them. Of course, the trouble is in them and their surrounding temptations; but this is just exactly what the Church is intended to meet and correct.

Just to the extent that it fails to do this is it a failure as a moral institution. The trouble with a sick man is in the man; but it is the doctor's business to understand the disorder, and apply an effective remedy. He will not be universally successful, but is generally so; and his rules are of general application. Everybody believes in doctors, in schools, in laws, spite of some failures in each. How is it with the Church? A majority of the people are not church members. A majority of the church members are not active and consistent. There must be reasons for this, and the only rational thing to do is to look into the Church for them, just as you would examine the stock and business methods of a merchant to see why he has few customers while others have many.

In the first place, the Church does not devote its teaching energy to practical morals. It teaches religion, and there has grown up a distinction in the public mind between religion and morals. People do not seem to have any idea that their going to church on Sunday has any reference to their conduct during the week. Religion and the morals connected with it have become a Sunday

affair, to be put on and off with our best suit of clothes. How many people go to church with the definite design of being made more honest and truthful by that particular service? Ask the average church member what he is in the house of God for, and he will answer you, To worship. To worship, indeed! while perhaps his own son is carousing in some saloon or brothel. He ought to be there for the purpose of sustaining and improving a great moral helper for himself, his children, and the community. The Church is not an end. It is only a means to the moral improvement of the race. Its object is to make people better. It should devote its energies to this end by direct practical methods, and modify its methods to suit the exigencies of particular cases. It should not only teach morals, but should enforce its precepts by requiring a strict account of conduct from its members, and measuring its success by the moral tone of the entire community, not by the length of a revival-forced church roll.

Second, the Church sets up false standards of morality. It places great emphasis upon trivial things, and ignores the most important. How many of the sermons which you have heard upon personal righteousness were devoted almost entirely to the study of the Scriptures, attendance upon divine services, faithfulness at the prayer-meeting, giving freely to the Lord! As if these things were either good or bad in themselves, or were the principal things of life instead of mere incidentals; as if there were no such virtues as justice, fair dealing, honesty, candor, kindness, self-sacrifice, devotion to principle, and helpfulness to mankind to be talked about! Such discourses usually contain a passing reference to keeping yourself unspotted from the world, which is always applied very definitely to attending dances and the theatre and to social card-playing,—things sometimes good and sometimes bad; and, as pleasurable is the only unvarying quality in them, the natural conclusion of the young is that these amusements are condemned because they are pleasant,—an absurdity against which they rebel, and which very much lessens the effect of all preaching upon them. If the Church paid more attention to taking the real spots out of the world and less to the theory of keeping itself away from these imaginary contaminations, both it and the world would be much purer.

Third, the Church does not make morality the test of its privileges or approval. There is not an orthodox church in the land that will admit a man to membership on the basis of his moral character. There is not such a church that would make the slightest distinction between the vilest old black-leg, steeped in sin, and an innocent young girl, as candidates for membership. If both professed conversion, they would be admitted alike, and probably be placed side by side to receive the hand of fellowship. If either faltered in faith, that one would be rejected, regardless of character. Of course, we all know the theological explanation of this damaging fact. But the majority do not believe the explanation, and even those who do, or think they do, often lose sight of it; and everybody sees the fact and is influenced by it to the detriment of morals. Such a practice on the part of an institution holding the position the Church does tends to destroy all moral distinctions. The very corner-stone of Christian doctrine—that is, that there is a means of escape from the consequences of immorality, that something else can be made to take the place of right living, that, indeed, righteousness may, under certain conditions (when it exists without belief in the doctrines of the Church, and thus tends to discredit those doctrines), become a damning sin—is necessarily demoral-

izing. The saving fact is that very few people really believe it. Yet its advocacy by the Church greatly diminishes the moral power of that organization.

Fourth, the Church has erected an artificial barrier which effectually shuts out from its influences, and from an opportunity of working through its agencies, a very large and daily increasing class of the intelligent, active, and morally inclined. We refer to its belief tests of membership. It is this self-imposed, artificial limitation that, more than all other defects, cripples the Church's moral influence. It is by this limitation, more than anything else, that it becomes responsible for a low moral tone in a country so abundantly supplied with churches as this. Here, in large degree, is the answer to those vital questions: Why do people not attend church? Why do church influences not reach more people and all more effectively? Why do men become callous and stupid for lack of intellectual and moral tonics? Leaving out of account the vicious, whom we may assume to avoid moral influences because of depravity, there are more well-inclined people out of the Church than in it, for the census shows less than one-fourth of the adult population of this country to be communicants of Protestant churches; and certainly not half the people are so vicious as not to be at some time in life easily within the reach of proper moral influences. But even well-inclined people must have moral stimulants. We all need the help of sympathy and association, the enthusiasm of public meetings, the magnetism of a crowd. It is weakness, of course; but it is human weakness that we all share. Most people enter the Church from just this feeling. When their own good impulses are powerfully aroused, they are drawn by simple fellowship toward people of like motives. It is this that gives the Church most of its real power for good, a power which is great and which I by no means wish to underrate. People are greatly benefited by their church relations. The simple act of meeting two or three times a week for a good purpose makes people better, regardless of the peculiar form of organization. The same people would belong to the Church, if it did not hold a single one of its present doctrines; and, if it were not for the belief barrier, all but the positively vicious would belong to the Church, thus more than doubling its moral power. It is not necessary to argue these questions of doctrine. The plain, undeniable fact is that hundreds and thousands of people as capable of moral elevation as the average church member are kept out of the churches and forced into a deteriorating moral and intellectual inaction, simply because they cannot believe the doctrines which the Church says they must accept in order to become members. Is the Church not responsible for the consequences of this locking out? And who can tell how much the moral callousness among young men and business men is due to this very cause? Certain it is that, if they were in church on Sunday, they would not be gambling. It is equally certain that, if they found fellowship with those engaged in improving and refining enterprises, they would not seek it in debauching clubs. It is true that the very men most apt to reject the crucial doctrines of the Church are most active, energetic, and restless. Their social nature will assert itself. If it is debarred from the higher forms of exercise, it will find lower.

F. B. TAYLOR.

MEDICAL LEGISLATION.

How shall society effectually protect its members from the impositions and dangers of charlatans and frauds who, without any knowledge of

the human system or of the rudiments of medical science or any other science, engage in medical practice and live by preying upon the credulous and the sick? If the sale of poisons may be regulated by law, the prescription of them by persons who are unacquainted with their nature and their effects when used as medicine may, with no less justice, be prohibited. How is this to be done?

A common reply is that we must have a stringent law against the practice of medicine by quacks. There are difficulties surrounding the subject which many who thus reply do not see. Where shall the line be drawn between quacks and physicians who are not quacks? Only a few years ago, the "regulars" denounced the homœopaths and all other physicians not of the allopathic school as quacks; and many now regard all such as quacks. But homœopathy has gained many friends, and grown into respectability the past few years; and it has become an authorized school of medicine. Many of the homœopaths now readily join the allopaths in attempts to prevent the practice of medicine by quacks. Possibly some of the new schools not yet "authorized" possess more truth than any of those now recognized in the law of the State.

Medicine is not an exact science. It commenced in quackery,—empiricism,—and the first application of all remedies and all first cures by the use of such remedies are necessarily empirical or experimental; for no logical sequence between a disease and its specific has ever been discovered. Since all new modes of cure must begin as experiments, it is to be expected that valuable additions to medical science will from time to time be made by quacks or those who are outside of all recognized schools of medicine. Physicians generally do a large amount of guessing and experimenting in the treatment of the sick; and, when they speak with the greatest confidence as to the results of their remedies, they are often doubtful whether their pills and powders will benefit or injure their patients. This is true of all the schools of medicine. Considering these facts, the State cannot wisely decide between them. The people should be left to judge for themselves as to their respective merits.

Some go further and insist that, if even the most ignorant charlatans find people who believe in them and are willing to put themselves under their treatment, society, represented by the State, has no right to interfere. But the health of the people is a matter of public concern of the utmost importance; and to guard it, as far as possible, against the danger of ignorant and unscrupulous medical practice, by legislation, would seem to be as much a right and duty as to guard against a multitude of other evils, which, left unchecked by law, all admit would injure the health and peace of any community. If protective legislation is ever justifiable, there should be a law in every State against the practice of surgery and against prescribing medicine professionally by persons who have no knowledge of the human frame and who cannot administer medicine without danger to the health and life of those whom they treat.

If there are favored individuals who possess, as they claim, special endowments or arts unknown to the medical profession, still some knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and hygiene, and of the medicinal qualities of the remedies they use, would do them no harm; while the requirement of such qualifications, in all who practise medicine, would help to protect society from the results of ignorance and unscrupulousness in a profession in which ability, scientific knowledge, and high moral character are of inestimable importance to the public. To a board of examiners, composed of educated

physicians of the various schools of medicine and of other members selected from outside of the medical profession, should, we think, be intrusted the examination of all practitioners. As for the persons known as faith-cure and mind-cure doctors, Christian scientists, clairvoyant doctors, etc., there is certainly no call for any *special* legislation in regard to them. There should be the fullest liberty compatible with public safety in teaching and applying methods of cure, as in teaching religious doctrines and practising religious observances. This does not imply, however, the right of ignoramuses to take the title of a learned profession and to kill people or destroy their health under the pretence of professional medical treatment.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

A CORRESPONDENT writes that Prof. Thomas Davidson has been requested to repeat in Brooklyn the course of lectures he has given in New York, and adds: "His philosophic teachings are marked by remarkable clearness of thought, definiteness of expression, and unanswerable logic. Those who differ from him are compelled to acknowledge his learning and keen ability, while those who agree with him find in his lectures renewed hope and strength for the battle of life."

THE following paragraph is from the *Paris Morning News* of February 27: "Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Stanton gave a reception at their apartments in the Rue Chaillot yesterday evening to Mr. and Mrs. Moncure Conway, who have lately arrived in Paris from London. Among the many guests present, including those just named, were Mme. Adam, editor and proprietor of the *Nouvelle Revue*; Dr. Chapman, of the *Westminster Review*; Mr. Haynie, of the *Boston Herald*; Mr. Edward King, of the *Boston Journal*; Theodore Tilton; Mr. Fernando Jones, of the *Chicago Times*; M. Bartholdi; Mrs. Crawford, of *London Truth*; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bacon, Consul-General Walker, and Miss Conway."

LOUIS PRANG & Co. deserve to be ranked among our national benefactors. The fashion of distributing artistic picture cards on holidays as tokens of friendship—which they, by their fine work, have done much to encourage—is an important factor in awakening the people to a love and appreciation of the beautiful. Our lack of belief in the theological dogmas associated with Easter holidays does not restrain our admiration of the happy designs and the daintiness of finish displayed in the new Easter cards issued by the firm named. The fertility of imagination, coupled with appropriateness of design, which the enterprise of this firm has developed among well-known artists, in a field by no means new, is, indeed, wonderful. Spring flowers, children, the chrysalis and butterfly, the egg and bird, the lamb and cross, with various other Easter emblems of immortality, sacrifice, and joy, are brought into these beautiful cards in the most ingenious and charming manner; and they are in a variety of shapes, from the plain, cheap, tiny card-board to the highly finished silk-fringed, perfumed, hand-painted, satin centred, or plush-bordered picture. Among the artists who contribute to these designs are a number of women. The names of Miss Fidelia Bridges, Mrs. E. F. Fisher, Mrs. O. E. Whiting, Miss L. B. Comins, Miss V. Gerson, Miss A. Hinds, and Miss Helen W. Emery, appear with those of Messrs. W. Hamilton Gibson, Walter Satterlee, T. S. Matthews, Thad. Welch, and A. T. Tait. These

cards are in idea and style thoroughly American,—a characteristic which distinguishes these publications from those of other firms.

SAYS the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*: "At a spiritualistic séance in Philadelphia a few nights ago, a lady who had entered the cabinet came out flushed with joy over the kisses she had received from friends in the spirit world; and the séance from that hour was a pronounced success until a sceptical old bachelor entered the cabinet, and returned to the audience waving a long wooden paddle with a canton-flannel cushion on the end, which he declared was the kisser. To their credit be it said, the ladies who had been in the cabinet met this charge with righteous indignation, and informed the sceptic and the audience that they had been kissed too many times to be deceived by a butter paddle with a canton-flannel cushion. They knew the genuine article, even though they could not see the kisser; only the lips of another human could create that blissful sensation which they had experienced in the cabinet." Notwithstanding this evidence, the *Inter-Ocean* says, it was demonstrated beyond doubt that the medium had introduced "a fraudulent kisser" in the cabinet, and practised deception, showing that it is as possible to market adulterated kisses as it is to sell oleomargarine for butter. Legislation, it is thought, is needed, "that will prevent adulteration which threatens not only to unsettle the market value of these tender salutes, but to destroy even one of the strongest pillars in our social structure." "If a canton-flannel cushion on a butter-paddle in a darkened room is able to produce the sensation of love's salute, then our girls will bid good-by to courting in the parlor, and have no use for beaux except as escorts to the theatre, the confectioner, or the ice-cream and oyster parlor."

AMONG the objections that the *Boston Sunday Herald* urges against woman suffrage is the following: "Each city, State, and national election proves that there is an enormous number of men, frequently the well-to-do and intelligent, who do not care to take the trouble to come to the polls; and, judging by the opposition from women that female suffrage encounters, the proportion of non-voters would be much larger among the women than it has thus far been among the men. Certainly, the lack of interest exhibited by women in the matter of electing candidates to the school board is not an encouraging sign." A sufficient reply to this is the following from Mr. H. B. Blackwell's remarks, concluding the argument of the petitioners for woman suffrage before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, at a hearing given March 9: "It is said that only a few thousand women vote for school committee. The wonder is that any woman votes under such restrictions. She must make personal application to be assessed. She must pay a voluntary tax, unless already taxed. She must render a sworn statement of her property for taxation. That women should do all this, year after year, merely to vote for school committee, is, I say it advisedly, the noblest instance of civic public spirit on record. In special elections, under vastly more favorable conditions, men refuse to vote. On the question of parks in Boston, a few years ago, involving an annual expenditure of millions of dollars, less than one-seventh of our voters voted, and less than one in eleven voted in their favor."

It is stated that James Gorman, of Dublin, a liquor-dealer, who died recently and left \$1,500,000 to various Catholic churches, said to Cardinal McCabe, some time previous to his death, that, since he had derived his fortune from the hard earnings of the poor, he felt that he was their trustee, and that he

should return this money to them. The amount of wretchedness and crime for which this large fortune, made in the liquor business, stands, must be enormous; but we doubt whether it is equal to the evil that will result, directly and indirectly, from the expenditure of the money in supporting superstition which is to-day and has been for centuries Ireland's greatest curse. We are not unmindful of the many good personal qualities the Catholic clergy of Ireland possess, nor of the influence they exert on the side of social order; but the system they represent makes the safety of life and property, wherever it is believed, depend upon their presence, and upon submission to their influence, which, however, may be at any time used, as it often is, to obstruct progress, defeat justice, or even to persecute and destroy heretics. Money, therefore, given to support the Roman Catholic faith in Ireland perpetuates an influence which is hostile to independence and liberty of thought,—development of character among the people and social progress. Doubtless, the intentions of the above-named wealthy liquor-dealer, in leaving money to the Catholic Church, were good. But, if he had been educated morally as he was educated in the dogmas of his Church, he would have kept out of a business that entailed ruin upon thousands; and, if he had not been a creature of the priestly system under which he lived, he would never have given money, derived from the earnings of the poor, to support and strengthen a superstition which keeps the people poor,—and not only poor, but ignorant, and in a condition which is sufficiently indicated by the enormous fortune accumulated by one man in the rum business, and derived from the small earnings of the people.

For The Index.

OUR MISSION FIELD.

We send a missionary host
Across the breadth of ocean wave,
To Christianize the eastern world
And fit the Hindu for the grave.

They leave our cities, hot with vice
And cursed with want, disease, and shame,
Where cruelty abides with sin
And crime is shielded by a name.

We have the wretched of all lands
Within our populous domain:
Here is the field to work, and build
Philanthropy's enduring fane.

The Buddhist scorns to rob the poor,
Or stain with foul deceit his soul;
His appetites and his desires
Are held in disciplined control;

His simple creed is built on love,
Of endless hell he hath no fears:
Why feign to teach him ethic lore
That he hath conned two thousand years?

JULIA CLARK-CHASE.

WRECKS.

Oh, not alone the beating wave
Flings broken treasure on the sands,—
Cargoes no mortal power could save
For aching eyes, for empty hands.

Some day, in quiet inland ways,
'Neath shining skies, 'mid lavish bloom,
We start in bitter, swift amaze,
While slowly knells our hour of doom.

O drowning hands, that wreathe and wring!
The shores are far, the seas are deep:
Fate floats no spar where ye may cling,
Love comes not near your folded sleep.

Yet Love, remembering, dries her tears,
And, thankful, dreams on what has been.
But wrecks of wasted, aimless years
Bow down the heart, like weight of sin.

HELEN T. CLARK.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PA., March, 1885.
—Springfield Republican.

The Index.

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

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

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

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For The Index.

Transcendentalism and Evolution.

BY EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

I.

"Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," "of the earth, earthy," a creature of the day only, with no rightful hope and trust in the lasting fruitfulness of well-guided exertion, no sound exultation in an inward communion with a realm of enduring subsistence and truth. Thy life? A mere sequence of sorry drudgery, fraught with the paltry burden of individual pains and gratifications, connected with no transcendent destiny, no sempiternal fulfilment.

So forlorn a condition, would it not be the veritable "sting of death"? Yea, and of life, too, of life quite especially,—surely not worth its living trouble, if indeed we are merely the visible things now present, accumulating, decaying, vanishing dust-heaps.

But has not in all ages the confutation of just this crushing dust-sentence, the zealous protest against the sense-apparent annihilation of life-acquisitions, been to most of us the very nearest concern of heart and mind? Has not its eager and abundant overthrow in word and deed formed the true joy and pride of all human effort? Myths and temples, epics and sepulchral monuments, the eternalizing symbolism of religion and the typifying realizations of art, the set toil for impersonal ends and the ready sacrifice of life and all for conviction's sake and for the welfare of what survives,—all this life-glorifying pæan, ascending to divine heights, triumphantly disclaims human dust-destination.

From time immemorial, with the dawn of every civilization, it has been the invariable practice, indeed the intuitive bent of our kind, to reject the direct significance of earthly occurrences and their promptings to action, infusing into them more and more of transcendent meaning and permanent effi-

ciency. To primitive man, it evidently all implied something vastly different from what immediately appears. His gathered throng of living memories and nurtured fancies arose everywhere to haunt with weird transcendency the actual presence. Behind, within, and around every manifestation of nature, animated powers seemed to disport themselves at will, and to govern with love or hatred the capricious current of events. Thus, an unseen world of spontaneous potency was made to teem in unrestrained infinitude, holding predominant sway over our narrow habitation and the ominous tide of changeable incidents therein. Peopled all through with overpowering, awe-inspiring agents, it was they who were believed and felt to actuate all occurrences here below, to manifest themselves in the characteristics of each live or lifeless thing, and to rule at pleasure the dark lot of dependent and groping man.

Take heed, unwary stranger, thou art treading on holy ground in the presence of a mighty God. The being now before thee is not simply and really an individual of common bovine extraction, as thou irreverently seemest to apprehend. It is Apis, the life of Ptah, the great God of Memphis, the supreme Artificer and Opener of darkness. Behold his dwelling-place, this vast and gorgeous temple, in whose gigantic pillared courts is entertained by a host of ministering attendants the present Bull-Apis, and where lie enshrined in stupendous sarcophagi the long array of his successive incorporations.

This is not truly Massachusetts Bay, nor our friend Nai-iu-tchai, whom but last summer we met amidst household performances in arid Zuni-land. It is the senior priest of the Holy Order of the Bow, adorned with the mystic insignia of his divine office, who has made a long and venture-some pilgrimage to the "Waters of the World of Day," in order to greet the beloved Mother of his tribe, and to carry away with him some of the sacred substance and virtue of the "Ocean of Sunrise," the birthplace of the spirit-guided clouds and blessed rain. And these are not mere feathers, as some of our scientists might deem, consisting of so and so many grains of horny substance, presently to be cast into an eight per cent. solution of sodium chloride. They are sacred plumes, consecrated at the ancient home of the Zuni Fathers by the priest of the Sun, and now to be sacrificed to the Gods of the Ocean, "the Priest-god makers of the roads of life."

To us illustrious measurers and calculators, to whom everything is becoming so plain and certain, it must seem amazing how, from sunrise to sunrise, and from birth to death, these primitive people are devoutly moving among solemn symbols of perpetual powers, fearfully and confidently intrusting to them the welfare of their little run of life.

We who have circumnavigated the globe, have weighed and analyzed sun and stars, and have traced from primordial elements the formation of our planet and all that thereon dwelleth,—we can discern no such prepotent volitional influences prevailing over the rigorous mechanism of nature.

Yet, for all that, is not the present moment of our own exalted personal existence—just like that ghost-haunted one of the fetish-worshipping savage—only an insignificantly dwindling instant in the accumulated immensity of the sight-withdrawn Past? Has not the steady passage into the Unseen of all that is not just here present, of all that is now no more, of all in verity that has ever been, save this one lapsing moment of realizing consciousness; has not the yearning and striving of our own former selves, the life and death of our dear and revered ones, the hallowed demise of forefathers, the achievements of the heroes of our race,

—has not all this foregone wealth availed abundantly to enrich the possessions of that which overlies the present visible instant?

Within the unremitting rush of all-consuming time, behold the wondrous halo of abiding forms!—a mystic perpetuity of dwindling things, sustaining in growing splendor the perennial *nunc stans* of being, and in its heart of hearts drawing all to a magic focus, the realizing mind of man. However frail and transitory his own individual life,—into his present moment of actual consciousness crowd in irrepressible tide all the slowly secured treasures of bygone ages, and overwhelm his sense with transcendent emotion.

No wonder that distant influences from the illimitable domain of the ingathered Past, from the boundless range of the visibly Absent, are everywhere so generally believed to rule the destiny of manifest existence. In some way, it still all remains with us. Not wholly do our dead vanish from our reach. The virtue of their being abides in our midst in helpful presence and growing awe. Buried ancestors become living gods to actual men. In supplication these kneel, adoringly offering sacrifice to the "makers of their roads of life," invoking their puissant aid in the sore need of temporal distress. Fortified, they rise to their immediate task, strong in the strength of their immortal helpers.

Thus, also, the glory of departed life becomes a fruitful power in the birth of future existence. And we, the ripest fruit of the ages,—can we consciously endure to live on and on, in the sense-bounded, self-concerned isolation of the one poor moment of apperception through which our individual being is just passing? Surely, we also, by some realizing means, desire to maintain a close and closer communion between whatever bit of life and experience the fleeting hours may bring and that vast concentration of transcendent might whence all transitoriness flows,—if not through libations and burnt offerings, through chalice and wafer, through sacraments and canonicals, then through the devotion of our will to the undying aims of creation.

The seers of the inner world have clearly discerned that the phantasmal semblance filling this momentary focus of time, this actual Now of ours, is ever emblematic of the presence of a supernal and unfading reality. Yea, the ecstatic, soul-sounding mystics of all ages and races have felt that we, who even now are realizing living and enduring truth, are therewith also truly one with the creative power.

Where is Zeus and Athenæ, Ares and Hermes? where all the Homeric gods, ruling with immortal fervor the mortal strife of men? where their sacred fanes, reflecting in beauty and splendor the consecrated genius of the most gifted race of beings that ever scorned the dust-derivation of human existence?

Forgetful of every contention, save that of glory, all Hellas hastened in national exultation to the hallowed abode of the Olympian Zeus, there, under the immediate presence of the ancient godhead of their fathers, to offer, in devotional humility and lofty emulation, the proficiencies of undivorced body and mind, assiduously and cumulatively matured during centuries of systematic training and life-long personal exertion.

Alas! vanished altogether from among us have the lightsome grace and competency of Hellenic life, vanished most of the sense of natural worthiness and bodily efficiency that animated and fostered it.

With us, the gladness of the ever-glorious triumph of life over dust is weighted down by a too massive consciousness of the Stygian throng. The

unbuoyed preponderance of an ill-embodied mind sinks us into the doleful abyss of personal cares. Would not, O Preserver of all fruitful life-acquisitions, O Sustainer of the joyous, life-giving concord in which we have our being,—would not a more perfect incorporation of high-wrought life lead us rather to rejoice in our common abundance of generic gifts than thus despondingly to mourn individual deficiencies?

As it is, "our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought." But how touching, amid the modern gloom of self-concerned consciousness, to trace the wondrously vivifying influence of the least little infusion of that nature-moulded spirit of ancient Greece, as from time to time it found its way into the stagnating obfuscation of the hierarchical despotism, which for more than a thousand years absolutely governed the conduct and thought of our race!

If the fall of Hellenic life left cold and meaningless the marble consolidations and conspicuous solemnities of the gods and their worship, its glow did not altogether depart from the reasoned thought of its free-pondering sages. How soul-stirring that nature-fathoming thought must have been, when livingly imparted to an eager youth in academy and lyceum! How mutely and precariously deposited afterward in destructible libraries on mouldering parchment! But, for all that, it managed to diffuse itself, a quickening life-current, through the withering ages of mediæval obscurantism, so that now our own creed-bound abhorers of nature find themselves and all their pursuits, even to gospel-preaching, discordantly impregnated with its nature-affirming spirit,—a religion of life infusing itself into a religion of death, the *memento mori* skull and dry bones of Orthodoxy reinvesting themselves, by dint of free thought, with their natural inheritance of living beauty and human aspiration.

This revivification, this veritable renaissance, is due, above all, to the enthusiasm-kindling thought of Plato, the divine. His reality-idealizing world-conception—engendered, faithful to Diotima's teaching, like the fruits of true love in lofty passion for visible and intellectual beauty—has outlived all authoritatively established religious beliefs and observances of antiquity, and has for many a century been threatening to assimilate or to supplant the specific anti-humanitarian doctrines of Christianity. Surely, if truth be that which is unperishingly real, and the recognition of which admits us mentally to participate in enduring reality, then a great deal of such truth must undoubtedly be contained in a system of thought that has stood the test of more than two thousand years of zealous contestation, and has victoriously survived solely by dint of intrinsic virtue, and by no means through any artificial fostering from king or priest. Consider only the number of poets, philosophers, and reforming divines who have drawn their inspiration from the Platonic way of thinking. And what is this Transcendentalism, so widely prevalent in our own day among serious and ardent truth-seekers, but Platonism resuscitated, Platonism neo-platonically overwrought?

So steady a turn of mind and source of enlightenment must surely have its origin in the very constitution of our understanding and in its inwoven relations to the universe at large. It will be well, therefore, to try to expose somewhat the natural conditions that favor this irrepressible world-conception, inevitably leading to one of the only two ultimate resting-places of hyper-phenomenal contemplation,—Transcendentalism.

The most fundamental distinction detectable in our sundry endeavors to form a conception of this

mystic world of ours is that which to ancient philosophers presented itself on the one side as the perpetual flux in nature, on the other side as the permanent repose in thought. To our senses, objects and occurrences are constantly shifting and changing. Our reason, on the contrary, finds all things and events linked together in immutable order. To our senses, the things of this world seem phenomena in time; time itself from moment to moment, lapsing into that which is no more. Reason discerns, as the reality underlying this phenomenal play, an ever identically abiding presence in mind, unaffected by the changeful and perishing manifestations of sense.

Early in the development of Greek thinking, this salient contrast of world-apprehension was detected and consistently followed up. Already Heraclitus (500 B.C.) understood that the senses perceive only the manifold and changeable, while to reason the universal and immutable are cognizable. "That," says Heraclitus, "is universal in which all rational beings concur; and this it is which constitutes objective truth." As ground of the common consent of reason in objective truth, he—like so many after him—discerned a divine or universal intelligence. This profound intuition, giving expression to the strange incongruity naturally subsisting between the varying play of sense-apparent particulars and the constancy and repose of what is intelligibly and universally apprehended, a century later germinated and grew into the ever memorable Platonic system.

Multifarious trials since have proved that the consistent outcome of the sense-philosophy must necessarily be material or mental Atomism, views by no means unfamiliar to the last two centuries. The consistent outcome of the intelligence-philosophy was, is, and ever will be transcendental Idealism, such as is rapidly spreading among philosophers of the present generation. These two modes of world-interpretation, either by means of sense-composition or by means of thought-inclusion, indicate the main bearings or—as has hitherto seemed—the opposites poles of human mentality: the one pointing toward the external, sense-manifested universe as the real object to be recognized; the other toward the intelligible inner world of universal comprehension. Sensationalism one way, rationalism the other.

When we, then, historically trace how this fundamental antithesis of sense and reason was furthermore construed by the Eleatic sages, we arrive at the very fount and origin of Occidental Transcendentalism. The great thinkers of the school of Xenophanes of Elea found themselves unable to realize in thought how a thing now existing could possibly produce any other thing not yet existing, or how anything actually existing could owe its being to something now passed into non-existence. They could not understand the process of the becoming of veritable reality. Led by many subtle and penetrating considerations regarding the unsubstantial consistency of sense-phenomena, they came to the conclusion that true reality can be found only in an all-embracing, eternal, and immutable unity conceived by reason. In this crowning conclusion of rationalism, God and the world necessarily coalesced into a single, absolute substance. Thinking and being became identical.

Now, it is clear that any system whatever, which makes reason and reality, thinking and being, identical, has consistently to profess the pantheistic creed. If the unitary and unchangeable world of truth realized in thought is as such the veritable, supreme, and sole reality, then everything thought of—which means everything in the world—must necessarily form part of the eternal substance, intelligence, reality, or whatever name we may give

to this sole birthplace and substratum of all existence: *ἐν καὶ πάν*.

Adherents of the identity philosophy among us, our Hegelians, neo-Kantians, Transcendentalists, or by whatever name they go, ought to understand and not shrink from distinctly avowing that they have to be uncompromisingly ranged among pantheists. By no consistent effort of thought can they establish any legitimate conformity with the fundamental assumption of the orthodox creed,—a created world external to God's personality, or in substance unidentical with it. Transcendentalism, whether its organ be pure reason or intellectual intuition, is and will ever remain essentially pantheistic.

For the sake of the all-important results of human conduct, it is time that we should abstain from indulging our sympathizing faculties in the pleasantly versatile or over-considerate advocacy of ambiguities involved in whatever kind of eclecticism. A Transcendentalist cannot consistently sympathize with theistic tenets; and the sooner this is fully understood, the better for us.

The validity of Theism in contradistinction to Pantheism turns chiefly on the amount of efficiency granted as actually inhering in our individual thought. If thinking is held to be identical with being, it must be in itself all-efficient; and then Pantheism is the inevitable consequence. If, on the other hand, we attribute to realizing thought not a constitutive, but only a representative character, which we unavoidably do by *personally* separating the nature and being of the thinking subject from the nature and being of the supreme intelligence, in which alone truth is believed to dwell,—if we thus start from the conception of two distinct and totally different individualities,—we unfailingly get entangled in a Theism in which human reason is intrinsically powerless, so far as its spontaneous grasp of universal truth is concerned.

Either our understanding merely passively reflects what it must always receive from an independent and higher source or it is itself a direct source of efficiency, participating by dint of its own nature in that power which in its adequate exertion constitutes supreme reality. Either our intelligence is in essence one with universal intelligence, and then we can reach truth by a power belonging to our own nature, or our intelligence is separated from universal intelligence by a total difference of personality; and then we can receive truth only passively as a free gift from on high.

Surely, this very obvious distinction is also a most momentous one. Let us remember it on all suitable occasions, never confusedly mixing up rationalistically derived truth with supernaturally imparted revelation, which latter kind of enunciation must perforce constitute the foundation of every consistent theistic creed.

In connection with these evident logical considerations and as directly bearing on our present religious perplexities, it is highly instructive to notice how the great Augustine, who laid the first systematic groundwork of the Roman Catholic faith, commenced his career by enthusiastically and inadvertently promulgating the rationalistic view, but ended it, as a dutiful son of the Church, by rigorously professing in orthodox "retractations" the utmost logical consequences of the passive reception on our part of all divine influence.

The doctrine of the substantial emanation of the human soul and being from the Deity, and their striving for reidentification, as taught by some of the Gnostics, had been rejected by the Church. So Augustine could not well start from this basis, so generally built upon by the Alexandrian philosophers. But to him, in his younger days, truth was,

nevertheless, the recognition, by dint of intrinsic human faculties, of "the necessary, the unchangeable, and the eternal." Augustine, at that time, believed that the only way to penetrate the mysteries of the soul consisted in a "diligent attendance to the facts of self-consciousness." He says, moreover, "Reason, constituting the eternal identity, alone gives being."

Who can fail to discern how closely this way of thinking is related to the Transcendentalism of our day? But it is certain now, as it was then, that no rationalistic thinking after the manner of Plato, and no intellectual intuition as indulged in by Plotinus and his followers, can possibly reconcile the disclosures of natural reason with those of supernatural revelation; can in any way lead to the understanding of an optional creation of the world from nothing, and, further on, to the sinful and banished soul of man finding, through any effort originated and sustained by efficiencies of its own, the far-removed divine truth exclusively inherent in God's personality.

Therefore, after having fully realized the incompatibility of rationalism and supernaturalism, Augustine—consistent thinker as he was—did not refrain from giving emphatic expression to the insuperable distance forever separating such thinkers as reason on the strength of their own consciousness from orthodox Churchmen, from all indeed who rely on genuine theistic premises, always necessarily consisting in supernaturally imparted truth. He maintained, unequivocally, that man is powerless in himself to conceive truth and to act rightly. Without the least merit on our part, God reveals his truth to whom he pleases; and our passive soul through immediate divine influence receives its directions for action as authoritative commandments. Some of us, and this without any eligible qualification whatever, are destined to enjoy eternal bliss, others to suffer eternal damnation. God's grace is everything. Our human reason and striving avail us nothing.

This creed is certainly logical without the least opening for doubt or practical error, provided only we have as advisers a heavenly accredited order of recipients through which the divine ordinances are legitimately communicated to us. Who can deny that St. Augustine proved himself a resolute thinker by following so unflinchingly the bent of his theistic tenets to the bitter end?

The Church, having sanctioned the premises, felt—in this case at all events—compelled to adopt, doctrinally, at least, also the conclusions. Would it not be strangely interesting exactly to learn the general and personal motives of those who thus solemnly voted for the total abdication of human intelligence? Were they perchance some such reverent and conscientious considerations as those so lucidly and ingenuously laid before us by John Henry Newman, in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*? Well, then, all ye who are still remaining within the pale of churchdom, and have kept alive the import and courage of your leading opinions, go and follow the illustrious example of him who sacrificed his great mind, heart, and life to the logical consequences of supernatural revelation. Where he is you also must land, or eke out your existence on a shoreless ocean of doubt. Awaiting in celibacy, within a cloister, your release from temporality and removal to eternal life by God's infinite mercy, and grace; believing without hesitancy, following with implicit obedience even the most irrational and rigorous injunctions of your holy Church,—this is the correct attitude of true believers.

Guidance by direct infusion of free and unmerited grace is altogether incompatible with guidance by our own natural consciousness, and inter-

pretation by human reason of a divine revelation, recorded in holy Scriptures, quite incompatible with the supernatural origin and meaning of such inspired Writ, which admits only of exposition by an infallible Church ever supernaturally directed, and mediating between heaven and earth through the instrumentality of a priesthood, sacramentally ordained.

The alternative is clear,—either rational elucidation of our own consciousness or direct inspiration from above. These two modes of insight are wholly exclusive of each other. Truth is either natural and inherent or supernatural and imparted. We have to trust one or the other source of enlightenment, and not persist in vacillating between the two. Shall we never cease confusing the solemn aims of existence by considerations of expediency or cowardly prevarication? Shall we again and again fight out among ourselves the same old battles, long ago lost or won for all who sincerely desire to accept the issues? Let us frankly and with our whole heart join whatever side has gained our conviction.

The Church, of course, here also, as with asceticism, knew very well how practically to compromise between its theological maxims and its popular ministrations, between unmerited grace and the moral promptings of natural life, between the passive awaiting of the divine influence and its solicitation by offerings. But the history of human thinking has established as an incontrovertible truth, and reason understands distinctly, that the decrees of a being, into whose spontaneous intelligence we possess no natural insight, have to be supernaturally disclosed; and that, on the other hand, a reality or truth, of whose essence we naturally partake by force of our own intelligence, must be in natural agreement with the realizing power in us.

The genius of such philosophico-religious harmonizers as Schelling, Hegel, and Coleridge can just as little suffice to bring into conformity the conclusions of rational consciousness with the doctrinal revelations upon which Churchmen have to rely as the interpretative ingenuity of theological scientists has availed to work out a concordance between cosmological and geological facts and the primitive guesses of the Book of Genesis.

However much we may sympathize with the veneration shown to time-honored traditions, however much we may feelingly appreciate the zealous effort of sincere believers to interpret nature in the light of a faith guided by supernatural inspiration, we, in the fulness of our historical and philosophical insight,—in order to avoid further hopeless confusion,—have once for all to make quite clear to ourselves that such of us as ground their faith on the verdict of their own consciousness cannot possibly blend creeds with those who depend on authoritative directions imparted by a will or intelligence having its subsistence outside human nature and vision.

Rationalism, in its struggle for the right of self-determination, had, with indomitable perseverance and innumerable sacrifices, bit by bit, to wrestle its independence from an implacable foe,—a foe at first all-powerful, and then only very gradually succumbing to the reign of intrinsically guided reason. But rationalism, after so many centuries of wrangling with the legitimate guardian of supernatural injunctions, ought by this time to realize that the essence of its disagreement with the Catholic Church does not lie in the contested truths as such, but in the radical difference of the organ and method through which they respectively attempt to arrive at what is really true.

When we go to probe still deeper the foundation of these irreconcilable diversities of creed, we find

that they ultimately rest on a difference in the conception of what constitutes a genuine personality. Taking its stand on the assumption of a supernatural personality, to which our own human personality is in no way connaturally related, Roman Catholicism occupies an impregnable position. A personality is an autonomous being whose consciousness is its own inclusive possession, shared as such by no other personality,—a being realizing by force of its own indwelling capacities the significance of mere signs reaching it from outside. Human intelligence can thus spontaneously understand only what is in true agreement with its own natural proclivity. It cannot, by dint of self-inherent efficiency, understand revealing signs, emanating from the incommensurable and incomprehensible constitution of a supernatural personality. There is no mental communion between different personalities, save through signs intelligible by means of congruity of nature. Therefore, it needs a standing miracle to render humanly comprehensible such signs as may come to us from a sphere inscrutably transcending our own nature.

It is eminently enlightening to realize that the doctrines of any faith, however intuitively that faith may have been evolved, become gradually elaborated in logical keeping with the fundamental conception of such faith. We have before us, in our own selves, a human personality, apparently self-rounded and autonomous. How is it connected with being in general? This is the great enigma. The nature of an individuated personality and its relation to universal existence and truth form the manifest mystery, giving rise to our principal religious and philosophical perplexities. The sundry ways of apprehending this original enigma draw with them whole systems of logically consistent doctrines.

Within the scope of our own Christian development, the history of heresies and the scholastic philosophy bear ample witness to the correctness of the above assertion. It was Roscelin who, in the eleventh century, first drew general attention to this common root of all dissent. He, of course, got well damned for his pains, and richly deserved it; for his impertinent speculations on personality threatened to overthrow one of the chief dogmas of the orthodox creed. He recognized, namely, that a diversity of persons logically and naturally excludes their unity of substance. He argued: if the three persons of the Trinity are only one divine being or substance, then all that happens to one of the persons must also happen to the divine being or substance itself. If, however, anything can occur to one of the persons and not to the others, then they are three separate beings and not One. It is not here the place to point out the awkward implications of this reasoning, when applied to church doctrines. Suffice it to say that even Anselm, the chief adversary of Roscelin, was induced by its relevancy to concede: "*Tres deus vera posse dici, si usus admitteret.*"

In defence of his Church, the illustrious Abelard, like many before and after him, endeavored to explain by force of reason the relation of various autonomous personalities to one including substance. In this unifying attempt, reason has always signally failed, because it did not possess adequate intuitive or experiential premises to work upon. Evolution, or rather vital organization and its functions, as will be shown further on, are alone competent to furnish a clew to this great and ancient riddle. The co-inherence of different attributes, properties, affections, or functions in one and the same subject throws no light on the assumed inclusion or participation of divers personalities in one single substance. For, as

ready explained in the twelfth century by the profound Richard a Sancto Victore, "the Deity and his attributes, as composing an *individual substance*, cannot possibly be shared by any other personality, cannot as such yield any part of its own nature to other beings." We see that even in the Dark Ages not everything seemed possible to those who were bold enough to follow the light of natural reason.

In philosophy proper, the same consideration—also started anew by troublesome Roscelin—gave rise to the famous contest between realism and nominalism, which may be said to have its root in Plato and Aristotle respectively, and which has lasted ever since. Taking the sundry separate things we are naturally perceiving to be individual substances, it follows, in accordance with the same reasoning as applied to the three persons of the Trinity, that general ideas, or so-called concepts, including many such individuals, can have no substantial reality, but must be mere words or names. The individual trees, for instance, are the real existents, the "tree in general" a mere collective name conventionally and conveniently established by ourselves. Analogically, then, there would be, in actual existence, many individual men, but nothing real corresponding to what is called—Humanity (!?).

Now, every one will feel that, while it is easy to common sense to accede to the proposition that, for example, only individual stones or chairs are real, and not our idea of a universal stone or chair, it becomes a very different and far more perplexing question when we consider what it is that gives unity to an organic species, and thus also to humanity at large, as distinguished from the mere coexistence and sequence of the separate individual lives of which it seems composed.

As it is one and the same realizing organ—namely, our own mind—by which, in both instances, the general conception is formed, is it not highly probable that the difference so distinctly felt as regards its objective reality,—the reality of the general entity *stone*, and that of the general entity *humanity*,—that this difference must lie principally in the vital and social properties which distinguish a natural man from a natural mineral, and not in any mysterious efficiency of the mental operation by which the general conceptions are framed?

As stated before, the relation of the realizing individual to universal or super-individual existence and truth forms the central puzzle of our world-conception. The emotional apprehension of this relation constitutes the fundamental intuition of religion, and determines, in its sundry variations, the deviation in the aims of life and the strife engendering diversity of creeds.

We will next consider how Transcendentalism, and then how Evolution, attempts to deal with the problem.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of March 5, Prof. V. B. Denslow is credited with the expression of some ideas relative to the distribution of wealth from which I most emphatically dissent. That such ideas were current I was aware, but always imagined that, in a democratic community, their propagation would be prosecuted in secret, out of regard for public opinion. Prof. Denslow, however, on some subjects, is no mean authority, so that his errors in regard to this matter are the more likely to mislead.

My mode of life, conforming as it does to daily manual work, ill befits me to cope with a professor in a war of words. I would, however, question a few of

his assertions, in the hope that others may be led to think twice before accepting them. "To make wealth universal," says the professor, would be "to annihilate it." Again, "An equal distribution of wealth in America would give each person \$1,000; but what could he do with it, if [italics mine] values had been scattered to the winds and production stopped?" That "if" was put in well there. Supposing that each person had \$1,000: would the value of a cord of maple on a cold day be less? would hunger be no more felt? or does the professor maintain that the possession of equality of wealth would bring for each individual an infinite similarity of wealth? Otherwise, how would values be scattered or productions cease?

Given an equal distribution of wealth, and, according to the professor's words, "manufactures would cease, commerce would die, and the wheels of society stop," and more in a similar strain. That is to say, a man having a surplus of butter, but no fire-wood, would not care about exchanging with a neighbor having a surplus of fuel, but no butter, because, forsooth, their possessions in the total were equal! Perhaps he will tell us next that, if the wealth of Michigan should equal that of Ohio, Ohio would no longer need lumber or Michigan need wool.

It may be that, where Prof. Denslow resides, it is customary for men to retire from active interests upon the acquirement of a thousand dollars or so. Now, here, in Northern Michigan, it is not that way. It happened that my employer set a man helping me in the most simple yet most laborious part of my work, who has several thousand dollars bringing good interest, and is owner of a comfortable home. Other men among us have as many millions as this man has thousands, who lack no incentive to action.

"The unequal distribution of wealth is the great and only promoter of civilization": thus saith the professor! We have wealth in this country, no doubt; and of its unequal distribution there is no question,—we can all agree on that point. And yet, with the wealth and the wonderful, energizing element of unequal distribution, manufactures, commerce, and "the wheels of society" creak dismally in their rusty old bearings, and gaunt poverty stalks—But I forbear. I will simply state that our elevators are crammed with wheat; there are miles of docks piled high with lumber, and warehouses packed full of an almost infinite variety of products sufficient for the present need of all: yet the unequal distribution has destroyed the power to purchase of so large a portion of the people that commerce, manufactures, and the wheels of society seem greatly out of joint.

"Organized capital," says the professor, "is to the advantage of the whole." In my humble opinion, from what I can see, read, and hear, organized capital aims to impoverish the toiling masses by dictating and diminishing wages. Truly, in their eyes, as the professor says, "wealth has no meaning without want"; but what means want without means to supply it? Destroy the purchasing power of the masses, and what will you do with the product of labor? Pile it up, and preach of over-production! Quote Malthus, and croak about the spread of socialistic ideas! The fable of the killing of the goose that laid the golden eggs may serve to illustrate the kind of spectacle we would see presented, were "all the world a stage" and Prof. Denslow stage manager.

Respectfully,

F. HARMER.

MANISTEE, MICH., March 11, 1885.

THE NEW RELIGION.

Friend Editors:—

"The New Religion," proposed by John Cotton Dana in the last number of *The Index*, from which wonder and faith are proposed to be eliminated, has called forth in my mind a feeling of wonder that any sensible man could indite anything so absurd as the following: "We need not any element of wonder other than that which the simplest of nature's works inspires, nor any element of faith as distinct from belief in a scientific truth." What the "simplest" of nature's works are we are left to infer. I suppose the movements of the heavenly bodies, as are conceived by what is known as Kepler's laws, would not come under the category of the "simplest of nature's works." And yet it was a knowledge of these three great laws of planetary motion which led Kepler to exclaim, "O God, I think thy thoughts after thee!"

Will the new religion allow of the idea,—the sublime? I suppose that this savors too much of "the element of mystery" to suit the view of our essayist. Or that Alcyon, the brightest star in the Pleiads, is the centre of the stellar universe, around which our sun and stars revolve? This would be too grand a thought to suit the disciples of the New Religion, as they must be "inspired" only by "the simplest of nature's works." Neither would it do, I suppose, to speak of the wondrous elasticity of the ethereal wave which binds all space. Or that the brightest hues of sunset are caused by kindred units of sodium mingling into one.

Nothing of the supernatural, of course, is to be allowed in the New Religion; and yet all that is desirable in our civilization is *above* nature. Man has to keep nature under all the time to raise in New England the "simplest" crop of corn or beans, just as "the seed of the kingdom" will not produce "some thirty, some sixty, and some one hundred," except upon "the good ground." Thorns must not be allowed to choke it; and "the rocky places, where they had not much earth" (understanding), must have more "depthness of earth." * What a poor, little, miserable, simple, *unesthetic* science it is which makes man the mere servant of his limitations? I see that R. G. Ingersoll received some \$3,000 the other night in New York for making sport of the Bible mainly. And yet in that same book it is written in Exodus xxiii.: "Behold, I send an *angel* before thee to keep thee in the way, and bring thee into the place which I have prepared." Now, we Friends have faith in the teachings of this *angel*: thus, we learn, not so much from our limitations (doubts), as from the *IDEAL* which the Eternal has throned in man "as observer and guardian of his life."† And the faith in which we believe consists in fidelity and fealty to the divine witness for God in the soul.

The difference between divine faith and the mere belief inspired by science or speculation is thus alluded to by Isaac Pennington, some two hundred and forty years ago: "There is a faith which is of man's self, and a faith which is the gift of God, or a power of believing which is found in the nature of fallen man, and a power of believing which is given from above. . . . If man's knowledge, religion, and worship proceed from and stand in the faith which is of man, they cannot please God nor conduce to the salvation of the soul." Thus, we teach that man cannot know the Eternal by the theoretic or speculative reason, but, as Kant taught, by the practical reason; i.e., the universal reason, or the inward light in the inner self. And this faith we hold to be something more than mere scientific truth.

I was under the impression that science had relinquished its search after the Infinite when it assumed the name Agnostic, which name was not assumed willingly, but in consequence of its failure to discover the Ultimate in a single grain of sand or a single drop of water.

How clear it is that everything is known by itself and not by another! Thus, the Eternal is known by himself and not by another, knowledge concerning him being different from all other forms of knowledge: "God hath not been seen at any time: the only begotten of the Father, he hath revealed him." Now, it requires "depth of ground" to understand such sayings as these, as we know nothing except through revelation, each object in nature being revealed by itself and not by another. Just so the Supreme Mind reveals himself through the sentiment of faith, hope, and love; and this sentiment does not belong to the category of speculative or scientific reason. The knowledge of God "cometh not by observation." He seems very distant to those who seek thus to attain a knowledge respecting him; but he is very near, says the Yaga Vedas, "to those who feel a wish to know him." And, till this wish is *begotten* in the mind, man is but a wanderer and an alien upon the face of the earth.

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, PA., 1 mo. 16, 1885.

REV. WILLIAM I. GILL writes: "Mr. Charles Froebel, in *The Index* of March 19, explains the large attendance in the churches on Sundays so steadily by saying that they have been taught that Sunday is God's day peculiarly, in which they must worship him for the salvation of their soul. Now, I know no

* Matt. xiii., 8.

† Seneca.

minister who teaches any difference in days,—only that a seventh day for bodily rest and spiritual culture accords with Scripture and reason, whether it be the first, last, or middle day of the week; but they prefer the first, because it is well established and associated with the resurrection of Christ. They do not understand that any day is enjoined, but that it is profitable, nay, if well improved, necessary to our higher spiritual welfare. There are a few narrow exceptions to this, no doubt; but this is the general notion. This, therefore, does not explain, as Mr. Froebel thinks, the secret of Sabbath congregations in Christian churches."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE SECRET OF DEATH. (From the Sanskrit.) With Some Collected Poems. By Edwin Arnold, author of *The Light of Asia*, and *Other Poems*. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1885. Price \$1.00.

This is "the author's only authorized American edition" of these poems. There is a tripartite poetic dedication: first, "To America," which begins thus:—

"Thou new Great Britain! famous, free, and bright!
West of thy West sleepeth my ancient East;
Our sunsets make thy noons! Day time and night
Meet in sweet morning promise on thy breast."

The "Dedication" proper is "To my Daughter"; the third, entitled "Introduction," is addressed to his wife. The poem, "The Secret of Death," from which the volume takes its name, purports to be a conversation held between an Englishman and a Brahmin priest, who explains a Sanskrit manuscript, which the former endeavors to read. Mr. Arnold, better than any other English-writing poet, seems to have caught the subtle meaning of the Buddhist faith, and has given us a most beautiful interpretation of it. The majority of his American readers will be those ignorant of the Sanskrit, ignorant also of the dogmas and tenets taught by Buddhism. To such, the question will naturally be suggested whether Mr. Arnold only faithfully reports, in language suited to the solemn import of deep thoughted, far-reaching Buddhist religion, the genuine utterances of its exponents, or whether he does not unconsciously enrich and idealize that faith through the medium of his own exalted poetic conception of the lessons taught by it. As represented by him, Buddhism as a religious philosophy, contains much in exquisite harmony with the most advanced thought of this age.

Though the dialogue scarcely seems to us the best form in which philosophic truth can best be taught, yet the naturalness of the conversation is admirably preserved, and is a means of adding brilliance to the thought and strength to the moral of the lesson enforced. The frequent interpolation of the original Sanskrit text, while it gives an air of reality to the poem, will, we fear, be considered by the general reader a drawback to the sense of the lesson sought to be imparted, and to the perfect enjoyment of reading this fine poem, which gives us grand thoughts set in jewel words. Those who remember Emerson's "If the red slayer think he slays" will be interested in Mr. Arnold's version of the same Buddhist thought, part of which version we here give:—

"If he that slayeth thinks, 'I slay'; if he
Whom he doth slay thinks, 'I am slain'—then both
Know not aright! That which was life in each
Cannot be slain, nor slay!"

The Untouched soul,
Greater than all the worlds [because the worlds
By it subsist], smaller than subtleties
Of things minutest, last of ultimates,
Sits in the hollow heart of all that lives."

Of the other poems of this volume (over forty in number), though they are very unequal in merit, the poorest is well worth perusal. They are written in all sorts of moods and all kinds of measure. Those written for "occasions" have least poetic worth, but many of the shorter spontaneous poems show the hand of the true poet. There is such a musical barbaric jingle in poems like "The Rajah's Ride," "A Bihari Mill-song," and the "Song of the Serpent-charmers," that we are fain to believe these to be veritable transcripts of some native poems; and yet they are matched so well in spirit and vigor by other poems on far different subjects in the volume that we feel inclined to credit Mr. Arnold with all the

good things he presents us as translations from varied sources, and think him correct in saying:—

"Fond fancies, past the telling,
Come o'er me, idly spelling
The mystic meaning dwelling
In what these Hindus taught:

"So fast they rise, and faster,
That I bid them overmaster
Slow study; and far past her
Carry my willing thought."

S. A. U.

SONGS IN ALL SEASONS. By James B. Kenyon. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1885. Price \$1.00.

This pretty volume contains some sixty poems, all readable, none tiresome, the poetic expression more than passable in all, but none of them possible to be counted among the poems that will survive this generation. The best that can be said of them is that they are rhythmic, sweet, sensuous, and sentimental. They are not strong; but so few poems are strong that the weakness of these is not discreditable, since they have "an excuse for being" as a transcript of common poetic feeling, and will be read with much pleasure by many. Mr. Kenyon seems to be a lover of nature in all her varied phases. His poems are strongly marked by this predilection, and he is at his best when he becomes her interpreter. Among the best of these poems may be named "The Wanderer" and "The Tyrian's Memory."

The April number of the *North American Review* contains most interesting articles. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, in the opening paper,—"A Study of Prison Management,"—gives a condensed and extremely readable account of what has been done at the Elmira Reformatory in the moral education of men intrusted to its charge. The statement that eighty per cent. of the inmates are sent out reformed and become good citizens speaks volumes for the methods of the institution. The article is a valuable contribution to the psychological study of criminal life. Chief Justice T. F. Hargis has a paper on "The Law's Delay." Robert Buchanan writes on "Free Thought in America," of which he gives no proof in this article of possessing much information. It is devoted partly to Ingersoll, whom it abuses, but mainly to Frothingham, whom it alternately criticises and patronizingly praises. The article has literary merits, and some of its criticisms are just; but, as a whole, it is superficial, and is no contribution to our knowledge of "Free Thought in America." Mr. A. R. Spofford, in "Characteristics of Persian Poetry," shows that the poetry of the Persians, "for descriptive power, for ideality, for lofty imagination, and for magnificence of diction, is worthy of a high place in the world's literature." "The Agricultural Crisis in England," by William E. Bear, is a very clear discussion of questions important to Americans as well as to Englishmen. The other articles are "How to Reform Spelling," by Prof. T. W. Hunt, and "The Army of the Discontented," by T. V. Powderly. The new department of "Comments" in this number, consisting of brief criticisms, by different writers, of articles that have appeared in the *Review*, is an interesting feature.

The *Popular Science Monthly* for April opens with "The Character and Discipline of Political Economy," by Prof. Laurence Laughlin. In a first paper on "The Nervous System and Consciousness," Prof. W. R. Benedict, with the aid of illustrations, describes the structure of the nervous system, and lays the foundation for a discussion of its relations to consciousness. Mr. George Iles, in "A Chapter in Fire Insurance," sketches a scientific scheme of insurance as it is illustrated in the "mutual" plan adopted by a number of New England factories, in which the first point aimed at, and with an attained measure of success, is the prevention of conflagrations. Dr. Franz Boas, a German arctic explorer, furnishes an interesting sketch of life on Cumberland Sound, and of the Esquimaux who visit or dwell upon its shores, with some of their superstitions. The Count Goblet d'Alviella, of the University of Brussels, discusses "The Religious Value of the Unknowable." Judge Gorham D. Williams suggests, in the matter of "Liquor Legislation," a new departure, by which society can take better care of itself. Mr. Allen Pringle has a well-written and instructive article on "Apiculture." Other articles are those of Dr. von Pettenkofer on the modes of

propagation of cholera; of Mr. Fernald, on "Aristotle as a Zoölogist," dealing chiefly with his mistakes; of Charles Morris, on the "Structure and Division of the Organic Cell"; of Mr. Edis, on the "Internal Arrangement of Town Houses"; and Mattieu Williams' "Chemistry of Cookery" paper on "The Wear and Tear of the Body." A portrait and a sketch are given of Prof. John Trowbridge, of Harvard University. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

We are in receipt of the February and March numbers of the *Library Magazine*, John B. Alden, 393 Pearl Street, New York, publisher. This excellent magazine—which, following the lead of *Littell's Living Age* and the *Eclectic Magazine*, makes a specialty of reprints of the best thought of the age—is a marvel of cheapness, being published monthly, at the nominal price of \$1.50 per year. Among the writers and articles presented in these two numbers, we have only space to call attention to the following: "Samuel Johnson," by Edmund Gosse; "Shakspeare's Country," by Rose Kingsley; "John Vanderlyn and Theodosia Burr," from the *New York Times*; "Co-operation in England," by Thomas Hughes; "The Savage," by Max Müller; "Two Sun-like Planets," by Richard A. Proctor; "Secret or Open Sessions of the Senate," by Benson J. Lossing; "A Word More about America," by Matthew Arnold; "Imperial Federation," by W. E. Forster, M.P.; "Dublin Castle," by Justin McCarthy; "The American Audience," by Henry Irving; "A Shattered Monument," by W. Mattieu Williams; and "The Disabilities and Limitations of Sex," by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which we notice is credited to the *New York Independent*, although it appeared originally as a contribution to *The Index*.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, a good number, the serials by Craddock, Mrs. Oliphant, and Miss Jewett are continued, and Dr. Holmes adds the attraction of a poem, called "The Old Song," to his instalment of "The New Portfolio." The papers on Madame Mohl are also continued; and an essay on "Time in Shakspeare's Plays," by Henry A. Clapp, forms a pendant to a former article on "Time in Shakspeare's Comedies." A delightful paper entitled "George Frederick Handel: 1685-1835," by John S. Dwight; "Political Economy and the Civil War," a study by J. Laurence Laughlin; a story called "Fate Dominant," by F. R. Stockton; "An Unclassified Philosopher," a sketch; and a paper on the Sparrow, by Olive Thorne Miller,—are the other attractions of the number. The poetry comprises "Fiammetta," by Helen Gray Cone; "Cressid," by Nora Perry; "The Strange Guest," by Edith M. Thomas; and "Easter Lilies," by John B. Tabb. There are also reviews of recent poetry by Browning, Tennyson, and Swinburne, and of Gosse's edition of Gray's Works, together with the usual Contributors' Club and Books of the Month. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

THE RISE OF INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY FROM THALES TO COPERNICUS.

By FREDERICK MAY HOLLAND,

Author of *The Reign of the Stoics*. Price \$3.50.

The author of this book has chosen a magnificent subject; and, although it is formidable in extent and much of it involved in obscurity, and all of it complicated with great questions of history and human progress, he has yet been able to throw much new light upon that liberalization of thought which went very unsteadily forward during twenty-two hundred years, before the great modern movement of the development for intellectual liberty. The work is a delineation of tendencies, a series of sketches of the great minds who at different times and under varied circumstances, and with unequal effect, have struck for independence of thought, a presentation of the counterforces that have antagonized intellectual liberty, and an account of the working of all those larger agencies which have in different degrees hindered or promoted freedom and independence of thought. Without having subjected the work to critical scrutiny, we are much impressed by the evidence it shows of extensive and conscientious labor, the freshness and interest of its chief subject-matter, the untrammelled treatment of the subject, and the vigor of the portrayal of that long and agonizing conflict with bigotry and intolerance, religious and political, public and private, which is the price of our modern liberty of thinking.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*

For sale at THE INDEX office, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Freidenker* for March 22 charges the *Socialist* of New York with inconsistency in sometimes declaring that the emancipation of the lower classes should be carried on by distribution of the most advanced books and pamphlets without recourse to violence, and sometimes asserting that the socialistic democrats have always been of opinion that their ends were to be attained by revolution, and not by continual agitation. The *Freidenker's* own preference is, of course, for peaceful measures.

FRANCOIS XAVIER BEAUDRY, the wickedest man in Montreal, died last week. His fortune, estimated at more than two millions, was built up by leasing houses for immoral purposes. Up to a few days before his death, he personally collected his exorbitant rents, from door to door. At the advance of mortality, he made his peace with the Church, and willed \$350,000 for an orphanage. His funeral at Notre Dame was all that the utmost ritual of Rome could make it. What would be said if the Montreal Freethought Club had honored such a man after his death?

A BOSTON correspondent of the *Western Chronicle*, published at Kentville, Nova Scotia, after referring to the architectural, intellectual, and social contrasts seen in this city, says: "Living almost between these two extremes (the light and beauty of Commonwealth Avenue overshadowed by the horror and blackness of North and Richmond Streets) is a class that surprises a stranger more than any other in Boston,—a class of sharpers, known as mediums, clairvoyants, seers, and fortune-tellers; and the number of this class is one of the saddest commentaries on our boasted civilization. For not only are they numerous, but they are flourishing; and their wealth is derived from the credulity of a half-educated people. And to think that there is such a class, right under the shadow of Bunker Hill, in the most cultured city in America, is one of the most discouraging signs of the times. But so large is the business, and so far and deeply does it ramify, that it better be left for another paper."

LAST week, funeral services were held, in this city, over the deceased pugilist, "Joe" Goss. Rev. Henry H. Haynes, of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, who conducted the services, said that he had been the spiritual adviser of the deceased, who in the last hours of his life "took no interest in any conversation except that relating to his spiritual welfare; and, upon this subject, he sometimes discoursed in an eloquent manner." The reverend gentleman spoke very confidently of his soul's salvation. A large crowd attended, including many pugilists and sporting men. The floral emblems were unusually elaborate. The most expensive tribute, sent by the champion bruiser, Sullivan, was a floral "gates ajar" five feet high and three feet wide. One Patsy Shepard's tribute was a wreath and cross entwined. Another was a belt, eighteen inches in diameter and five inches high, emblem of the dead prize fighter's career in the ring. Thus, the symbols of piety and pugilism, of salvation and slugging, decorated the coffin, to the great satisfaction, evidently, of the admirers of the deceased.

IN a letter to one of our American journals, Theodore Stanton says: "At the inauguration, last autumn, of the George Sand statue, M. de Lesseps spoke as follows: 'I have read George Sand in every country of the universe, but this did not stop me from reading her last night. In her honor, I have named one of my ten children Solange. M. Arsène Houssaye has said that the French Academy ought to have given George Sand a seat in its midst. If a woman were to enter the Academy, in ten years there would only be women there,—no men would be wanted!' M. de Lesseps is soon to be admitted into this exclusive body, which has counted among its members such poets as Corneille and Racine, such statesmen as Colbert and Thiers, such ecclesiastics as Bossuet and Dupanloup, such lawyers as Montesquieu and Dufaure, such philosophers as Voltaire and Cousin, such naturalists as Buffon and Cuvier, such orators as Roger-Collard and Berryer, such historians as Guizot and Henri Martin. And I do not think his name will be out of place in such a brilliant list of world-famed celebrities. Ferdinand de Lesseps is, indeed, worthy of a seat in this noble company, even though it frowned upon George Sand."

THE Boston *Sunday Herald*, in a sensible editorial on "The Devil as a Schoolmaster," protests against the stimulating, forcing process in our public schools which separates the bright from the dull scholars in the class room, giving incentives to the former when they do not need them, and discouraging the latter, to their injury. The method is declared, and justly, we believe, to be "demoralizing both to teachers and pupils. And, in fact, the whole bent of our education at the present time, so far as it relates to the moral nature of our youth, is to destroy the principles of virtue and character on which a sound education should be based. The bright pupils work from wrong motives, the dull pupils are made to

hate and envy the bright ones, and the true ends of education are lost sight of in the evil passions that are constantly engendered. Everybody knows that in perhaps a majority of cases the tables are turned when the public school is exchanged for the engagements and activities of later life. Then the blockheads of the public school begin to emerge to their rightful place; and the talent or genius that the system of the public school did nothing to develop, but everything to discourage, begins to take its rightful place in the world. Why cannot education, even in its beginning, be conducted on its own merits, and for ends which are closely related to good morals? Why must envy, strife, and emulation be stirred up in the little hearts that need all that is pure from the start, to help them to buffet the evil that is in the world?"

OF those ordinarily discharged from State prisons, sixty per cent. have to be imprisoned again for criminal acts. In connection with this fact, Charles Dudley Warner's statement, in the April number of the *North American Review*,—that of those who enter through the door of crime the Reformatory at Elmira, under the superintendence of Z. R. Brockway, and are discharged, eighty per cent. are reformed or passed out of the criminal class, and made law-abiding citizens, leaving but twenty per cent. in the condition of permanent criminals,—is very suggestive. The leading feature of this Reformatory is compulsory education. Only those who have been before convicted are received there. The term of confinement is made to depend upon the conduct of the convict. He is subjected to the most thorough examination as to physical, mental, and moral characteristics, capacity, and acquirements. The system of marks of merit is precise and inexorable, demanding not only good behavior, but industry, thoroughness, and faithfulness as indispensable conditions of first a parole and afterwards of a complete discharge from the institution. The measures employed are both repressive and preventive. The discipline is of that vigorous and wholesome character which tends to develop what has been neglected in the early training. All the severities and hardships of the State prison are reserved for those who refuse the milder treatment; but mitigation of punishment, parole, and final discharge are kept before the worst class even, and the moral forces which belong to the family, the school, and the workshop are constantly brought to bear upon all. The effect of this system upon the criminal's appearance and conduct is said to be remarkable. "The old convict heaviness and hopeless inertness of flesh are gone,—gone, with the depressing hang-dog look. We see here the well-known criminal type of head, but the expression of face is altogether changed: stupidity and hopelessness have given way to intelligence and ambition." Do not the results of this experiment warrant the opinion that the same methods, introduced into the general management of State prisons, would be a great improvement on the barbarous methods now employed?

THE CHURCHES AS PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES.

The last twenty or twenty-five years have been working an important change in the activities of the churches, especially those of the evangelical type, which Liberalism is not sufficiently apt to recognize. Philanthropic and charitable objects are engaging their attention much more than formerly. Of course, they hold to their creeds, though sometimes, to-day, in a very relaxed form; and these give the staple of, or at least color to, the ordinary teachings of the pulpits. But the pulpit word does not hold the relative importance in a completely equipped church organization which once it did. It has been quite the habit for those of radical beliefs, in respect to religion, to charge that the evangelical churches are so absorbed in teaching irrational dogmas, and in saving souls by the ecclesiastical fashion for the future world, that they pass by unheeded the crying distresses of this world, and give little or no attention to the works of humanity. And there was a time when this charge was essentially just. There are churches, doubtless, of which it would still be true. But, as a general charge against the churches, it would be true no longer. Perhaps the sting of the charge has, to some extent, gone home to the conscience of the churches, and aroused them to a quicker sense of their duties and opportunities. There has been, in any event, a great reform in their methods. Here, for instance, is a clipping which shows what a single church in the city of New York is doing:—

The Church of the Holy Communion, New York, sets an example worthy of all imitation as a working church. It has 900 communicants on its roll. These keep in operation a baby shelter; an industrial school, registering 354 names; an employment society, furnishing work to 60 poor women each week; a workmen's club, whose membership numbers 203, whose income last year was over \$1,300, and which has in connection a literary club and a relief association; a special club for boys; a home for aged women, which had last year 14 inmates, and provides this year for 20; a shelter for respectable girls, which has never less than 30 inmates; a summer home at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, where last summer more than 100 persons were entertained; and a coal fund, by means of which poor people are able to obtain coal at greatly reduced rates. It may readily be conceived that a church whose members thus devote their energies to works of practical philanthropy is not likely to have either time or inclination for the numerous "entertainments" which seem the best expedient most modern churches are able to devise for promoting social intercourse and good will.

The church here named—which, presumably, is of the Episcopalian order—has, doubtless, exceptional financial resources, and must have an unusual supply of zealous, working members. Not all churches could maintain so many and expensive benevolent enterprises, even if they had the desire to do it; though desire and zeal, it should be added, are also great financiers, and frequently accomplish wonders in solving pecuniary problems. But, though this church may be an exception in the amount of philanthropic work it is doing, it is by no means very exceptional in the fact of doing such kinds of work. The prominent churches in large cities, and to some extent in the smaller cities and towns, are turning their attention more and more to similar objects of philanthropy. We saw only this last week, by the side of another church in New York than the one named above, a substantial building, inscribed "Boys' Club." These boys' clubs we understand to be intended for boys who have no home advantages, and not as an additional luxury, and a possibly dangerous one, for the sons of pew-proprietors. Trinity Church, in New York, supports a number of excel-

lent charitable organizations. So, too, does the church of the same name in Boston. Other churches in Boston might easily be mentioned that are also engaged in praiseworthy benevolent and educational enterprises. Perhaps none of them does all that it might do and ought to do of such work. But they are beginning to do it, and some of them are doing a good deal of it. And credit should be given to the churches for having come so largely to recognize philanthropy as one of the proper objects of their existence.

The criticism is sometimes made that, when evangelical churches take up these charitable enterprises, they do it with an ecclesiastical aim, and give to all their work a peculiar ecclesiastical flavor, which makes it distasteful, and sometimes repulsive, to self-respecting and liberal minds. In cases where there is good ground for this criticism, and especially for the latter half of it, it does, indeed, detract much from the merit of such enterprises regarded in the light of pure benevolence. When persons discover that they are made the objects of charity for the glory of some church, or that sectarian zealots are taking advantage of their needs to hoodwink their souls into accepting doctrines and rituals which might not otherwise attract them, there is something in every manly nature that revolts from being thus operated upon. A healthful mental stomach, even in a poor man, will naturally turn against a creed which it is attempted to sugar-coat with charity. The wounded soldier in hospital who threw from him with an oath a toothsome cracker, into which some Christian missionary society had had the words baked, "Come to Jesus," showed a kind of robust heroism, not unlike that with which he had faced the bullets in battle. Yet it is greatly to be doubted whether there is nearly so much ground for this criticism as there once was. Many churches, Orthodox as well as Unitarian, are now doing excellent benevolent work without, apparently, any other thought than the humanity of doing it. With regard to some of the charitable enterprises maintained by the church whose good works are described in the foregoing extract, it is difficult to see how any sectarian motive or bias could enter into them.

And, indeed, if it has really come to be a fact that the churches see that a wise expediency demands that they shall devote their energies less exclusively than once to instruction in dogmas and shall give more attention to philanthropic objects, this should be cause for rejoicing rather than criticism. It is one of the fruits of the general progress of liberal views; and it behooves Liberalism, at least, thankfully to acknowledge the spread of its own ideas. Here is a foregleam of what the churches might become, and what some day they, perhaps, will largely become, if, emancipated from bondage to authoritative creeds, they should be put to the service of human needs as centres of philanthropic and humane activity. And, meantime, it also behooves the Liberalism that is outside of all churches to ask whether it is itself keeping pace with the churches in organizations for philanthropic work.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CONCEPTION OF LIFE.

II.

All questions of life are so closely linked with those of death—the problems of their essential nature, origin, extinction, and measure, are so intimately involved—that their independent solution appears practically impossible.

The logical necessity of extending the definition of the essential nature of life to the inclusion of inorganic (crystalline) as well as organic individ-

uality has been indicated by the results of the preceding discussion, and the question of a common law or standard of measure for estimating the relative quantities of their life and death now demands our first attention. As we have seen, in both cases, that of the organic and that of the inorganic individualities, a material and dynamic plexus is con-inertially active in opposition to, and for the subjection of, the chaos of matter, motion, and force by which the living form is surrounded, thwarted, and assailed. In the ratios of the contending powers, it is, therefore, that we must look for the standard of measure.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has stated that the amount of "life varies as the degree of the correspondence" (between life and its environment). Before venturing to discuss either the correctness or the completeness of this statement, it will be necessary to call attention to the fact that the terms "life" and "death" admit of a twofold interpretation, either as designations of states (or rather as the assertion and negation, respectively, of one state, that of life) or as names of antagonistic processes more properly termed "living" and "dying." As Mr. Spencer has defined life as a "continuous adjustment," it appears plain that it is in the sense of a process that he desires to have it considered.

It is true that "states" and "processes" are mutually convertible conceptions. By the "integration of time and force," a "state" may become a "process"; by the "differentiation of force and time," a "process" may be converted into a "state." But, notwithstanding this fact, it will be well to keep the two meanings of "life" and "death" carefully separated, if we would arrive at a correct standard of measure for their respective quantities.

Taking life and death in the sense of states, and bearing in view that the essence of life has been sought and found, in a preceding chapter of this essay, to be located in the existence of a power, inhering in all living forms (morphocratic power), to bring extraneous modes of matter, motion, and force into absolute subjection to its sway, it necessarily follows that the state of death—which is but a negation of that of life—consists in the absence of this power from the matter held as "dead."

Considering life and death as processes, the longer we dwell upon their problem, the stronger grows the conviction that they are in reality but abstractions, never singly exercising exclusive authority over the domain of any individual material mass. Only that which is absolutely devoid of individuality is truly dead. But such absolute death is a state, and not a process. Every true individual is simultaneously living and dying. All existence is but an eternal struggle for supremacy between the forces of the form and those of its surroundings. The "correspondence" or "continuous adjustment" of internal relations to external relations must hold for all material masses, dead as well as living. But so also must the continuous adjustment of external relations to those which are internal. Each set of relations contends for the mastery over the other. The vicissitudes of the battle mark the amplitude of the complex wave of life (birth, evolution) and death (dissolution, involution). For these reasons, I hold that Mr. Spencer's statement that the amount of "life varies as the degree of correspondence" requires modification.

To begin with a rough statement, it may be said that *the quantity of the process of life (living) anywhere eventuating varies directly as the domination of the forces of the living forms (morphocratic sway) over the forces of the forms' environment, and, further, as a correlative or reciprocal conception, that the quantity of the process of death (dying) any-*

where eventuating varies directly as the subjection of the forces of the living forms (*morphocratic enslavement*) to the forces of the forms' environment.

But these definitions are by no means complete. All of the forces pertaining to the living form are not effective in maintaining or extending its sway over those of the environment, nor are all the latter's forces active in resisting the inroads of the morphocratic power. Much of the force of life is lost to the struggle through internal interference, a fact unobservable in the crystal, made plainly manifest in the diseases to which the individuals of the animal and vegetal worlds are liable, and emerging into the focus of general recognition in the competitive struggles which agitate the molecules (individuals) and masses (classes, parties, nations, and races) of the social organism. For this reason, the dominating power of the forces of the form, as well as the effective power of the forces of the environment, should be stated to consist in their "net" quantity or algebraic sum.

The process of life having been ascribed to a domination of its forces over those of the environment, that of death to a subjection of the same forces, the relation of the two processes can be still better represented as a ratio between the algebraic sums of the two sets of forces. Thus, the law of the relative quantity of life and death may be again formulated.

The relative quantities of the processes of life (living) and death (dying) anywhere simultaneously eventuating vary directly as the ratio between the algebraic sum of the forces of the living forms and the algebraic sum of the forces of the environment.

There remains still to be noted the element of time. The rate at which the absolute subjection of the external relations and forces of the environment to the internal relations of the living being is accomplished measures the velocity of its life, the rate at which the reverse process completes itself records the speed of its dying.

In exploring the domain of the inorganic world for manifestations of the morphocratic power of life, we found its representative in the crystal. But, while the crystal is always composed of like or at least similar molecular forms of matter, the organic individual is constructed of materials differing widely in chemical composition.

Yet, even in the inorganic world we meet with certain apparently crystalline forms, which are not always of homogeneous composition, but frequently, in the heterogeneity of their molecular constituents, appear to be closely analogous to the living forms of the organic world. These peculiar agglomerations are known to scientists under the name of "pseudomorphs" (literally, "false forms"), because their outlines never represent a crystalline form proper to their constituents, but always imitate that of some other foreign substance. They are produced either by the gradual alteration of a crystal resting in its rocky bed or by the refilling of an empty crystal-mould, from which the legitimate inhabitant has been previously, by some destroying agency, removed. In considering the relations which such "pseudomorphs" bear to the law of life, it must always be borne in mind that the forces to the action of which they owe their existence, and which preserve their unity, are not inherent, but exherent and foreign; not impulsive, but compulsive, forces. The pseudomorph is not the representative of a higher and more complex mode of inorganic life, but rather of its subjection and death.

In the state of death, all matter is in a condition of "pseudomorphism" essentially passive. In the living state, it is a *eumorphism*, active and victorious. All life being due to the manifestations of morpho-

cratic power, all death is but a manifestation of *morphopathic weakness*.

All living, inorganic as well as organic, forms arise under the conquering influence of *impulsive forces* inhering in the form itself. All dead forms originate through the action of the *compulsive forces* of the environment. All life is a *liberation*, all death an *enslavement*, of matter.

Life being a process of liberation, its meaning to the sentient, conscious being is that of liberty to obey the commands of its own desires, volitions, impulses, purposes, and motives. Its antithesis, the compulsion of death, is hated and feared as the consummate absolute denial of this most sacred of all inalienable rights. And so also every advance toward greater liberty of feeling, thought, and action, is treasured by humanity as a priceless gain, all relapse into tyranny and enslavement mourned as an irreparable loss, to its collective life and existence.

But, as it is the character of the intelligent being's desires, volitions, impulses, purposes, and motives which cites it before the supreme judgment seat of morality, so it is here that we cross the sacred threshold of the temple, whence from its holiest of holies emanate the forces of ethics, charged to execute the decrees of the good, the free, and the beautiful.

For we hold this truth to be self-evident,—that it is not for its actions, but for its desires and purposes, that the rational being is morally responsible. And only the free being is owner "to the manor born" of its desires and purposes; only in a state of liberty is morality possible.

CHARLES FROEBEL.

REPUBLICAN QUEENS ABDICATE THEIR THRONES.

In the whole history of the woman suffrage movement, we have had no fact that illustrates the degradation of our sex in so pronounced and unmistakable a manner as that body of Massachusetts "Remonstrants" who have recently appeared before their legislature, pleading that the women of that State should not be enfranchised. In other words, that the experiment of self-government, being tried for the first time by a great nation, might not be completed; that the grand liberal ideas of the equality of the human family, for which their ancestors struggled, suffered, and died, might never be realized, at least for one-half the race; that the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship might be confined to the male line, whether foreign or native, black or white, washed or unwashed, learned or unlearned, drunk or sober, a condition of subjection to such rulers being supposed to be more in harmony with woman's natural delicacy and refinement than the responsibility of governing herself.

What should we have thought of the slaves from the Southern plantations going before Congress, accompanied by their white masters, when the Fourteenth Amendment was under consideration, to plead their own lack of strength and morality against their enfranchisement? Why, we should simply have said the system of slavery has destroyed their self-respect, utterly demoralized them. And this is all that can be said in extenuation of the action of these Massachusetts "Remonstrants." What a pity for their own purposes that they slumbered and slept so far into the nineteenth century! If they had been awake to their high duties fifty years ago, they might have preserved intact the old common law of England, which enabled husbands to protect their wives' property and children so absolutely that the women had no cumbering cares and responsibilities in spending money, keeping accounts, or in the ownership of babies,—no

recognized natural rights of person, property, or children. They might have prevented their State legislature from unsettling these ancient ideas by modifying their statutes in regard to the relations of husband and wife, and preserved that time-honored belief of a perfect union in which they twain are one, and that one the husband.

They might have so moulded public opinion as to save young women from the dangers of college life, from the trades and professions, from the courts, the hospitals, the pulpit, the editor's chair, and all reformatory organizations, and encompassed them round about with the sacred influences of home; concentrating their hopes and ambitions on the innocent spinning-wheel, the plum pudding, the darning-needle, that they might have never wandered outside the prescribed sphere in which the Pilgrim mothers so beautifully exemplified all the Christian graces. But, unfortunately, the "Remonstrants" waited too long effectually to block the wheels of progress. Other women more active and far-seeing than themselves struck the death blow at all these old forms of slavery in 1848, when New York passed the Married Woman's Property Bill, and recognized the wife's individual existence. They created a public sentiment in favor of the independent personal and property rights of women, and aroused in Eve's daughters a desire to explore the worlds that lay beyond their paradise.

And now—with school suffrage in twelve States of the Union, and full suffrage in three Territories; with woman's political status a subject for continuous debate in Congress and State legislatures; with municipal suffrage conceded in the whole British Empire and Parliamentary suffrage in the Isle of Man—it is as vain for the little band of "Remonstrants" to block this grand movement as it was for Dame Partington to check the inflowing tide of the mighty ocean. The spirit of the age and existing facts are all against them; and what a pitiful manifestation of womanhood this movement is!

I cannot recall a single case in all history, of a woman, when heir to a throne, voluntarily surrendering her royal position. But we read of many a queen who fought bravely for her rightful inheritance, and, in the face of prolonged struggle, chose death even rather than to see her crown on the brow of another. Suppose, when the day approached for Victoria to be crowned Queen of England, she had gone before the House of Commons or Lords, and asked to be relieved from the responsibilities of government, on the ground that she had not the moral stamina nor intellectual ability for the position; that her natural delicacy and refinement shrank from the publicity; that she was looking forward to the all-absorbing duties of home life, to love and courtship, to husband, children, and to that "indirect influence" on society, religion, and politics, so much more powerful for good than direct action can be for woman. Suppose, with a tremulous voice, and a few stray tears in her blue eyes, and her head drooping on one side, she had said she knew nothing of the science of government; that a crown did not befit a woman's head; that, in case of war, she could not fight, and hence she could not reign, as there must be force behind the throne; that she had not strength even to wave her country's flag, and much less to hold the sceptre of power over so vast an empire. What would the members of Parliament have thought in listening to such superlative nonsense. What would the nations of the earth have said? All alike would have stood aghast, and said, That girl must be demented: the blood of the House of Hanover has evidently run out.

But, instead of this pitiful spectacle, she pre-

pared herself by study and reflection for the exalted position she was called to fill; and, when the hour for her coronation arrived, though but a girl of seventeen, she marched down the broad aisles of Westminster Abbey, surrounded by representatives of Church and State, foreign diplomats, lords and ladies, with a grace and dignity becoming the grandeur of the occasion. And at the altar she took the oath "to support the civil laws, customs, and statutes, the laws of God, the Protestant reformed religion, the Church of England, and promised security for the Church of Scotland," the Archbishop of Canterbury administering the oath, and placing the crown, worn by a long line of kings, upon her brow. Thus, with becoming self-respect, she accepted her honors; and the nation gloried in their youthful queen.

Neither did the burdens of government destroy her domestic affections. She no doubt enjoyed the attentions of Prince Albert as a lover, was as faithful to him as a wife, as devoted to her children, as observant of the rules of social etiquette, as any unknown beauty in the most remote corner of the British Isles. The Massachusetts Remonstrants cannot fill the whole round of human duties better than Queen Victoria has done. And yet, if they had been in England at that time, in their present state of mind, they would have implored Parliament to pass a bill confining the succession to the male line, and adopt the Salic law of their wise neighbors over the Channel,—a law which worked so admirably in France in depriving women of all royal prerogatives and all rights in landed estates that it was introduced into Spain by the Bourbon Philip V. in 1713, but abolished by Ferdinand VII. in 1830, in favor of his daughter Isabella. And now, in 1885, women of age and experience, of ordinary intelligence, in the State of Massachusetts, under the very shadow of Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall, propose to resurrect the old ideas in government, repudiated by a Spanish king over half a century ago!

Why, it was enough to make Ferdinand VII. turn in his grave, if his spirit was permitted to witness that demoralizing scene in the capitol at Boston!

All the petty arguments of the "Remonstrants" about "home," "morality," "weakness," "influence," "whispering in the ears of husbands and legislators," so admirably disposed of by the Rev. D. P. Livermore in his review, have no special significance; but their assertion that suffrage is not a natural right is a fatal admission for any citizen of a republic. The right of the people to a voice in the government has long been conceded, as a principle of equity, in both England and France; and their legislation is steadily in that direction. The declarations of our American statesmen are clear and concise. And our legislation, too, is reflecting the liberal ideas that "no just government can be formed without the consent of the governed"; "that to tax a man's property without his consent is to deprive him of every civil right"; "that they who have no voice in the laws under which they live are in a condition of slavery."

According to the spirit of our institutions, our Declaration of Rights, the principles laid down in our Constitution, the American people were all declared sovereigns July 4, 1776,—the crown of citizenship was theoretically placed on the head of every native-born man and woman of legal age, and the ballot in the hand of every member of the State, binding all alike to labor for the success of the republic. The fact that men wrested these rights from women—rights some of them had exercised under every colonial government, as well as in the mother country, from time immemorial—does in no way vitiate their title. Every citizen

has a natural right to exercise under government whatever power is necessary to protect his person and property against all aggressions, and a voice in the laws and law-makers is the only way this can be accomplished. Again, the right of suffrage is the only mark of distinction in this country between the different classes. Those who can vote are the privileged classes,—the aristocracy, the nobility, the sovereigns.

Those who cannot form a heterogeneous mass, a singular compound of the disreputable and the unfortunate, occupying the same political status with the youth, virtue, and intelligence of the nation. These are the idiots, lunatics, criminals, foreigners not naturalized, rebels, minors, and women. But time can restore to all these classes except women the honors of citizenship. The foreigner can get his naturalization papers, the minor can reach his majority, the criminal can be pardoned, the lunatic can become sane, even the idiot by a fracture of the skull can be restored to common sense, and vote. Those engaged in the late war are already part of the ruling power in government. But there is no possible transformation, known to either science or accident, by which a woman can become a male idiot, lunatic, criminal, foreigner, or minor. Hence, she does not properly belong in this category. Disfranchisement is evidently considered a punishment, a degradation, properly inflicted on criminal and incompetent classes; but by no possibility can it be made to appear that it is to woman's honor and glory that she is denied the right of suffrage. "The highest earthly desire of a ripened mind," says Thomas Arnold, "is the desire of taking an active share in the great work of the government."

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

THE TWO PROBLEMS.

The great, the underlying problems which have agitated, which have convulsed the races of man during all the ages of recorded history are two: Production is one, Distribution is the other.

The first great problem of civilization is how to produce wealth,—how to cultivate, how to work, how to manufacture, how to make that, how to perfect this. The second great problem of civilization is how to distribute wealth,—how to move the products grown, how to exchange the articles made: how are we to transport the coal from the deep, dark hole, where it is of no use, to the iron furnace where it is greatly needed? how are we to exchange this extra pair of shoes, which we do not want, for that surplus barrel of flour at the mill, which our family must have, or die? These, then, are the two, the great, the basic, the underlying problems, upon the intelligent solution of which our civilization, our very existence, depend.

The first problem treats of labor, of force, of machinery: it utilizes inventions, applies chemistry, and advances science. The second problem contains the questions of wages, of transportations, of exchanges, of ethics, and of the ways and the means of payments. In the first problem, the question is how to occupy labor, how to employ force, how to apply invention, how to utilize discovery, and how to diversify and perfect our finished articles of manufacture. In the second problem, the question is, how are we to distribute the wages, the burdens, the taxes, the necessities, the conveniences, the luxuries of our labors, of our fields, of our workshops?

From the intelligent employment of force results national power. Force represents the first problem; and, if solved alone, it will form an ill-constituted grandeur, a barbaric confederation, a government of privileged and incorporated classes, such as we have in these United States to-day,—a gov-

ernment in which all the material elements are combined, a government into which no moral principle enters. From the intelligent distribution of services results individual happiness. Distribution represents the second problem; and, upon the happy and prosperous homes of an educated people, a great nation can be formed. By intelligent distribution, we must not understand *equal* distribution, but *equitable* distribution. The highest equality is equity. With equity, we will have justice and good fellowship, we will have the strong and educated having a care for the weak and the uneducated, we will have co-operation in the place of competition, we will have interdependent common-interests in the place of independent special-privileges; and we will have a high plane of intellectual, wholesome, vigorous life instead of the low, depraved, diseased, criminal existence through which we now struggle.

The solving of this, the second great problem of civilization, without at the same time solving the first great problem, would be fraught with disaster no less gory than history has painted in our own and ancient times in connection with the solution of the first great problem. The two great problems of civilization must be solved together, to be well solved. There have been and there are several nations which have measurably solved the first of the great problems of civilization. There have been possibly two nations—Peru, under the Incas (every child born was given by the State a homestead), and Venice under the Doges (from 1171 to 1797, they exchanged their services by means of "credits" and "debits" upon the books of their bank, *free from interest*; and these "credits" were at a premium over the world-renowned "gold ducats")—which have started upon the correct solution of the second; but there never has been a nation, ancient or modern, which has solved the first and the second problems together. Hence it is that the world has always been, and is, filled with contentions and confusions, with wars and suicides, with miseries and crimes.

The United States, England, France, Belgium, and Germany have measurably solved the first great problem of civilization. As producers and as manufacturers, they are a success. Their vegetables, cereals, fruits, breadstuffs, meats, and articles of finished workmanship are wonderful in growth, in make, and in abundance; and grand and beautiful are their steam-cars and ocean ships, their electric telegraphs, cables, telephones, and motors, their canals, tunnels, and bridges, their tramways, their water supplies, their gas-works, their buildings, their inventions, and their sciences. But these countries have only yet learned the A, B, C, to the solution of the second great problem of civilization. They are all bad, they are wretched distributors. They push the solution of the first problem without regard to the solution of the second problem; and this leads their people inevitably to the two extremes,—monstrous opulence on the one side, monstrous misery upon the other; all the enjoyments to the few, all the privations to the many; all the privileges, all the offices, all the emoluments, all the honors, all the luxuries to the cunning, to the designing, to the insignificant tricksters and middle-men; all the burdens, all the taxes, all the dishonors, all the disadvantages to the producing, to the unincorporated people.

The mission of the Sociologic Society of New York and Brooklyn cities is to force upon the consideration of our people of every class the vital issues underlying the second great problem of civilization; and to urge, through co-operative organization in industries and exchanges, the application of equity in the affairs of mankind, at the same time that our home industries are protected, diver-

sified, and perfected, that we as a people may progress to a high plane of intellectuality, and that we as individuals may have some security, peace, and happiness on this earth's surface in this our own generation.

The ways and means by which this result may be accomplished, under the conditions which surround us, is by incorporating earnest, industrious, and responsible men and women into bodies which will be organized to protect the members and to advance the purposes desired against antagonistic bodies. Non-incorporated persons cannot long stand up against incorporated classes enjoying special privileges. All efforts, no matter how well intentioned, will be futile in carrying into practical application co-operative ideas, if the persons so moving do not act as a body corporate. There are giants to be met. Man or woman unincorporated is but a dwarf. Corporations stand in the path, turn where we will, be our purpose what it may; and hence, to be recognized, we must be strong, and able to hold our own. Organization must meet organization, force must encounter force; and, then, those who have philosophy and humanity as the basis of their society will triumph. Constructive methods will advance, and destructive bodies will have no place on this planet.

"Faith, Hope, and Charity," has been the motto of those people who have but partially solved the first problem of civilization.

"Fraternity, Interdependence, and Equity," should be the motto of those persons who will solve, at one and the same time, the first and the second problems of civilization; and may God be with the right!

ALBERT K. OWEN.

MORAL MONSTERS.

An old physician, being asked how early a child's education might be safely begun, was silent for a brief time, and then replied, "I should begin twenty years before his birth by educating his mother." If he had said, "I should begin fifty years before his birth by educating both his grandmothers and both his grandfathers," he would have touched the problem more vitally, and still have been generations away from the starting-point.

The question of heredity being multiform in its phases, we cannot hope that it will soon become an "exact" science. If it were, we might have proportional problems resembling those in our school-books: "If a certain number of men working for a certain number of days can dig a trench so many feet long and wide and deep, how many men working for a different number of days will be required to dig a trench of such and such dimensions?" An uncomplicated problem in heredity might thus be formulated: "If two individuals, possessing unitedly 17 per cent. of common sense and 183 per cent. of folly and obstinacy, produce an offspring with .08½ per cent. of common sense, and 91½ per cent. of folly and obstinacy, how many generations of such pairs will be necessary to reduce the percentage of common sense to a vanishing fraction, with nine ciphers *plus* for a numerator and ten ciphers *plus* for a denominator?"

If the civilization of nations and individuals be "accumulated force," the inherited increments of progress, surely the folly, crimes, and wretchedness of nations or individuals at any given moment must be accumulated and intensified degeneracies of the past. There comes a day when the latter condition culminates in a mighty social lesion, which no surgeon or body of surgeons is skilful enough to counteract.

On the other hand, in a nation of beauty-worshippers, the worship being fostered by external

influences of sea and sky and mountain, we have a galaxy of sculptors, painters, and poets. While Athens bowed its knee to the ideal, it was scarcely possible that a human being should be born within Athenian walls totally destitute of this ideal, and of the craving to carve, paint, or poetize it into expression. Conversely, again, when poor French peasants and artisans, with their wives, were compelled to toil in rags and bitterness, the babes were moulded in hatred and defiance from the earliest moment of their intra-uterine existence, and the result was—carnage!

Moral monsters are, however, entitled to a grim sort of respect, enforcing and illustrating as they do the inexorable truths of science. In the *Popular Science Monthly* for November, 1876, Dr. Seguin, in an article on "Pre-natal and Infantile Culture," makes the remarkable assertion that experienced physicians, when their hands receive a new-born infant, can recognize on its features the dominant states of mind and traits of character manifested by the mother during the period before its birth. What a granite index of that which she had supposed to be written in sand! What a fearful responsibility, not alone for the mothers, but for the fathers as well, whose reflex influence is so powerful in determining the disposition of the tiny new comer! "Nature makes no leaps." The weary road to perfection is beset by brambles, quicksands, and howling beasts; but, when the House Beautiful is built on this earth, and its shining inmates typify the purification of humanity, there will be no need of essays on heredity, for "moral monsters" will have become extinct.

HELEN T. CLARK.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MRS. BISBEE'S Society for Ethical Culture will in future be held in the Parker Memorial parlors, at 3.30 P.M.

THE next annual convention of the New York Free Thinkers' Association is to be held at Albany, September 11, 12, and 13.

THE enterprising publisher, John B. Alden, has issued a new edition of Burke's famous work, *The Sublime and Beautiful*, in a rather novel form, large 16mo, fine cloth, gilt tops. Price 50 cts.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. are about issuing another edition of *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, as edited and supplemented by Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, in two volumes, crown octavo, at a reduced price.

THE method of reasoning in certain circles in these days reminds us of the speculations of the negro metaphysician:—

"S'pose that I was you, and s'pose that you was me, And s'pose we was all somebody else, I wonder who we should be."

THE *Catholic Review* says that "Catholic universities have always recognized the equality and even the intellectual supremacy of women, when it existed." In proof of this statement, our contemporary mentions that the University of Notre Dame has decided this year to give its Laetare Medal to a Miss Starr, "the author of *Patron Saints, Pilgrims and Shrines*, and other equally meritorious writings."

A NEWSPAPER correspondent writes thus of Senator Evarts, of New York: "His eloquence is surprising. The sentences he makes are almost interminable; and the reporters say it is a matter of utter impossibility to write them out *verbatim*, in the hope that people will understand them. They read nonsensically; but, as they fall from the

speaker's lips, they are powerful, moving, and impressive. It is not at all an unusual thing for Mr. Evarts to speak a sentence of three hundred words in length, and they do say he sometimes goes for half a column without a break of any kind. Judge Fullerton says, in point of fact, that in Mr. Evarts' eight days' speech in the Beecher trial there were only two sentences. But Judge Fullerton is a joker, and likes to poke fun at folks whenever he has a chance."

A NEW YORK correspondent of the *Boston Herald*, after a conversation with Rev. J. P. Newman, who is said to be devoting himself to the special work of "converting" Gen. Grant, writes that he infers "Grant has not yet been stirred from his position of trusting to the goodness of God for his future, without trying to form explicit doctrines or to excite himself to any fervor. Family prayers are now held by Dr. Newman,—a thing never before practised by the Grants,—and he attempts at every seemly opportunity to turn the conversation into religious channels; but it cannot be said that Grant evinces any other sentiment than profound gravity. He talks readily about his physical plight and the nearness of the end, but is not at all responsive to the clergyman's labor on behalf of his soul." As yet, Gen. Grant is clearly in the possession of his reason.

IN reply to those who declare in defence of endless torment that the sinner will forever choose to remain bad, and thereby forever deserve punishment, the *Christian Register* remarks that "the assumption that souls may go on through eternity making evil choices robs hell of much of its punitive character. That which a man eternally persists in choosing must be in some way eternally congenial to him. Hell thus becomes a congenial place for congenial evil spirits instead of the uncongenial abode which Orthodoxy has so often painted." It would seem that in a few billions of centuries even those who are now "sinners" must become pretty well acclimated and otherwise adjusted to their environment. Adjustment to environment means happiness. Perfect adjustment to environment makes suffering impossible. Since among rational beings harmony with their environment is promoted by overcoming evil, by obeying all the laws of their being, may we not infer—if we are to reason on this subject at all—that the harmony necessary to their undecaying and endless existence will involve high moral development in the future? If in hell there is the same freedom of choice that there is here, and all those condemned by the orthodox theology for their views are, or are to be, permanently located there, it is in all probability not only "a congenial place," but a liberal and progressive community, with intellectual and social attractions which must appeal powerfully to independent spirits living outside, who may learn of its advantages.

SPELL-BOUND. For The Index.

Black, dolorous boughs, that wave with shuddering sigh,
As Dantean spirits of the underworld
Locked in their weird tree-prisons hopeless cry,
By winds of moaning whirled,—

Do vain regret and bitter memories hide,
Like human heart-throbs, in your leadless limbs?
Do cruel sweeping winds your woe deride,
As the wan daylight dims?

Not hopeless yet! For, yet a little while,
Till green leaves clothe your writhing arms with grace,
To voice of birds and summer's full-fraught smile
Your grieving shall give place.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PA.

H. T. C.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 2, 1885.

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

Transcendentalism and Evolution.

BY EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

II.

"Transcendentalists," then, are those who seek for universal truth and moral guidance, not in authoritative precepts, but in the intuitions of their own consciousness. Emerson, a typical representative of this mode of thinking, and surely himself a lofty eidolon of archetypal humanity, boldly asserts: "The faith that stands on authority is no faith. The reliance on authority measures the decline of religion, the withdrawal of the soul."

Be heedful then not to withdraw your soul. Let it pierce through the outer garment of fleeting semblances, this delusive veil of Maya, till with steady vision it reaches the eternal form, indissolubly abiding. Or turn your gaze away altogether from external happenings to the infinite vistas of your own inward knowledge, and there you shall find God and his truth; for, in the moment of veritable knowing, you and he are one. Only in direct communion with living consciousness can be discerned the enduring reality and significance of all the phantasmal play with which here in life we are hurried through time. It is unity with the eternally identical, with the changeless, timeless completion of being, that our soul, transcendently soaring, aims to realize. "I would enter into that eternal unity which was mine before all time," is the rapturous yearning everywhere echoed and re-echoed these thousands of years, whether resounding from Buddhistic, Christian, or Mohammedan lands.

But it is evident there are two very different ways of transcendently questioning the intuitions of self-consciousness and of attempting identification of individual thought with universal being.

The mystics teach that the essence and true

reality of conscious phenomena can be beheld in archetypal perfection by self-evident intellectual intuition, either through immediate recognition within sense-manifestations or through inward vision, like realization.

The rationalists, on the other hand, endeavor dialectically to assign to mental facts their proper place, as logically related to each other in all-comprising intelligence. And this they attempt either deductively, by starting from an assumed totality; or inductively, through systematic unification of the manifold of our logical consciousness.

The former impassioned seers seek, through direct ecstatic apperception, to bring into actual view the eternally One, phenomenally blurred to our common consciousness by the rippling changes of time or hidden far inwardly in the unconscious depths of our soul. The latter, more sober thinkers, strive through ratiocinative operations to merge into the final quietude of the all-identical unity of apperception the restless manifold, felt and thought in our individual and transient moods.

In any case, what gives rise to Transcendentalism is the intuition that this phenomenal show in time is somehow symbolical of an enduring reality, or rather that, if we could penetrate to the very heart of things, we should overcome the illusion of time and severalty, and discover eternal unity within an identical and universal being.

The real philosophical question underlying this belief of Transcendentalism is no other than how the perishable manifold of sense can possibly be reconciled with the permanent and unitary world of reason; how the One coincides with the Many, and the Many with the One.

By no dialectic artifice can the atomistic philosophy convince us that we, and the rest of the universe, consist of a mere sum of successive moments and coexistent particulars. Indeed, it is clear that even then there would have to be presupposed some enduring and identical agent, drawing the sum of all these units, and thus combining the loose aggregate into a coherent totality. Fancy for a moment nothing but a rope of sand, or a kinetic rush of atoms, without any identifying vision to give even phenomenal consistency to the display. But to allow even only that much or little of existence to sensible phenomena would be already transgressing all legitimate bounds of concession for time and space, the very media in which the assumed units are supposed to disport themselves, are most certainly mental and not extraneous existents, are states of consciousness within ourselves, not extra-conscious media containing outwardly extended things.

The truth now generally recognized as a matter of course is that everything we become cognizant of appears and occurs within our own individual and unitary consciousness, and is, therefore, *as such* of necessity a mental fact, and not a reality of any other kind. And, as all mental facts are found to form together one logically consistent system of thought, it seems to follow that veritable reality or being can exist nowhere but within the enduring and identical world of thought. If thought constitutes reality, reality must be of the nature of thought.

Plato, endowed with all the nature-nurtured adequacy of Athenian life, felt reluctant to adopt this extreme logical outcome of the rationalistic doctrine. He could not bring himself to see nothing but illusion in sense-manifestations, and true reality solely in the immutable and permanent entity recognized by reason. The objects appearing to sense were to him imperfect, but actually existing copies of eternal archetypes. Through their sensible apprehension and through contemplation of what identically dwells in their multi-

plicity and diversity, the awakened soul finds itself reminded of the transcendent completeness and unity of a realm of eternal ideas, which it recognizes as the veritable home of all its higher aspirations.

In a less poetic way, Kant, who had long and earnestly occupied himself with natural science, felt not only practically repelled by pure idealism, but contracted an insuperable aversion to it. He could hardly believe that Leibnitz had been in earnest when maintaining that the flow of conscious sense-phenomena runs its inward, ideal course in correspondence, but without any efficient interaction, with the world subsisting outside individual apperception; nor did he ever understand that Hume meant by "impression" only vivid sensation without external stimulation. Never was his own conviction shaken that the material upon which we exert our thought is given to sense from outside, that sense-appearances are compelled by foreign powers specifically affecting us.

Taking, then, Plato and Kant as our guides, or rather questioning nature directly, we find that, in order to solve the problem of world-cognition in a comprehensive manner, it should be clearly made out how external things or powers so affect our sensibility as to arouse in our mind representative appearances or percepts, and how each of us is individually competent to combine and to interpret this fragmentary and variable sense-experience, so that it will be found to constitute in its essence the recognition of universal or super-individual being and truth. How am I, diminutive particle, cast into this remote recess of the vast universe, enabled to perceive its illimitable expanse and the endless diversity of its changeful composition, and how amid this boundless display of phantasmagorical mutations am I permitted to conceive the law that binds it all in eternal congruity and unity? How can I, limited and circumscribed individuality, within the compass of my own solitary consciousness, reflect and recognize a perduring cosmos effectively subsisting in extra-conscious independence of myself?

Under the stress of the logical and scientific difficulties surrounding this problem of cognition, the principal aim of Transcendentalism has ever been to eliminate entirely everything non-mental that may be found intervening between the recognizing soul and the recognized truth. Either it attempts to conceive this visible world of ours as a direct manifestation to our soul of divine reality and being,—

"And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see;
But, if we could see and hear, this Vision—were it not He?"

or it labors to prove that the whole phenomenal play, making up our sensible world, has no external reality at all, but is in truth an imperfect reproduction within our individual mind of a reality eternally abiding as the thought of a universal consciousness. "This solid world is but an air-image: our *me* is the only reality, and all is godlike or God." (Carlyle.)

It is this purely intrinsic form of Transcendentalism which, at present, is becoming more and more dominant at our seats of learning. Leaning directly on Kant's profound and imposing system of transcendental idealism, it urges itself upon us with strictly scientific pretensions.

In English philosophy, pure idealism has long been indigenous; but it thrived mostly as a nominalistic, sense-originated growth. The transformation which it had to undergo in order to become transcendental consisted principally in the shifting of the constitutive power from sense to thought, from the Many to the One. Hitherto,

single sensations and their reproductions in memory had been believed to arrange themselves by dint of a power of their own into the orderly succession and solidified co-existence of our conscious world. On closer examination, it became, however, clear that no unifying and systematizing force could possibly dwell in a number of ever-dissolving sensations; that some persistent power must be coercing the vast throng of particular, shifting, and dwindling feelings into the one steadfast combination, which we are perceiving as the consistent world of sense, and which we, moreover, recognize as the solidary, systematic, and general universe of reason.

Of what nature, then, is this unifying power, and where does it reside? This, in truth, is the cardinal question. Kant, true to his rationalistic training, sought to prove that all combination of conscious facts is affected solely by our understanding, and not in any way within the domain of sense or elsewhere in nature. In keeping with its own indwelling capacities, intelligence—according to this view—combines and consolidates the fluctuating manifold of sense. It is our understanding that produces the orderly system of things, which we call Nature. "*Der Verstand macht aller erst Natur.*"

Kant, believing firmly that all sense-matter is given to us from without, was thus forced to look upon sensible appearances as mere uncombined material, falling passively and at random into our receptive forms of sensibility, time, and space, from where they are gathered up and systematized by the one active principle in nature, our combining intelligence.

This position, which to justify and to defend is the main purpose of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, has proved untenable. Appearances within time and space, or so-called percepts, are found to be themselves marvellously compound. They are evidently synthesized through and through. No elementary, uncombined particle, no sense-atom, can be detected in them. If intelligence is really the sole combining power within us, it certainly must have already exerted its influence on these sensible appearances also. We find nothing utterly unfashioned or out of place in consciousness. Even our most elementary sensations form part of a system of feelings in which they occupy distinct positions. Moreover, all sensible phenomena are in time; and, as time itself is in a perpetual flux, it is clear that our understanding, in order to distinguish even mere sensations, and much more in order to perceive distinct sense-figurations, must necessarily have exerted its assumed staying, consolidating, and classifying power on the desultory contents of time. Thus, the most elementary facts of consciousness, as well as the most complex, turn out to be products of the formative power in us. We have, then, in all earnest, to concede that Kant was wrong. There is, indeed, no sense-material given to us from without; for nothing is realized in consciousness that is not already through and through the work of combination intrinsically effected by capacities inhering in ourselves.

These transcendental considerations render further obvious that the combining power, generally called understanding, intelligence, thought, or reason, cannot itself be of the nature of its multifarious conscious products. The mental facts, which alone are actually realized, are themselves fragmentary and evanescent. The active agent, which combines them into permanent and consistent order, must evidently be some all-comprising entity, not itself subject to the temporal mutations of its mental affections. What, then, we ask again, is the nature of this shaping and systematizing energy or agent, not sharing the evanescent

nature of the phenomena making up our consciousness?

And here it is that Transcendentalism takes its plunge into the unknowable abyss of what it calls spirituality, losing itself completely in that trans-ethereal waste whence there is no return to the solid things of this life. For it is quite clear that, if the combining and recognizing agent within us possesses a spiritual constitution, and if—as we have seen—there is nothing whatever uncombined and unrecognized in consciousness, then, unavoidably, the entire contents of consciousness are spiritually fashioned, are through and through of spiritual origin and formation. The argument runs thus: We are aware of nothing in the world but the phenomena making up our consciousness. These phenomena are the work of our intelligence, which is a spiritual principle. Consequently, the whole world, as known to us, is the work of the spiritual energy put forth by this same intelligence, which is our veritable and sole being.

This, expressed in a few words, is actually the fundamental and—granting the reality of its combining agent—the logically justified conclusion of Transcendentalism,—a conclusion by which, with one bold sweep, it rids itself of all material and also of all mental hindrances. You admit the constitutive power of spiritual intelligence, and Transcendentalism is impregnable when it asserts: There is no matter given to consciousness from without. Everything in consciousness is undeniably of mental or ideal consistency. Therefore, the assumption of a world outside consciousness is nothing but a mental fiction. Furthermore, all mental phenomena making up our consciousness are, as such, of a fragmentary and evanescent nature. Our intelligence, however, apperceives and recognizes a unitary, steadfast, and permanent world of reality. Therefore, all veritable reality rests and has its being in the spiritual power of intelligence.

Vain and unprofitable must ever remain all attempts to refute thorough-going Spiritualism, so long as the purely representative, symbolic, and phenomenal constitution of our entire compound mental presence, indeed of the whole make-up of mental realization, is not recognized in philosophy. You call the unknown activity giving rise to the mental presence "intelligence," meaning thereby something spiritual at work among the actual mental phenomena *as such*, constituting it thus a self-acting, reality-originating principle; and you find yourself inevitably delivered over to the utmost consequences of the identity philosophy. For it is irrefragably certain that, whatever is giving permanent and consistent unity to the multifarious contents of consciousness, that is and must be the constitutive principle or power of that nature found within our consciousness.

By short cuts, Transcendentalism reduces everything in nature to spiritual incomprehensibility. It first denies the existence of anything external arousing with orderly compulsion our perceptual realizations; and, then, it endows with all requisite powers of origination and combination an arbitrarily invented principle, nowhere verifiable in nature, assigning to its inscrutable activity the entire creation of whatever consciously happens to us. Because the combination and systematic recognition of the mental phenomena within us necessitate a unifying and identically abiding agent or subject, Transcendentalism believes it has in all earnest discovered the inferred entity by simply giving an empty name—a mere *flatus vocis*, as Roscelin would say—to this utter void in its comprehension of human nature. And, moreover, as something not altogether fictitious, not altogether of mere personal import, must surely be meant by the world revealed to us in individual

consciousness, it interprets our sundry transitory spurts of knowledge as feeble attempts to recognize an eternal and universal reality, which for this very purpose it has likewise to assume as spiritually existent.

In this reality-volatilizing creed, we sympathetically greet the aspiration that seeks to soar above the dust-destiny of human existence, and to connect it effectively with universal being and truth. But we find ourselves far too profoundly involved in the exigencies and vicissitudes of this flesh and blood life to surrender ourselves to a faith so blind, ineffective, and ungrounded.

To Transcendentalism, thinking and being are identical. True thinking is identical with eternal being. Thus, recognition of truth can signify nothing but identification with the one supreme intelligence which alone is veritable reality and truth.

And this is indeed the ethical outcome of the creed which is now taking possession of the mind and heart of our most aspiring youth. "I would enter into the eternal unity that was mine before all time." (Eckhardt.) Thinking the truth which constitutes eternal reality, I desire to become reunited with Him from whom originally my being flowed. I yearn to lay at rest this present phantasmal strife called "human existence." Through devotional contemplation, I hope at last to overcome the grievous estrangement that now diversifies me from the One and All, to gain readmission forevermore into the all-embracing quietude of sempiternal being.

Consistent rationalistic Transcendentalism is of necessity hostile to the fulfilments of nature, to the aims of vital being. Its ethics do not consistently yield rules of action, but rules of restraint from action, leading like all supernatural codes to unmitigated asceticism. Its end is knowing, not doing. Its will-power can be rightly exerted only in ideal recognition of eternal reality, not in ideal transformation of actual reality. The object of its striving must ever be diametrically opposed to that of natural evolution. Evolution points to a life-affirming, life-exalting faith. Transcendentalism involves total life-negation, extrication from all temporality.

The central riddle of philosophy and the chief impulse to religion are undoubtedly comprised in the mysterious relation subsisting between the realizing individual and universal being and truth.

It devolves, therefore, on any of our attempts at world-interpretation to frame a scientifically warranted conception as to how our self-centred individuality, within its little span of temporal life, can possibly embody the vast universe of super-individual reality, and truly recognize it.

Being forced, in any case, to assume an enduring subject, preserving its systematized experience somewhere beyond the fitful gleams of consciousness, and accomplishing the manifest unification and identification of transient phenomena, we saw Transcendentalism dissipate this whole weighty problem into thin air by fancifully imputing all requisite efficiency to an empty name, to a mere breath, *flatus vocis*, or so-called spirit.

And, furthermore, to impart universal significance to mental phenomena, to distinguish objective truth from mere subjective fiction, we are in our philosophizing, all of us, legitimately led to hypostatize some permanently abiding reality beyond our own individual consciousness. Rationalistic Transcendentalism complies with this general desideratum of knowledge by deifying and elaborating into an Absolute the all-efficient constitutive activity which it places behind our mental focus under the name of intelligence.

It is certain that the facts of our consciousness presuppose first an identical subject who compre-

hends them, and then a permanent reality to which they refer. To Transcendentalism, the identical subject is individual spirit; the permanent reality, universal spirit.

Now, it is quite obvious that to us in common life, so far as we are at all conscious, the actual bearer of this consciousness appears to be our living, organic individuality. Speculative thought may find it rather puzzling or altogether incomprehensible how any efficient interaction can possibly obtain between what we call body and what we call mind; but our unsophisticated sense of life makes us naturally feel as if we were but one, single, indiscerptible individuality. And we may safely assert that whoever has thoughtfully studied the astounding vital endowments of the human frame will readily admit that they manifest a no less marvellous entity than any which imagination can invent as an extra mental bearer of natural occurrences. Why, then, should not organized vitality, in its interaction with the world at large, be competent to give unity and general significance to the desultory mental phenomena displaying themselves within our personality? The only legitimate question that can here be raised is whether the facts of vitality and organization really justify such an interpretation.

Confronted, however, as we are at the outset by the pure idealism of the transcendental view, we find ourselves, first of all, obliged to explain why we venture at all to assume the extra-mental reality of our living organization; why we take our living body, which from time to time we are in various ways perceiving to be an enduring entity, existing independently of this its realization in our own perceptual consciousness or in that of other beings. In common with mankind in general, and following moreover the example of all natural science, we infer extra-mental or hyper-mental reality not in the centre of our consciousness as arrogated by Transcendentalism, but beyond its periphery as naturally revealed. We assume, namely, that the sensible affections of our mind resulting in perceptual manifestations are compelled by powers arousing our sensibility from without; and that these percepts, in the definite diversity of their composition, are representing symbolically the specific characteristics and relations of the foreign existences awakening them. Consequently, objective truth, in contradistinction to subjective fiction, signifies to us the congruity of our remembered experience or imagined visions, not to unchangeable spiritual reality, but to perceptual facts and occurrences that can be actually compelled by outside powers.

Our own living organization becomes, in all reality, conscious to us as a complex of specifically aroused perceptions. In reliance then on our fundamental supposition, without which all science would at once become chaotic and all action merely fancied, we trust that an extra-mental reality is actually and definitely signalized by these perceptions. Fortified by this foremost and firmest of all natural beliefs, we enter upon the diligent study and interpretation of whatever perceptual experience we can possibly gather with regard to it.

In this way, we have likewise and unavoidably to lean on a transcendental conjecture, on one that goes beyond mere mental phenomena. But the surmised complementary reality, supposed to influence our mind and to impart truth to its manifestations, we place in the direction of the senses, not in the direction of reason; believing in a peripheral, not in a central bearing of knowledge; striving for recognition of sensible relations, and for realization of our ideals in a perceptual medium, not for recognition of eternal relations and

consequent extrication from all perceptual experience and fulfilment. We are the children of whatever with toil and victory is sustaining and uplifting this natural creation: not outcasts from the heart of all-sufficient spirituality; not alienated evil doers, lost in the tangled estrangement that with blinded sight and temporal strife is differentiating this troublous and transient pageant-world of consciousness from sempiternal reality and repose.

After long wandering among mental spectres and phantasmal aims, we may with this one decisive, realistic move consider ourselves at last effectively delivered from the visionary spell of pure subjectivity. No longer do we find ourselves shut up in mental seclusion with an incessant flow of ever-vanishing phenomena, meaning nothing beyond themselves save unintelligible spiritual relations and truths, but have before us as permanent realities, not only our own natural being, but that also of our fellow-creatures and of other appearing existences, forming together a vast universe of most manifoldly interdependent influences. And all this extra-mental subsistence makes itself distinctly known within our perceptual consciousness with an abundance of minutest and persistent characteristics, calling forth our activity to deeds of lasting and fruitful natural import.

In this our naturalistic view of steady, non-mental powers underlying mental phenomena, we are, however, not reduced to the bare statement of accomplished results. We can, moreover, trace the conditions ministering to these results. And, in a general way, we can also trace the course of development, which has gradually brought them about. Trusting our perceptual manifestations, we may conclude that our individuality is encompassed by a world of which it forms part, and to whose specific configurations and happenings it is in ever so many ways related. Our organization, connatural with the rest of things, has evidently been developed through and through in interaction with all that surrounds and affects it. We find its sensitive surface, in a most exquisite and specific manner, responsively attuned to the sundry external influences infringing on it. And thus we come to understand that outside material is not really given as such to sense, but that sense is, nevertheless, accurately signalizing, by means of its own intrinsic affections, the specific nature of the outside influences,—a nature recognized by dint of connatural origin and development. Furthermore, we find that, consumed by such functional activity, a portion of the vital substance becomes disintegrated and eventually dissipated as kindred stuff into the same aerial ocean in which we move and breathe. And we find, in compensation of such vital expenditure, that the functionally relinquished material is accurately replaced through assimilation of nutriment, derived from the common store of nature.

The individual, thus essentially and manifoldly related to the rest of the visible world, is, however, not a mere congeries of such relations, but an autonomous and unitary being, in whose peculiar individuality, in conformity with its own organic nature, these relations are gradually inwrought through constant interaction with the influencing powers. Its myriads of specified relational or sensory elements, answering to most subtle cosmical as well as to most intricate planetary influences, all belong to one and the same realizing subject. This thoroughly organized subject, as the result of endless vital toil, possesses in its lastly evolved, highest texture the one endowment of nature most intimately known to each of us; namely, the feeling of much of its own living

activity, and especially of that part of it which is dependent on its interaction with outside powers. This self-feeling is the function of our organism as a permanent, extra-mental existent, and does not in reality reside in what consciously and casually appears to us as nerve-textures. It has not its true being in our mental perception as such, but in the complex of non-mental powers that compel this definite perception. It is this feeling of one's own living activity and its sundry definitely attuned modifications that composes the realizing medium of all extraneous influences and their import to the welfare of our being. In this unitary and general sensibility of the organic individual, the outer influences effect with increasing distinctiveness the specific representation of their sundry characteristics and combinations. And it is in strict proportion to this filling of our indiscerptible sensibility with the consciousness of specified feelings, of more and more intricate relations to the outside world, that our intelligence is found to develop, and to realize the abiding and necessary interdependence of that which in transient and casual flashes perceptually appears to us.

The outside world, upon our delicately attuned surface-mosaic, plays the definite rhythm by which alone it makes its presence known to us. What thereupon survenes within the reacting individual, induced by such merely superficial stimulation, is wholly the product of vitality and organization; but vitality and organization previously influenced out and out in its molecular constitution, in its structural collocations, and consequently also in its entire functional response, by the incessant surface-play with these same outside influences. It is through this perpetual interaction with outside powers that vital activity is kept going, and that its developmental specifications are effected. Through centralization of more and more completely elaborated and specifically reacting functions, the elementary sensations awaken more and more compound relational effects, resulting in the whole vital stir of our one moment of conscious realization,—the all-containing mental presence.

But, it will rightly be urged by Transcendentalism, even granting that through surface-specifications and centralizing unifications the sensibility of the organic individual becomes representative of its natural relations to the world of which it forms part, yet in order to know itself as a permanent being not completely dis severed into a succession of sensations, or into a sequence of even the most complex moments of consciousness, in order also to recognize the permanency of the outside influences affecting it, and its own power to transform such influences in conformity with its own steady purpose,—in order to accomplish all this, it must possess that self-identity which has hitherto resisted all philosophical and scientific elucidation.

It is indeed easy enough to assert that such an identity is implied in every fact of consciousness. But does it enlighten us in the least to be told that, as such identity can be neither of material nor of mental consistency, it must therefore necessarily be something quite different from either matter or mind, which wholly unknown something, for want of a better name, we will agree figuratively to call "spirit"?

If the matrix in which our entire past experience is preserved beyond consciousness, and from which, in consequence, our mental phenomena issue forth in due order, imbued with all the transcendental excellency which personal identity can impart; if this matrix is a spiritual entity, then we are completely debarred from any insight into the conditions and processes that underlie consciousness and its cognition. Under such a supposition, one has to fancy something inscrutable, whose

whole activity consists in experiencing self-originated changes, but which, nevertheless, remains itself identical, or ever unchangeably the same.

The most consummate dialectic skill and imaginative shuffling of data, carried on for so many centuries by our greatest thinkers, have failed to afford the least clew to this vexatious puzzle of speculative philosophy.

Now, as the assumption of a spiritual constitution underlying the facts of personal identity is a mere conjecture, ventured amid our speculative perplexity in elucidation of the results of such identity manifest among our mental phenomena; and as the conjecture advanced under these circumstances has proved powerless to explain, in any degree, the facts for whose explanation it was made,—we are surely justified in bringing forward another supposition, the merit of which we are quite willing to see likewise judged by the enlightenment that may be received from it.

We have here assumed that what we are all in search of—namely, the subject having as affection of its own the all-revealing mental presence—is in verity that existent which perceptually appears to us as our natural individuality. Everything we can learn concerning the development of vitality and organization, and concerning their behavior from beginning to end, in health and disease, seems to corroborate this view. And, if we can further detect some organic process which will account for the permanent identity of this subject being preserved amid the multifarious changes experienced by it, we shall have accomplished a good deal more in elucidation of personal identity than has ever been done by the spiritual hypothesis.

The outside influences affect the organism by specifically disintegrating the surface upon which they act, and the process thus initiated spreads centripetally within the structures of the organic individual. The vital reaction then consists in a reintegration of the structures thus deteriorated. This reintegration or restitution of the organic individual in response and in opposition to outside encroachment constitutes the fundamental activity of life. A living individual is one that maintains through structural repair its own identity amid incessant discerption by the infringing influences of its environment. Life consists essentially in this rhythmic pulsation, produced by the disintegrating effects from outside being met by identity-restoring integration from within. Preservation of individual identity amid inflicted modifications is involved in the very stir that produces and sustains life, or rather that is life itself.

And, when we further consider that the identity which is preserved intact by such vital activity is not like other things of this world the product of its own time, but brings with it into its present existence the slowly elaborated and accumulated vital results of countless bygone ages, we may come to understand with what store of endowed wealth the organic being is capable of encountering the momentary occurrences of its individual life. Thus, it happens that its vital reaction is incommensurate to any kind of mechanical effect. The laws of mechanical causation are totally inapplicable to its living response. In this instance, most decidedly, *Causa non aequat effectum*. Here, the effect, the reaction, is transcendental, teleological, having its root in adaptations established long ago, and reaching with its stimulated activity far beyond the present.

Moreover, the organic individual is in possession of spontaneity, of an intrinsically originating outflow of purposive action, in which its whole generic capacity is brought to bear upon its surroundings. Thus, its so-called motives have no analogy

with external stimuli, such as are compelling reflex actions or definite perceptions. They are in verity intrinsic predeterminations from out the transcendental and unitary depths of organic being, designedly influencing and transmuting outside existence.

If then, after much study and mature deliberation, it will be found that what we are capable of perceptually ascertaining with regard to organic processes throws much light on personal identity and kindred problems, it will still remain unintelligible to many how an organic individual, even when admitted to be vitally capable of preserving its own identity, can come to be the bearer of super-individual truth; how the facts of its own isolated consciousness can represent universally valid experience.

In the probing of this final and supreme problem of knowledge, the recent disclosures of organic evolution point out the way to a natural solution. They have no doubt that faculties acquired, as well as such originally possessed by parents, are transmitted to their offspring. Now, this being so, it is in the highest degree marvellous and awe-inspiring to contemplate how very little of specific individuality or distinctive personality there can actually dwell in each of us; how our whole being is all but completely the product and exponent of generic gifts, bequeathed to us by our ancestry. Thus, though enclosed in the visible limits of circumscribed individuality, our nature is almost wholly of hyper-individual import. You and I are radically, essentially One,—not, indeed, by dint of the conscious play separately at work within each of us, for the mental phenomena arising in the hidden recesses of our wholly secluded inner life can, as such, in no way be shared or apperceived by any other person. You and I can therefore not be one by the substantial unity of anything mental, whatever rationalistic Transcendentalism may assert to the contrary. That which makes us truly one lies far beyond the ken of all mentality. We are, in reality and not only figuratively, one being, one flesh and blood, one substantial reality, by means of our most specific community of inherited organization, amounting to all but perfect identity of nature. Therefore, and therefore only, the truth realized by me in conformity with my natural surroundings is also the truth realized by you. Indeed, the truth universally realizable by all beings sharing the same organization.

Organic identity is not material, but transcendental. In our own personality, it is not due to any identity of component elements entering into the constitution of our body; for these component elements are, during vital activity, continually thrown out and replaced by new ones. Likewise, the generic identity and substantial unity of the multitude of individualities composing Humanity are states of being not in any way dependent on the material identity of the substance composing the sundry human bodies, but altogether dependent on identity of organization, on sameness of molecular constitution and structural arrangement; an essentially constructive power holding complete sway over its building material, a hyper-individual, all-efficient, rejuvenescent power, rigorously bequeathed to all of us ready-made, and not arising in the course of our separate, individual development.

In the rise of time, after endless preparatory upheavals, vitality, through ages upon ages of never-flagging perseverance, under most sifting trials of competency, has succeeded in triumphantly establishing, within the actual presence of an individualized form, the life-won results of all terrestrial and cosmical interaction. The living being, steeped in a wild commotion of clashing elements amid a

vast tumult of insentiently blending and parting influences, sustains itself an organized consolidation of every essential relation. Most manifoldly attuned, most harmoniously unified, it realizes within the phenomenal repose of its delicately quivering sensibility the grand intrinsic concord of progressively speeding nature. Truly, the organized result of vital exertion, seemingly so frail and perishable, is, nevertheless, the only self-preserving and controlling reality in a universe of restless and obliterating change. Let the unremitting toil of vitality suspend but one moment its stupendous, its all-conserving, all-revealing activity, and where would remain the sense and beauty of our world?

It is this mighty, ever-renovating pulse of life, with its time-conquering, eternalizing beat, that actually originates and quickens the perduring configuration of our transitory bodies, coercing into typical and world-responsive order the stray and lapsing stuff of which they visibly seem composed. With all ties of blood-relationship to the very core of his existence, the present human being is heir of foregone achievements here below; bearer of the whole organized wealth of creation, livingly wrought in evermore complex and significant involution and ascension, and—notwithstanding the inexorable decline of all individual life—artfully extricated in faithful rejuvenescence and renewed zeal from the ghastly pyre of immolating time.

And, this present embodiment of all the fruit of victorious life, we, now here, are sole links to futurity, sole reliance of forthcoming ages. To our safe keeping and undefiled transmittance are intrusted the precious pain-wrought acquisitions of our race. Shall we then for any visionary hankering after individual bliss forsake the world-wide vital mission ingrained in every fibre of our mystic frame? Shall we, as called upon by "Transcendentalism," for the dream of an incommensurable self-beatitude or spiritual quiescence desert the creative task allotted to us by whatever is underlying nature and all its unaccountable growth,—the task here among our fellow-beings, under joy and anguish, to work out the higher life of that all-comprising organization of which we are veritable impersonations?

THE following lines to Mr. William J. Potter, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ministry in New Bedford, are here copied "unbeknownst" to him:—

Of Quaker blood and Pilgrim stock,
Firm in the truth as Plymouth Rock,
A tender shepherd of his flock;
His soul full fed by inner light,—
A burning lamp in error's night,
Shining, with added years, more bright.

In silent majesty, he met
The bigot's scorn, the friends' regret,
In faith and duty firmly set:
He knew that truth would win at last,
The walls of error low be cast
By reason's steady bugle blast.

On life's serene, high table-land,
This calm, strong prophet took his stand,
Truth's universe at his command.
In all God's works, he found no flaw,
No print or sign of broken law,—
Order divine inspiring awe.

Through good report and ill, his word,
By pen and speech incessant heard,
A million hearts have grandly stirred.
Free thought, free speech, free truth he sought,
And felt no victory dearly bought
Which freedom gave to fettered thought.
My brother, you have grandly wrought!

A. J. RICH.

FALL RIVER, MASS., Dec. 28, 1884.

Lo! as hid seed shoots after rainless years,
So good and evil, pains and pleasures, hates
And loves, and all dead deeds come forth again,
Bearing bright leaves or dark, sweet fruit or sour.
—"The Light of Asia."

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE RIGHTS OF LABOR.

Editors of The Index:—

There is no doubt that working men and women are often liable to color their logic with their feelings, when they try to trace out the reasons that produce misery among them as a class, and cause their labor to occupy a degraded position as compared with that of capital. Nevertheless, when Prof. Denslow says, as reported of him in the last issue of *The Index*, that inequality in the distribution of wealth is necessary to its greatest production and its greatest enjoyment, he states a truth that is only one-sided in its application.

If wealth unequally distributed is necessary to its greater production, then greater production means more unequal distribution supplemented by greater inequality in its common enjoyment. Wealth is the product of labor, either directly from labor or indirectly through capital. Yet capital wants it all. Being organized, it trades upon the necessities of unorganized labor. In its action, it projects itself far beyond the sphere of its natural and just functions. The earnings of the laborer go into the pockets of the capitalist. The capitalist groans as he doles out to the laborer that portion necessary for the maintenance of his animal existence. The capitalist enjoys life, plus its comforts and luxuries. The laborer has life, minus the rightful enjoyments of those things which the products of his labor give another. The laborer sows, the capitalist reaps. The capitalist has the harvest, the laborer the gleanings. More than this for the laborer would produce shrinkage in monopolized wealth; and such shrinkage, bringing about a more equitable distribution of labor's products, would, according to Prof. Denslow's version of the gospel of Capitalism, stop all trade, all commerce, all business. Organized capital can do no more for the world than can organized labor representing itself.

One noting the sharp contrasts between the rich and the poor, as presented by our large cities where such contrasts are most striking, must surely believe there is something wrong in existing social conditions, or be a firm believer in the doctrine of pessimism. Greed is the mainspring of capital's action, and arrogance has now become one of its principal characteristics. The laborer now has no rights which the general run of capitalists feels bound to respect. Go through any of our workshops to-day and ask gray-headed mechanics if there exists now among American workmen that manly independence and dignity which existed among them fifty years ago. They will tell you, No! In its place there has developed among hundreds and thousands of workingmen, from motives of expediency and personal policy, a cringing servility toward employers, that is simply disgusting,—the result of a false class distinction which capital has created. And this class distinction threatens to become as clearly and as sharply defined as any that ever existed in the monarchical countries of Europe. No workingman, having average intelligence, can help but notice that the tide of current events is setting stronger and stronger against him. He realizes that the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few means a greater poverty among the poor. Capital is telling him that he ought to be satisfied so long as he is allowed the privilege of barely being able to meet the living expenses of himself and family. The inevitable tendency of such a state of things is to lower the moral and intellectual standard of the masses, and to bring about social conditions that must necessarily be out of harmony with those simple principles of right and justice which are the only basis upon which transactions between man and man should be conducted.

GEO. H. HADLEY.

HOPE VALLEY, R.I., March 8, 1885.

HINDRANCES TO CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.—Wong Ching Foo thus summarizes in the *Christian Advocate* the causes which, in his opinion, have prevented success of Christian missionary labors in China: "The mistakes which have aborted the attempts to Christianize China are manifold. Their number is too great to do more than call the roll; and a weary, pitiable roll it must be to the Christian, an exasperating one to the Chinese: 1. Assaults and robberies by the Christian

powers: Russia's repeated direct attempts upon Chosan and Ho-Thao, and attempts by emissaries upon Thsiang-Hai, Min-yet, and Thibet; England's seizing Hong Kong, and, with France, forcing opium on the Chinese at a cost of fifty thousand lives; France's latest war on Ton-Quin, Tai-wan, and Foo-Chow; Germany and Russia's helping the Tae-Ping and other rebels; the hoodlum law of the United States, and the persecution of innocent Chinese; the creation and extension of the coolie slavery by nearly all the great powers combined. 2. The diplomacy, armies, navies, and wars of the European nations. 3. Trade iniquities, such as adulteration, falsification, forgery, false invoices, and bogus insurance, against which the Chinese merchants and government have frequently, but vainly protested. 4. The sending out of comparatively uncultured missionaries to a race with whom culture is the chief fact in life. 5. The employment of missionaries, books, etc., using a Chinese that occasions ridicule, and conveys few or no ideas. 6. The underpayment of missionaries in a land where a man's salary is universally considered the measure of his value. 7. The fanaticism and intolerance displayed by nearly all the sects of Christianity each toward all the others. 8. The ambition of the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches to acquire land for ecclesiastical purposes in a country where each particle of territory must be utilized to sustain life. 9. The immoral tone of our newspapers, social conversation, and books, and the universal profanity and drunkenness of the Anglo-Saxon race. 10. The neglect of missionaries to form schools, and to show the sanitary, scientific, social, and pecuniary advantages of Christian civilization. 11. The harsh treatment of the Chinese, especially in the United States."

BOSTON UNITARIANISM.—From a letter in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* from a Boston correspondent, "Grapho," we take the following: "The Arlington Street Church was for a time in a rather critical condition, but under the labors of Brooke Herford it has gained its vitality. James Freeman Clarke has a prosperous society. The church of Edward Everett Hale is in a fair condition, though needing the infusion of a little young blood into the pulpit to give it the highest vitality. Minot J. Savage has a full congregation, and seems to be gaining strength yearly. Rufus Ellis, of the First Church, H. W. Foote, of King's Chapel, and Brooke Herford, of the Arlington Street Church, represent the most conservative element of Boston Unitarianism, while Minot Savage is in the van of the liberals. The most liberal of the Unitarians, however, retain traces of the old theology. They seem to be reaching out for the new with one hand, yet keeping a firm hold upon the old with the other. They have discarded the most obnoxious features of Orthodoxy, but the forms which they retain savor of the past. That which is suggested by their forms is inconsistent with what is uttered in their sermons. They do not believe that God can be influenced by petitions, yet they offer up what they call a prayer. This is mere form, and their manner shows it. They deliver excellent prayers, as far as rhetoric is concerned, and one often feels like applauding; but their spiritual potency is about the same as that of an apostrophe to the law of gravitation. They lack earnestness. The speaker knows his prayer will not be answered, and he doubts whether it is heard even outside the walls of his church. Much Unitarianism is an attempt to put new wine into old bottles, and the bottles already begin to leak. One cannot jump half way down a precipice. Unitarians have jumped off the orthodox precipice, but many want to stop before they get to the bottom. Nothing would frighten some Unitarian ministers of this city so much as a plain, blunt statement of their belief and its logical consequences; laying aside all euphony, and showing that they practically hold the Bible in no higher estimation than other books, Jesus in no higher authority than other good men, and that they really repudiate all supernatural authority, and accept the reason of man as the highest criterion of truth and duty." Still, "Grapho" thinks, "the general movement of New England Unitarianism is forward."

PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON, having complained in a recent number of the *Publisher's Weekly* that a "New York pirate" had got hold of his work, *An Intellectual Life*, and added that a copyright law "would be a benefit to all honest men, including American authors, who would be spared part of the rivalry produced by flooding the States with cheap pirated reprints," Mr.

John B. Alden, the publisher referred to, has addressed to Mr. Hamerton an open letter, from which we extract the following:—

Of course, it warms the blood a little of an honest man to have another honest man call him a knave. When discussion gets to that point, argument is cut off. . . . I am, and long have been, heartily in favor of giving authors the control of their productions upon *their own terms*, within the limits of the bounds of common sense. It would hardly be practicable for us to pay copyright to Homer, and it may be an open question as to when Macaulay's heirs should cease to receive their tax. There is, of course, some limit. Honest "doctors disagree" as to points of equity, expediency, and the best methods of bringing a happy future out of the evil present. The laws of this country (and I believe the same is true of all countries) are not as you and other authors desire they should be. . . . Where is the common sense of characterizing me as a "pirate," because I multiply copies of your book from the copy I bought and paid for, more than in applying the same term to one who reads the book aloud to a dozen friends, who consequently do not buy it, or more than applying it to you for appropriating the language and thoughts of the patriarch Job in one of your books without giving him any payment. You give "credit," doubtless, to the authors whom you quote; but you give them no pay. I give you credit, but no "pay" beyond the copy I buy, *thou art able to secure a change in the present unsatisfactory laws*. . . . I do not pretend to be the reader's especial champion; but I do look at the question of the "intellectual life" for them from their stand-point as well as from that of the author. And it is amazing to me that an author of your high character,—intellectual, humane, and Christian (whose inspiring words, "The humblest subscriber to a mechanics' institute has easier access to sound learning than had either Solomon or Aristotle," I have placed before millions of readers),—that you should seem to take no pleasure in the fact that the best literature of the world has by my efforts been placed within the reach of millions to whom it was before unattainable; that I give to you an appreciative audience (far more appreciative than you find among your wealthy patrons) among tens of thousands, who, without my efforts, would never have known you.

BOOK NOTICES.

DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. By Alfred H. Welsh, A.M. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1882. In two volumes.

These two large and handsome volumes, written by a Western man and published in the "Queen City of West," give evidence that not only "empire," but scholarship "westward takes its way." The author of this work, in his somewhat extended "prologue," states that his "supreme anxiety has been to produce not a brilliant but a useful book." We think he has in a measure accomplished both results. He writes from a decidedly progressive and scientific standpoint. To give our readers an idea of the breadth and scope of this work, we quote somewhat at length from the "prologue," or introductory chapter, which begins thus: "A nation's literature is the outcome of its whole life. To consider it apart from the antecedents and environments which form the national genius were to misapprehend its nature and its bearing. Its growth in kind and degree is determined by four capital agencies: Race, or hereditary dispositions; Surroundings, or physical and social condition; Epoch, or spirit of the age; Person, or reactionary and expressive force. . . . A history of English literature requires therefore a description of English soil and climate, of English thought and English character as they exist when first the English people come upon the arena of history, of the growth of that character and that thought as they are colored by the foreign infusion of Celt, Roman, Dane, and Norman. . . . Nor can any man understand the American mind who fails to appreciate its connection with English history, ancient and modern. . . . I have aimed at the golden mean,—a judicious union of facts and philosophy, of narrative and reflection, of objective description and subjective meditation." This literary history is divided by the author into periods, which he names according to what in his view are the predominating characteristics; and the history of each period is prefaced by a sketch of its politics, the state of society, poetry, religion, the drama, the novel, the periodical, history, theology, ethics, science, and philosophy. The leading authors of each period are discussed under the classified headings of Biography, Writings, Style, Rank, Character, and Influence.

From the beginning of the Christian era to the thirteenth century, he includes the "Formative" period of English literature, with Cædmon, Bede,

Alfred, and Roger Bacon as its representative authors. The other "periods" are the "Initiative," with Mandeville, Wiclif, and Chaucer as representatives, Caxton alone represents the "Retrogressive" period. More, Sidney, Hooker, Raleigh, Spenser, and Shakspere lead in the "First Creative" period. Ben Jonson, Lord Bacon, and Milton are the leaders of the "Philosophic" period. The "First Transition" period owes most to Bunyan and Dryden. The "Critical" period is marked by the advent of such writers as Steele, Addison, De Foe, Swift, Pope, Richardson, Fielding, Hume, and Samuel Johnson. The "Second Transition" period gave us Gibbon, Goldsmith, Burns, and Cowper; and the "Second Creative," Scott, Wordsworth, and Byron. To-day he entitles the "Diffusive" period, and cites, as its leaders in literature, Dickens, Carlyle, George Eliot, Tennyson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Emerson. The names mentioned do not by any means include all those whose lives and writings are reviewed in these two volumes. Each biographical sketch is accompanied by characteristic extracts from the writings of the subject.

The general tone of the work is broad and liberal, the style terse and bright. There is a very complete index, and also a list of the authorities consulted by the author. This list comprises about one hundred and fifty standard and reliable works and writers. On the whole, the book is a very valuable addition to our national literature. We give part of the closing paragraph of the concluding chapter as a specimen of the author's spirit, style, and thought: "Who knows where we are in the duration and development of the race? In the cradle still, or in opening manhood? By the same divine law of evolution, we, too, in turn shall be outstripped. . . . The latest civilization will be a suggestion of new and higher possibilities. The golden ages are before us. On, ever on, toward the flying Perfect!"

S. A. U.

MIND-READING AND BEYOND. By William A. Hovey. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1885. pp. 201. Price \$1.25.

There are few people who are not more or less, directly or indirectly, interested in the different phases of the subject treated in this volume; and, to many minds, it has an extraordinary fascination from the mystery in which it is involved. To the unthinking, that fascination comes merely from the mystery which seems to them to partake of the miraculous and supernatural, and so panders to their love of the marvellous. To the thoughtful and investigating mind, the attraction is also because of the mystery which opens possibilities of scientific discovery. It is in this spirit that the author of this volume approaches his subject. "It will naturally be asked," he says, "What good is expected to grow out of the study of these so-called 'occult' phenomena? The general answer is that nothing but good can come out of the study of nature. It is something to free men's minds from delusion as to the supernatural." The main portion of the book is devoted to a republication, in a condensed form, of the records of the experiments of a committee appointed by the London Society for Psychical Research to investigate the phenomena of so-called "mind-reading." Mr. Hovey seems inclined to believe that these experiments have thrown considerable light on a subject involved in much doubt and mystery. He quotes Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of Trinity College, England, the president of the Society for Psychical Research, as declaring that, "considering the importance of the questions still in dispute, as compared with other scientific problems on which years of patient and unbroken investigation have been employed, it may be said that no proportionate amount of labor has yet been devoted to these problems." The author sensibly says, "Until we have exhausted the possibilities of Nature and have discovered all of Nature's laws,—as yet we know but few of them,—let us be content to believe that our failure to understand a thing does not necessarily involve the inability of natural law to account for it."

Mr. Hovey is himself so deeply interested in this psychic research that he concludes the last chapter by asking those readers "who have within their knowledge well authenticated cases of the occurrence of any of these phenomena, if they find it agreeable and convenient," to communicate them to him. He would prefer the real names and addresses of such parties, though that is not a necessary condition. "What is absolutely essential is that the facts be attested by the full name and address of one or more persons who know them of their own knowledge."

Any such communication will reach him, if sent to the care of his publishers, Lee & Shepard, of this city.
S. A. U.

PARADISE FOUND. The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole. A Study of the Prehistoric World. By William F. Warren, S.T.D., LL.D., President of Boston University, Corporate Member of the American Oriental Society, author of *Anfangsgründe der Logik, Einleitung in die Systematische Theologie, The True Key to Ancient Cosmology and Mythical Geography*, etc. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. pp. 503. Price \$2.00.

We have no reason to doubt the statement of the author that this volume "is a thoroughly serious and sincere attempt to present what is to the author's mind the true and final solution of one of the greatest and most fascinating of all problems connected with the history of mankind." The problem is, Where was the Garden of Eden? That a man who can add to his name "LL.D.," and who is "President of Boston University," should regard this as "one of the greatest and most fascinating of all problems connected with the history of mankind," although it may seem strange to some, will surprise none who know what kind of men are at the head of many of our institutions of learning. Dr. Warren thinks that the primitive Eden was at the North Pole. Could some new Columbus penetrate to the polar region, our author believes "he could but hurriedly kneel amid a frozen desolation, and dumb with a nameless awe, let fall a few hot tears above the buried and desolated hearthstone of humanity's earliest and loveliest home." The author shows literary culture and a smattering of science; but his book proves nothing, and is no contribution to the world's knowledge. That the earth was peopled and stocked with animals and plants from arctic regions may possibly be true, but, in the present state of science, the theory does not admit of proof; and, as for the fabled Garden of Eden, the evidence against its existence at any time or in any locality is strong in proportion to the evidence in favor of the theory of evolution. Dr. Warren has gleaned passages here and there from some men of science to give a scientific cast to his theory; but, while they indicate his ingenuity, they do not show that his views are sustained by the authors whom he quotes. The book contains some fallacies which no reader who has a fair acquaintance with geology, paleontology, zoology, and ethnology can fail to see, some acknowledged facts, numerous literary embellishments, and a multitude of assumptions which at present admit neither of proof nor of disproof.

B. F. U.

ADMIRAL DAVID D. PORTER in the April *Century* contributes to the war series a striking paper on "The Opening of the Lower Mississippi." Accompanying the article are portraits of Admiral Faragut, Admiral Porter, Capt. Theodorus Bailey, Gen. Butler, who was in command of the land forces, Gen. Lovell, the Confederate commander, and other leading participants in the conflict. Besides the portraits there are maps, plans, and pictures of incidents. George W. Cable, in a brief article, gives a spirited description, from personal observation, of "New Orleans before the Capture." Theodore Roosevelt contributes a paper on "Phases of State Legislation," in which he reveals the methods of the lobby and the perils which beset legislators. A reply to Mr. Cable's recent paper on "The Freedman's Case in Equity" is contributed by Henry W. Grady, who writes under the title "In Plain Black and White." Another article of political interest is a discussion of the causes and probable disappearance of "The Solid South," by Edward P. Clark; and in "Topics of the Time" are editorials entitled "Practical Politics," "Not the American Way," "The Attempt to Save Niagara," and "The Difference between a Painting and a Pound of Sugar," the last with reference to the movement for free art. "A Florentine Mosaic," Mr. Howells' second illustrated paper on Florence, is the opening article in the magazine, a reproduction of Mr. Pennell's etching of the Ponte Vecchio being the frontispiece. Eugene V. Smalley describes his journey "From Puget Sound to the Upper Columbia." Dr. Edward Eggleston's "Colonists at Home" is one of the most popular of his series on life in the Colonies. The fiction of the number includes the sixth part of "The Rise of Silas Lapham," by Mr. Howells; the third part of "The Bostonians," by Henry James; and a humorous short story by Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, entitled "The Mediations of Mr. Archie Kittrell," accompanied by character sketches by

E. W. Kemble. The poetry is contributed by Mrs. Helen Jackson (H. H.), Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, Anne R. Aldrich, and C. H. Crandall; and, in "Bric-à-Brac," by Frank D. Sherman, Miss Alice Trumbull Learned, Margaret Vandegrift, and others. —Cupples, Upham & Co.

THE April number of the *St. Nicholas* opens with a frontispiece illustration by W. St. John Harper of "The Gilded Boy," a true story of a Florentine pageant in 1492. In the "Historic Girls" series, E. S. Brooks tells the story of the girlhood of "Zenobia of Palmyra," as based on information recently brought to light by Eastern scholars, which is timely, in so far as it shows a prototype of the events of to-day,—a mighty European power humbled and held at bay by the Arabs of many centuries ago. Coming to more modern days, there is a sketch of Bach, which forms the first of a series of brief biographies, by Agatha Tunis, of the great musicians "From Bach to Wagner." Lieut. Schwatka tells, in "Children of the Cold," of some of the popular games of the Eskimo; while Charles Barnard, in "The Boys' Club," relates how some little New York savages, that have been caught and tamed, amuse themselves in a fine clubhouse. Another "Ready for Business" paper discusses the chances for young men in the field of practical chemistry; and E. P. Roe, in "Driven Back to Eden," contributes some sound advice to young tillers of the soil. "Among the Law-makers" contains an amusing chapter on the pranks of the Senate-pages, ushered in by April Fool's Day; and J. T. Trowbridge's serial, "His One Fault," goes brightly on. Of the many other features of the number, a few are: a beautiful double-page picture called "Easter Morning"; the story of mining camp pussy, entitled "The Conscientious Cat"; a poem by Celia Thaxter; one by Margaret Johnston, illustrated by Jessie McDermott; and another, called "Who's Afraid in the Dark?" with a full-page picture by R. B. Birch. Many readers will be interested in the announcement of the names of the winners in the prize-story contest for girls.

THE *Revue de Belgique* for February opens by picturing the first fire of youth in its struggle against conservative influences. Then comes the conclusion of "Le Curé Jadouille," a story showing how much good may be done by a good-natured and worldly-minded priest. But, next, we have an account of the war now going on in Belgium for the public schools against the blighting tyranny of Roman Catholicism. The notice of the Russian novelist, Feodor Mikhailovitch Dostolevsky, is followed by the last of a curious series of articles, telling how the loss of a nose or a lip may be repaired by grafting on another. What is probably an unintentional, but not an altogether unnecessary appendix to these last statements is furnished by a lively narrative about who the devil of a haunted house turned out to be in reality.

THE RISE OF INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY FROM THALES TO COPERNICUS.

By FREDERICK MAY HOLLAND,

Author of *The Reign of the Stoics*. Price \$3.50.

The author of this book has chosen a magnificent subject; and, although it is formidable in extent and much of it involved in obscurity, and all of it complicated with great questions of history and human progress, he has yet been able to throw much new light upon that liberalization of thought which went very unsteadily forward during twenty-two hundred years, before the great modern movement of the development for intellectual liberty. The work is a delineation of tendencies, a series of sketches of the great minds who at different times and under varied circumstances, and with unequal effect, have struck for independence of thought, a presentation of the counter-forces that have antagonized intellectual liberty, and an account of the working of all those larger agencies which have in different degrees hindered or promoted freedom and independence of thought. Without having subjected the work to critical scrutiny, we are much impressed by the evidence it shows of extensive and conscientious labor, the freshness and interest of its chief subject-matter, the untrammelled treatment of the subject, and the vigor of the portrayal of that long and agonizing conflict with bigotry and intolerance, religious and political, public and private, which is the price of our modern liberty of thinking.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*.

For sale at THE INDEX office, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Pirates, AUTHORS, and CHEAP BOOKS.

The following extract from a letter from the well-known Author and Artist PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON appeared in a recent number of the New York Publishers' Weekly:

"I saw by the advertisements in American periodicals that a New York pirate had got hold of 'An Intellectual Life.' We sadly need a copyright law. It would be a benefit to all honest men, including American authors, who would be spared part of the rivalry produced by flooding the States with cheap pirated reprints. Yours very truly, P. G. HAMERTON."

To which I beg leave to reply as follows:

DEAR SIR.—The above note evidently refers to me, as I am the one publisher who has reprinted the work referred to at a low price. Of course it warms the blood, a little, of an honest man, to have another honest man call him a knave. When discussion gets to that point, argument is cut off. I will, however, make a few points on my side of the case.

First.—I am, and long have been, heartily in favor of giving authors the control of their productions upon *their own terms*, within the limits of the bounds of common sense—it would hardly be practicable for us to pay copyright to Homer, and it may be an open question as to when Macaulay's heirs should cease to receive their tax; there is, of course, some limit; honest "doctors disagree" as to points of equity, expediency, and the best methods of bringing a happy future out of the evil present.

Second.—The laws of this country (and I believe the same is true of all countries) are not as you and other authors desire they should be. Evidently, too, it is quite as useless for authors to expect to get what they want without a *CHANGE in the laws*, as to hope to reach the result by calling publishers bad names. Where is the common sense of characterizing me as a "pirate" because I multiply (within the bounds of law and of custom since the time of Cadmus) copies of your book from the copy I bought and paid for, more than in applying the same term to one who reads the book aloud to a dozen friends, who consequently do not buy it—or more than applying it to YOU for appropriating the language and thoughts of the patriarch Job in one of your books without giving him any payment—you give "credit," doubtless, to the authors whom you quote, but you give them no pay,—I give YOU credit, but no "pay" beyond the copy I buy, till we are able to secure a change in the present unsatisfactory laws.

Third.—General Grant once said, "The best way to get rid of a bad law is to enforce it;" that is my theory, and I shall continue to practice upon it; I expect to aid in securing to you by "enforcement" of the legitimate consequences of the present laws, what authors would never get by whining or growling. Some people give to my methods the credit of being, possibly, the largest single influence which is working in this country to bring about the much desired change in the laws.

Fourth.—While authors certainly have their "rights," readers have some rights also. When I was a boy under fourteen years of age the good literature accessible to me was limited, nearly, to Murray's English Reader, and Josephus' Works. I do not pretend to be the reader's especial champion, but I DO look at the question of the "intellectual life" for them from their standpoint as well as from that of the author—and it is amazing to me that

an author of your high character, intellectual, humane and Christian (whose inspiring words "The humblest subscriber to a mechanics' institute has easier access to sound learning than had either Solomon or Aristotle," I have placed before millions of readers)—that you should seem to take no pleasure in the fact that the best literature of the world has by my efforts been placed within the reach of millions to whom it was before unattainable; that I give to YOU an appreciative audience (far more appreciative than you find among your wealthy patrons) among tens of thousands, who without my efforts would never have known you. I say readers have rights as well as authors; what they are I will not discuss; I say, simply, let the laws be changed as authors demand; while Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Lamb are free to readers, any "monopoly" which living authors can secure upon their own writings will not seriously hurt readers—and, furthermore, folly in law-making, if foolish changes should be made, would be likely soon to work its own cure, in this age of the printing press.

Finally.—Hamerton's "Intellectual Life" ought to sell by the hundred thousand—ought to sell a hundred where it has sold one by the methods of your approved publishers; when the "good time coming" is here, and authors can make their own terms with publishers and the public, perhaps you will give me a little credit and thanks for the *LARGER* audience you will then have because of my present "piracy." Respectfully, JOHN B. ALDEN.

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

It is often remarked that Fast Day, in this State, which was observed last Thursday in the usual manner, should be called feast day. The Boston Transcript, in an editorial entitled "A Venerable Imposture," observes: "As the day, however, has drifted far away from its original purposes, as none but the hungry fast, and as very few go to the church compared with the thousands that pack the theatre, why not cordially and freely acknowledge the change, and proclaim it a holiday, instead of calling it a holy day, long after it has ceased to be such? Far be it from us to deprecate these pleasant gatherings, these joyous feasts, this day of merriment subdued in sympathy with the gray season. That the right of the New Englander to a resting-day between two trying seasons is well established ought to go unchallenged. But why call this resting-day what it is not, what it never will be again? Why officially adjure people who are determined to feast to fast? Custom has made it a day of feasting and amusement, as custom made it a day of fasting and meditation. Why not candidly and frankly acknowledge the change, of which every one is conscious?"

We had the pleasure a few evenings ago of addressing in Providence, R.I., at the residence of Mr. James Eddy of that city, a Herbert Spencer Class, on Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*. The Class had just finished a study of this work extending through many months, having before devoted about a year to *First Principles* and *Principles of Biology*. The usual exercises of the Class consist in reading several pages of Spencer, to which the members are supposed to have given some attention previously, and discussing informally the views and reasonings of the author. The most subtle philosophic thinkers of the Class, which includes some of the best minds of the city, it is admitted, are women, who, at the meetings we have attended, have shown ability to follow Mr. Spencer in his most profound reasonings and his most abstruse thought. At a time when ignorance, a desire to gain the influence of a great name in support of theological assumption, or policy, or all

combined, lead to frequent misrepresentations of Spencer's thought, it is gratifying to know that there are a number of societies in this country making his views a subject of careful study.

THE *Freidenker* of March 29 calls attention to the discussion now going on among European Freemasons as to continuing the qualification of belief in a personal God. The Grand Orient of France abolished this test in 1877, and, in consequence, is refused fellowship by the English Grand Lodge, presided over by the orthodox and immaculate Prince of Wales. The protests of the French Freemasons—that their position does not imply that they are atheists, but simply that they are in favor of liberty and fraternity, unlimited by theological belief, in their order—do not seem to have had any effect in securing them the recognition of the "regular" Grand Lodges. The whole correspondence will soon be published. In this country, some of the Grand Lodges have decided that belief in Christianity, the Bible, or a future state, is not a necessary qualification for admission to the order. But none of them have gone so far as to recommend even the removal of the test which has been a subject of discussion among European masons. It might be well to form some Masonic Lodges in the United States under charters obtained from the Grand Orient of France. "Old landmarks," when they become obstructions to progress, should be removed. Masonry should abolish its religious tests, open its doors to women, modify its ritual, and become in every respect a modern institution.

THE *Christian Statesman* is now troubled because Gen. Grant is unconcerned about his soul, "and is making no serious preparation for the great change which is before him." "The prayers of Christian people," it says, "ought to ascend continually to God in his behalf." Two questions are suggested: Is a man's eternal future determined by his character as manifested in word and deed through a lifetime or by the state of mind induced by external influences during the bodily and mental debility preceding death? Does the intervention of God in "behalf" of a creature he has made, and whose every thought and motive he understands, depend upon "the prayers of Christian people"? The *Christian Statesman* seems to think that Gen. Grant is too great and good a man to be damned, and that God, uninfluenced by "the prayers of Christian people," does not think him good enough to be saved. Hence, the need of numerous and oft-repeated petitions to the Almighty in behalf of the great leader of our armies, whose sufferings during these last days of his life have aroused the sympathies of the nation whose soldiers he led to victory and honor. Fortunately, the number who can be satisfied to think of the Eternal Source of phenomena as an anthropomorphic being of barbarous or semi-civilized moral characteristics is "growing small by degrees and beautifully less."

SEVERAL churches in Montreal have paid their assessments for the improvement of Dominion Square. Against the churches which have refused to pay, the municipality has commenced legal pro-

ceedings to recover the amounts claimed. One of the churches, it is stated, will base its defence upon the capitulation of Canada to Great Britain, the articles of which required the conquerors to observe certain terms toward the conquered. It is, on the other hand, denied that these articles of capitulation can have the effect of a perpetual concordat, and abridge the liberties of the people in whose behalf they were made. We should here state that churches and parsonages and benevolent institutions are exempt from annual taxation by the charter of the city of Montreal, granted by the legislature of the Province of Quebec. The assessment for Dominion Square is for a special improvement that is levied on that particular locality, and not on the whole city; and it is therefore thought that the exemption does not apply. The question of repeal of exemption has already been brought up in the city council; and, a mayor of liberal views having recently been elected, such questions have a better chance now than formerly of receiving consideration. The religious exemptions in Montreal are equal to a tax of 60 cents per head of the entire population, or say \$3 a family. The total property exempted under this head is valued at about eight millions, on which the taxes would be, at 12 cents per \$1,000, \$96,000.

IN one of his recent sermons, Mr. Beecher said: "I am profoundly religious in my views and in what is needed for men. If I forbear and withhold, it is to carry people with me little by little,—not breaking away from old beliefs so suddenly that they fall into the gulf of infidelity, but laying plans here and there, so as to help their developments. It is said that I am not orthodox. If I am thankful for anything, it is for that, if the confession of faith is Orthodoxy." Mr. Beecher's sermons, although in many respects very able, do not indicate that he has any well-defined, consistent, and carefully reasoned system of philosophy or religion; but he has caught glimpses of modern rationalistic thought, and he has lost faith in much of the theology in which he was reared. He appears to the best advantage, when he does not attempt to define his position, which involves incongruities too obvious to escape the attention of any thinker, be he orthodox or heterodox. If Mr. Beecher should state frankly and fully his beliefs, no harm would result, except possibly to himself; and that would be more apparent than real. When ministers talk as Mr. Beecher does, the more intelligent people distrust their sincerity, and attach but little value to their statements of belief. The tendency of such a course is to encourage the bad practice of talking and writing as much to conceal as to express thought, and to make men extremely cautious and timid, and in expression ambiguous and half-hearted, when the clear and courageous statement of conviction is the highest duty, and is demanded by the best interests of all. Mr. Beecher is more transparent and frank, in our opinion, than the majority of those of his cloth; and his utterances from time to time, in different moods, indicate sufficiently to intelligent readers what his real opinions are.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP FOR YOUNG CRIMINALS.

The Roman Catholic Church is renewing its effort in the New York Legislature to secure the passage of what is called the Freedom of Worship Bill. The special design of the bill is to open the House of Refuge on Randall's Island—a State institution for the penal discipline and reformation of wayward youth—to Catholic ceremonies of worship, and particularly the Mass: though the proposed legislation will cover all reformatory and penal institutions which are under the care of the State. For a dozen years or more, the Catholics have been vigorously working for this object. The fact that a very large number of the children who are sent to the Randall's Island House of Refuge are of Catholic parentage makes the Catholic priesthood very zealous to secure the passage of this Act. And the chances for their success seem better than ever before. The Senate will pass, if it has not already passed, the measure. The governor, it is known, favors it. And the popular branch of the legislature, it is thought, will not venture to offend the large Catholic vote of the State.

Not all Catholics, however, favor the bill. The Catholic Church is represented on the Board of Managers of the House of Refuge, and yet the Board energetically opposes the bill. *Per contra*, it is claimed in Catholic journals, and probably with truth, that the Catholic members of the Board are not fair representatives of the Catholic Church. But, however this may be, all parties and all journals in the State are engaging in the discussion; and the discussion is waxing warm and acrimonious.

As is usual in such debates, the Catholics make their plea on the ground of freedom of conscience. Though they do not as Catholics believe in freedom of conscience, yet, in seeking to carry a point for their Church, they never hesitate to avail themselves of any establishment of this principle which has been made by their Protestant opponents. Thus, in this contest, they plant themselves on the religious freedom clause of the New York State constitution, which is as follows: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind." This, certainly, is plain and emphatic language. Nothing further could be asked for as a constitutional guarantee of religious liberty to all citizens alike. But, still, the question might arise whether such a provision for freedom of worship was meant to cover the law-breaking class of population that has to be shut up in prison, any more than a similar constitutional provision with regard to personal liberty was meant to cover them. The law-breaking class forfeits in many ways the constitutional rights which are guaranteed to all law-abiding citizens. Even in this matter of religion, it is evident that the *free exercise* of individual belief is not and cannot be granted to persons who are in prison, even though they may be marshalled into a room to hear a clergyman who is of their own sect. To enjoy the "free exercise" of worship, one must be free to choose his own clergyman and place of worship, as well as the sect and creed. And there are obvious reasons why this kind of "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship" cannot be accorded to imprisoned criminals; nor is it probable that freedom of conscience to this extent was contemplated in the State Bill of Rights.

But, in answering the Catholic argument, the opponents of the Freedom of Worship Bill are heavily handicapped by their own inconsistency.

The ground on which they should place themselves, and on which they do try to place themselves, is that of the principle of the separation of Church and State. They should say that, in guaranteeing equal liberty to all religious sects and to all beliefs about religion, the State itself knows no sect and recognizes no special form of religious belief. On no other ground can equal liberty of conscience be granted to all citizens. In order to leave to individual citizens the perfectly "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship," the State can have no religion. Consequently, when any class of citizens, by their conduct, forfeit their individual liberty in any such way that the State has to take care of them, they can make no claim that the State shall provide for their religious wants. If the free exercise of their own religious preferences has gone, that is a part of the penalty of their crime, just as their imprisonment deprives them of the exercise of their personal preferences as to where they will reside and their mode of daily life. Intellectual, moral, and industrial training the State can give in its penal institutions; but it has, on the American principle of government, no religion that it can teach to the inmates of such institutions. And the managers of the House of Refuge, in resisting the Freedom of Worship Bill, have endeavored to set forth this principle. In addition to the arguments that a large majority of the inmates have been reformed under the present management, and that the new bill would interfere with discipline, and introduce the spirit, methods, and controversies of religious proselytism, they declare with emphasis that "State money should not be given to sectarian institutions," and that "the separation of Church and State, of matters ecclesiastical and secular, of religion and politics, is to be the ruling principle of this country: this is American doctrine."

But, unfortunately, the managers of the institution have violated this American principle and doctrine in their own practice. They claim and say in so many words that "the institution has always been non-sectarian; that no dogma or sectarian creed has been taught or favored by it"; that the Sunday teaching consists of "those general moral truths on which all sects and all creeds are agreed." But, in a manual used in the Sunday service and approved by the managers, the dogmas of the Incarnation, of the Deity of Christ, and of Redemption through his blood, are explicitly taught. The manual contains such sentences as these: "O Lord, the Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us"; "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father. When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst humble thyself to be born of a virgin"; "Most merciful God, we draw near unto thee in the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ, trusting in thy promise to hear us for his sake, and asking thy favor only through the merit which is in his blood." What must be the ethical philosophy of persons who claim that sentences like these contain only "those general moral truths on which all sects and all creeds are agreed"? Or, if their ethical philosophy is straight, then what must we say of their ethical practice, when they declare that "no dogma or sectarian creed has been taught" in the institution? The fact clearly is that the Orthodox Protestant creed is taught to the inmates of the House of Refuge at present; and the Catholics, as well as Jews, Unitarians, and free thinkers of various sorts, have a valid complaint against the institution as sectarian. The Catholics, doubtless, are most sensitive to this unfairness, because of the large number of Catho-

lic children that are sent there, and because of their belief in the necessity of their own Church to salvation. But the unfairness is a general one, and the proper remedy is a bill that shall ignore the creeds of all the sects in the management of such institutions.

Well does Dr. Felix Adler, from whose admirable discourse on the topic most of the above facts have been drawn, make an appeal that the State see to it that the institution shall provide for the moral, industrial, and mental discipline of its unfortunate inmates, on the ground that this is both the most equitable and the most important thing to do. The inmates are children, mostly between nine and fifteen years of age, none being over seventeen,—children who are precocious in crime or vagrants from the streets. "In the name of Reason," he asks, "do these children need to be initiated into the higher mysteries of your religions? Do they require the finishing touch which it is said religion gives to character? Are they ready for that? Do they require to be initiated into dogmatic subtleties? Shall we not rather say that what these children require is to learn the A, B, C, of morality? That what these children, who have learned to handle the shot-gun and have not learned to respect their neighbors' property, require to be taught are the elementary truths of morality? That what they need to have impressed upon them are the commandments,—Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not lie? And these are indeed the genuine non-sectarian teachings. In regard to these, all the sects and all the creeds of Asia, Europe, and America are agreed; and this kind of non-sectarian teaching the State should indeed supply to its wards."

WM. J. POTTER.

LITERARY BIOGRAPHY.

The great interest which the publication of the lives of Carlyle and George Eliot has excited is a significant fact. It shows that the public has reached such a stage of general intellectual progress that it is now almost to the full as curious in reference to the lives and careers of great writers, or men of the closet and pen, as it is about the lives of statesmen, men of the sword, and other men of action, with whose words and deeds the papers fill their columns from day to day. And the enormousness and cheapness of the issue of the two literary biographies above named indicate that the demand for them is a popular one,—the demand of a vast reading public. A speaker recently, at a meeting held in the city of Portland for the purpose of taking steps for the erection of a bronze statue of the poet Longfellow in that his native city, talked as though famous writers, such as popular poets and novelists, were more likely to be overlooked in the matter of monumental commemoration than were public men of the political and military class. But, at this time of day, the remark is not true. Such American literary men as Longfellow and Whittier and Hawthorne are far less likely to be overlooked than Americans famous in other ways; for the above three writers exercise a dominion over the hearts and souls of their countrymen in the privacy of their homes, and are thus in no danger of losing their meed of public recognition and commemoration in any of the forms which such recognition is accustomed to take. But it is not unusual in these days for public men to combine in their persons the statesman and literary man both,—e.g., Gladstone and the late Lord Beaconsfield. Carlyle and George Eliot's influence, throughout the English-speaking world in both hemispheres, was not limited by their

lives. Their influence, now that they are dead, goes on widening and deepening; for it is a subtle, spiritual influence, to whose pervasiveness time and space can oppose no barriers. The world of to-day, through the diffusion of knowledge, education, and ideas through every stratum of society, is becoming more and more susceptible to such an influence, while it is less and less moved by the noise and parade of the politician and warrior. In other words, the world of to-day is becoming more and more a reading, reflective, rational, intelligent world, which is capable of intellectual enjoyment and that exquisite pleasure which is derived from a perusal of the works of great thinkers, scientists, and imaginative writers. Forty or fifty years ago, the world was in another and lower mood. Then, the life of the Corsican bully and military despot, Napoleon I., was in everybody's hands. But now, even in France, his exploits and career excite detestation and contempt. Wellington and Nelson were idolized by their countrymen during their lives; but Shakspeare, Scott, Byron, Dickens, Thackeray, Shelley, Wordsworth, George Eliot, and Carlyle will continue to be idolized throughout the English-speaking world in *saecula saeculorum*.

These great writers will be haunting presences and potencies, wherever the language which was the vehicle of their genius is read and spoken. It is a sign of the wonderful progress of the world during the current century, which is now hastening so fast to a close, that great writers like the above are beginning to be generally or popularly recognized as mightier with their pens than warriors with their swords, as ministering a greater and purer and more civilizing delight than any other class of men by their power to stir the minds, not only of their contemporaries, but of all succeeding generations, to noble thoughts and emotions. As a rule, it is safe to say that great scholars, thinkers, scientists, and imaginative writers are less sordid and selfish than great statesmen, militarists, and politicians. Their ambitions and aims are less of the earth earthy. They are the servants of an exacting ideal nature, which has a tendency to keep them above sordidness and selfishness. It is true that they are apt to be eccentric and peculiar. It is true, also, that such writers as Byron, Scott, Dickens, and George Eliot made enormous sums of money in the exercise of their genius. But money was not their primal aim or object, as it is the aim of ordinary men in ordinary business. Their pecuniary success was due to the fact that they lived and wrote at a time when there was a vast reading public, which was enthralled by the spell of their genius. Even Carlyle, who disdained to prostitute his genius to money-making, and preferred to starve rather than do so, found himself at last with more money than he had any use for. Meantime, the reading public is growing vaster and vaster.

But we are told that there is a lack observable of literary genius. But, now, even mediocrity writes well. The poet laureate of England, who is himself very fastidious in the matter of style, exclaimed on some occasion, "How well everybody writes now!" There may be temporarily a deficit of genius, but during the first three-quarters of the current century there was a plethora of it in Great Britain and on the continent. A period of literary mediocrity, therefore, is just now in order. But all things indicate that in the next century there will be another new departure of thought, another flowering of the human mind. "The English Men of Letters" series has been republished in this country in the cheapest possible form, so that he who runs and has a few dimes in his pocket may purchase and read the entire series. It makes its readers intimately acquainted with

the chief English poets, reflective thinkers, historians, critics, novelists, essayists, and great writers of all kinds and periods. Such an acquaintance must lead multitudes of large-brained young men throughout the length and breadth of the country to devote themselves to an intellectual life with the best possible results to the American literature of the near future. Although the "American Men of Letters" series, which is in process of publication, deals not with authors of so much renown and significance as the English series, still it shows that we are not without great literary names, even thus early in our history. But the chief point of interest in regard to the publication of both series is that there should be such a general demand for the details of lives of men of the closet and pen. In this fact is distinct evidence of an immense advance of the world from animalism to intellectualism. The phenomenon of genius as to its origin and conditions is inexplicable. It arises in all ranks and environments of life. George Eliot was the daughter of a self-educated farmer, she being thus of as humble origin as her great contemporary, Carlyle. Voltaire was born in a well-to-do family of respectable mediocrity, without intellectual tastes or antecedents. Byron had Norman blood in his veins, mingled with the blood of whilom Scotch kings. But, though noble, his ancestors never gave any evidence of uncommon mental power. Thus it is difficult to account for a case of genius. It appears when and where it is to be least expected, and never leaves any posterity or successor. It is calculated that the English-speaking world now contains a population of over one hundred millions; and, through the diffusion of popular education over that world in both hemispheres, it is a world of readers, who furnish an unlimited market for the works of popular writers.

But, apropos of literary biography, it cannot be denied that too many writers of it seem to be disposed to minister to a morbid as well as a legitimate curiosity on the part of their readers, and to let the light of a too glaring publicity shine upon details and matters with which the public has no business, but which belong rather to the columns of a psychological journal than to the pages of a biography. Men of genius are also men like the rest of us, and from the very fact of their marvellous intellectual and imaginative power are apt to be fearfully and abnormally as well as exceptionally organized, and to have an unusual share of eccentricities and peculiarities. But the sun itself, the source of all terrestrial life, light, warmth, and beauty, is found to be darkened by spots, when telescopically inspected. What then? It is none the less the fountain-light of all our seeing. Genius, too, under a jealous and malignant scrutiny, is found not to be without specks and blemishes. "Is it not odious," asks George Eliot, "that as soon as a (literary) man is dead his desk is raked, and every insignificant memorandum, which he never meant for the public, is printed for the gossiping amusement of people too idle to reread his books?" Writers of genius are apt to be morbidly sensitive, and to be formed of far too penetrable stuff for their own personal comfort. They give the world the best of themselves. What business, then, has the world with their infirmities,—with their unguarded utterances and querulousness, with the outbreaks of their sensitive nerves, and that melancholia and those fits of depression which seem to be constitutional with such exceptional personalities? Carlyle's readers find untold pleasure, enlightenment, amusement, and mental stimulus in the various works which he left as a legacy to posterity, of history, biography, and criticism. The influence of these works

has effected a revolution in literature and men's thoughts. What necessity was there, then, for what may be called an indecent exposure of his private and domestic life and foibles as a nervous hypochondriac? His morbidness was his personal misfortune, with which his readers are not concerned. When Byron lay dead at Missolonghi in Western Greece, his acquaintance and associate Trelawney made haste to solve the mystery of his lameness and bodily deformity. He tells his readers how he sent the poet's valet out of the chamber of death for a glass of water, which of course was a pretext. "On his leaving the room," he writes, "to confirm or remove my doubts as to the cause of his lameness, I uncovered the pilgrim's feet, and was answered,—the great mystery was solved. Both his feet were clubbed, and his legs withered to the knee,—the form and features of an Apollo with the feet and legs of a Satyr!" Later along, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe—in order, apparently, to make herself "a blot upon a remembered name"—undertook to make out a case against Byron of still more revolting, because moral deformity; but she failed ignominiously. In view of these facts, Tennyson's indignation is warranted where he says:—

"For now the poet cannot die,
Nor leave his music as of old,
But round him, ere he scarce be cold,
Begin the scandal and the cry;
Proclaim the faults he would not show;
Break lock and seal; betray the trust;
Keep nothing sacred; 'tis but just
The many-headed beast should know.
Ah, shameless! for he did but sing
A song that pleased us from its worth.
No public life was his on earth;
No blazoned statesman he, nor king;
He gave the people of his best;
His worst he kept, his best he gave.
My Shakspeare's curse on clown and knave
Who will not let his ashes rest."

B. W. BALL.

BENEFICIAL OR INJURIOUS?

A Sunday paper of New York City, giving the benefit of charitable construction to those who oppose and malign it, uses the following language: "The question for thoughtful persons about all religious organizations is whether membership of them tends to make people better or worse. No sane person can maintain that this question admits of more than one answer in regard to the churches."

Unless Mr. Robert Ingersoll and all his admirers are to be presumed insane, the opinion above stated is erroneous; for they would certainly answer the question differently from the editor of the Sunday paper. And a third answer also is possible; since experience and observation alike constrain me to believe that honest, faithful membership in an orthodox church really tends to make men worse in some respects, while it makes them better in others. I specify orthodox churches for three reasons: first, because I am better acquainted with them; next, because all the churches not orthodox form a minority numerically insignificant; and, finally, because this minority shows but a small proportion of the evil tendencies in question.

The good tendencies of membership in an orthodox church are manifest and unmistakable. Conscientiousness, in this new relation, is constantly appealed to and stimulated. The moral obligation to resist temptation, to avoid all known sin, and to recognize and perform all known duty, is kept prominently before the mind of the new member; and his pastor and brethren are ever ready with such sympathy, encouragement, warning, or admonition as they judge him to need. Then, by joining them, he has allied himself to an eminently respectable and creditable class of people, per-

haps the best part of the community in which he lives,—a fact in itself tending strongly to secure him against the commission of unpopular sins. The church member is far less likely to steal or to get drunk than the average outsider. Even, among outsiders, their knowledge of his church relation will be a strong and perpetual bond to good behavior on his part. Thus, piety, to a certain extent, comes in aid of morality; and the church member is likely to be, in some respects, a better man than the outsider.

The reader can hardly fail to observe that, in the paragraph next preceding, I have used many qualifying phrases; but truth imperatively requires every one of them. The clergy and their advocates will think it a very insufficient concession on my part that church membership is adverse to *unpopular* sins; but facts show that church piety and church respectability often have been, and often are still, the active promoters of popular sins. In many cases (not in all), they take their place with the majority of those whom they stigmatize as "worldly," in direct opposition to the claims of right and justice. It was respectable and creditable piety which persecuted Quakers and Baptists at Plymouth and Boston, and hung witches in Salem. It was respectable and creditable piety which in the South resolutely upheld slavery, and in the North vehemently opposed interference with slavery. It was respectable and creditable piety which, by vote of Park Street Church in Boston, robbed a colored man of his pew there, and placed a constable at its door to prevent him and his family from entering it. It was respectable and creditable piety which inserted in the pew-deeds of Baron Stow's Baptist church in Boston a provision that they should not be sold or leased to any colored person.

Will it be said, These are matters of ancient date, obsolete customs, by past-errors? I reply, The church creeds and church principles remain the same: such amelioration as has occurred is due far more to civilization under the guidance of outsiders than to church influence. And church influence at the present day shows many instances of direct opposition to right and justice.

Respectable and creditable piety is now, as it has been for many years, under the name of *The National Reform Association*, urging an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the adoption of which would seriously impair the civil and political rights of millions of its citizens. It is respectable and creditable piety which now, in the Young Men's Christian Associations, divides its membership into superior and inferior classes, the orthodox church members to govern, the rest to be governed. It is respectable and creditable piety which perpetuates in our civil and criminal courts an unjust discrimination against persons who deny, because they disbelieve, a certain article of the orthodox creed. It is respectable and creditable piety which has always urged the subordination of women to men, which persecuted and maligned Abby Kelley and Lucy Stone for vindicating, in calm and decorous language, the rights of their sex as human beings, which for the last half century has steadily resisted every movement in behalf of those rights, and which now offers the most effective opposition to woman's just claim to be allowed to exercise the right of suffrage. It is respectable and creditable piety which now keeps the Public Library closed on Sunday, which resisted as long as possible even the opening of its reading-room on that day, which tries to check the publication and circulation of Sunday newspapers, which vigorously opposes every effort to furnish innocent and useful recreation on Sundays to the classes whose only leisure is on that day.

It is respectable and creditable piety, led by the orthodox clergy, which opposes Sunday excursions, Sunday concerts, and the opening of Museums of Art, Science, and Natural History on Sunday, as vehemently as it opposes dram-drinking and cock-fighting.

As to the beneficial influence of church-membership, I have conceded that it emphasizes, cultivates, and stimulates conscientiousness. But here we must keep in mind the important fact that conscience among church members is enormously mis-educated and perverted by the clergy. They enjoin faithfulness and promptitude in the performance of duties; but the practices which they dignify with this name are largely manufactured duties, having their origin in church custom rather than in either true religion or morality. The new church member soon finds that what is chiefly expected of him in this relation is devoutness of manner and speech, punctual attendance on Sunday worship and at church meeting and prayer-meeting, readiness to go through the form of audible prayer when he is called upon in the gatherings last mentioned, and co-operation in such measures of proselytism as the church, directed by the pastor, may from time to time institute. If he is the head of a household, it is also expected that he will have his children baptized, and that he will establish family prayer and "grace" at meals. As long as the church member is punctual in these observances, there will be little scrutiny by his "brethren" as to whether he performs any other duties.

The clergy are expected not only to enjoin duties, but to denounce sins; and this latter work is a very important one. But a considerable proportion of the things they stigmatize under this name are manufactured sins, violations of church rule and custom, but not at all of true religion or morality. For instance, they vehemently declaim against what they call "Sabbath-breaking," though, according to the decision of that "fourth commandment," which they call divinely inspired and authoritative, they themselves are and always have been Sabbath-breakers. They represent it as sinful not to attend the ceremonial observances which they call "divine worship," and which they represent as divinely ordained, though there is not the slightest evidence that God either enjoined them or desires them. They represent as sins Sunday recreations of all sorts, the innocent and salutary quite as much as the injurious. And they specially stigmatize the sin of *not believing*, even when, of the matters in question, some have never been proved and others are manifestly proved erroneous.

But the miseducation and perversion of conscience by the clergy are also flagrant in regard to what *should* be believed. Their church members must not only assent to the dogmas of the creed on joining the church, but must continue to accept them as true, irrespective of any new light which personal scrutiny or advancing intelligence in the community may throw upon them.

Take the dogma of Biblical inspiration, which is an element of the creeds of all the orthodox churches. Although neither Old Testament nor New Testament claims for itself either inspiration or infallibility; although the two religions, the record of which is contained in these two books, are so diverse that Jews must be converted to become Christians, and when so converted are stigmatized as apostates by their circumcised relatives; although the books which have been bound together under the name of "The Bible" have been confessedly written by many different persons in different centuries and in different languages, and although they prove their human

origin by direct oppositions of statement both in regard to fact and doctrine,—in spite of these facts, the clergy insist that their church members must believe this heterogeneous collection, unitary in scope and purpose, inspired of God, and infallibly correct in every part. Moreover, they absurdly claim that whatever is declared by any one of these parts is declared by the Bible,—a doctrine as irrational as to say that the Public Library teaches whatever any writer in any one of its books teaches. Nevertheless, Biblical inspiration being affirmed by the creed, the minister who has accepted that creed holds himself bound to maintain it and insist upon it. He does this in the pulpit, in the prayer-meeting, in the "revival," in the ministerial conference, in his paper when he is an editor, and in the publications of the American Tract Society, which he praises and helps to circulate. And, since his engagement with the Church is to continue to do this as long as he holds his ministry, his experience will probably be either a sealing of his mind against newly discovered truth which contradicts the creed or a deliberate suppression of such truth in his communications with his people and the public.

When we see the virulence with which an expression of dissent from old sectarian doctrine is pursued by the former "brethren" of the dissenter, and when we realize that this loss of friends is likely also to involve loss of occupation and pecuniary support, it will not seem strange that some doubters lack courage to express their doubts, and that many such maintain the disingenuous silence which enables them to keep their pulpits for every one who takes the risk of honestly declaring his new conviction. Most of the dissenters from old sectarian dogma content themselves with keeping silence in regard to the matter; but many are found (among ministers holding editorial positions) who sedulously misrepresent the new doctrine and those who hold it, and bolster up the old with false assumption and sophistry. What is certain is that candor is not to be expected from a clergyman in regard to matters wherein church creed and church custom have dictated what he shall say.

We conclude, then, that church membership, though yielding some beneficial results, exercises some decidedly injurious ones, among which is to be reckoned a tendency to miseducate the mind concerning truth and the conscience concerning right, in those numerous cases in which church rule and church custom are adverse to truth and right.

C. K. WHIPPLE.

HUMILITY AS A FACTOR IN THOUGHT.

In the act of thinking, the value of courage, of decision, of clearness, of depth, of logical coherence, is very obvious. These go far to constitute ability of mind. Also, accuracy, scope, analytical faculty, synthetical power, generalizing sagacity, ingenuity, and quickness in inventing hypotheses, vivid imagination, delicate and close observation,—these qualities are obvious to every one as present, operative, and influential in all high and strong thinking. But, perhaps, humility as a factor in thought is too much overlooked: whereas, in truth, it seems to be one of the most important of all elements in sound and effective thinking. Humility should not be taken to signify a mean or even necessarily a low estimate of ourselves. Charles Dickens held it one of the causes of his success that never did he either underrate or affect to underrate the value or excellence of his work. When Beethoven was reminded by a friend of having varied in one of his works from certain rules laid down by the harmonists, and was told

that, according to scientific method, the passage he had written was not allowable, the great composer answered, both thoughtfully and loftily, "I allow it." This kind of high belief in one's self, of assertion of individuality, of consciousness of power, of decision of character, is necessary to all the highest flights of human work, whether in art or in thought. Indeed, what distinction can there be in such a connection between art and thought? Sidney Lanier declared that the greatest poetic work must be founded deep in reflection. The fine arts, whether poetical, plastic, pictorial, or musical, are simply so many different expressions of thought; and, if the art work is great, it is great simply by being adequate expression of great thought. Timidity will never venture enough to accomplish any grand work; and that delusive semblance of humility which weakens individuality, which makes us shrink into ourselves and tremble before a difference from the common level either of action or of thought, affects badly both thinking and the expression of thinking. Real humility is simply a form of truth. It is an attempt at a true estimate of ourselves; for if we wish above all things to arrive at a true knowledge of ourselves, and to set ourselves in the rank where we ought to be, this is the same thing as to set the truth above ourselves and to keep the eye upon reality. Such a wish, moreover, and such an effort will be impossible without a careful comparison of ourselves with an ideal. This ideal may be a dream of our own mind or a generalization from characters that we meet or hear of; or, indeed, some person may stir us to that depth that he becomes for us an ideal. But, however created in us, the comparison therewith which true humility will make will give us lowly thoughts of ourselves and lofty thoughts of the possible glories of mind and of character.

Now, this humility is a powerful factor in correct and wide thinking. It exists therein in the form of a pervading and protecting consciousness of our liability to error. It needs but little sight to see that he who is afraid of erring will be the less liable to err unawares, and that he who considers beforehand where the dangers lie will avoid them better.

The opposite of this humility is a kind of pride which is, perhaps, as destructive to high thinking as any other mental fault; namely, the claim of infallibility. Sometimes, this is made directly and boldly, as a Romanist claims infallibility for his Church, and as the Protestant for the Scriptures, or for his own interpretation of the Scriptures and the creed evolved therefrom. But, when not thus boldly made, the claim of infallibility may be an insidious virus in a man's own mind, vitiating all his thinking. Boldness without preceding patience and care, self-confidence without self-examination, assurance without a spirit of deference, decision without veneration, are all forms of the spirit and claim of infallibility, and destructive of that cautious, long, painstaking, conscientious, and reverent process of mind which true thinking is.

The chief influence and value of humility in thought may be gathered under three heads:—

1. Humility preserves a learning, inquiring, teachable spirit. This does not mean merely a spirit that waits to be instructed or that is timid, fearful of itself, uncertain in its aim. It means a quality of mind which asks simply one question,—namely, What is truth?—and uses the processes of thought only to answer that question. The infallible, self-confident spirit is the direct opposite of this. It assumes something to be true, and then uses the processes of thought to find ways of maintaining the assumption. These two states of mind differ, as Hamilton might express it, "by the whole

diameter of being."... It is impossible to exaggerate the virus in thinking, the vitiation of mind, the incompetence, the incorrectness, the contraction of horizon which the education may produce wherein the mind has been trained from early youth not to investigate what the truth is, but to find means for maintaining a given doctrine to be truth. I describe here, in fact, two directly opposite systems of education, each one of which is actual and has examples among our schools. The school which says to its pupils, "Divest yourselves of all absolute assumption and investigate," will turn out a thinker as to mind and a courageous man as to moral fibre. The school which begins with declaring a thesis that may not be questioned, and trains its pupils to find means of fencing in that thesis from attack, will produce men who are instances of erudition and of ingenuity, but seldom of wide mind, of whole thinking, of powerful grasp, or of the finest moral balance.

2. Humility creates also patience and caution,—willingness to wait, to go slowly, to think for a long time, to gather a great array of facts whereby to test a theory before the theory is boldly uttered. Humility will make us sensible of our natural bias, always earnest to discover any cause of bias in ourselves, to eliminate it as far as may be, and to estimate its possible unconscious effect. Regarding all kinds and every source of error, humility will make us alive and cautious.

3. A humble disposition also—that is to say, one that loves the truth first and ourselves second—will make us always willing to retract; and not only willing when we have found ourselves wrong, but the better able to discover our error. Many are the thinkers whose inordinate pride of thought makes them hold out long after they suspect indeed that their position is overturned; and still more numerous those who are so vain, so confident, so eager, so self-satisfied that, when once they have uttered themselves, they seem unable to become conscious of any error, however plainly it may be shown.

Let any one, therefore, who will think clearly, widely, and productively,—who wishes, that is to say, to increase the sum of human well-being by the action of his mind,—balance his courage, his decision, and his assertion with the humility which will make every step a careful one, and will arrest him, whatever his rate of progress, to listen carefully to any one, and thankfully too, who wishes to tell him of an error in his course.

J. V. BLAKE.

LINGERING INTOLERANCE.

This is a day of boasted freedom. In this country especially, it is claimed that intelligence is allowed a very free course, and never feels restriction or repression except where it is perverse or cranky, as in the case of a few extreme radicals or atheists. Surely, this is enough. Why should the *vox populi* be needlessly interrupted by their small discord? And what need of much ado and the formation of Free Religious Associations for the enlargement of the sphere and power of such a class? So plead the "wise men" of our times, the men who are in the majority and in the seats of privilege.

That has always been the plea of intolerance in power, wherever it has felt obliged to rise and explain. Why should the cranky Baptist or the crazy Quaker obtrude into the sacred enclosures of New England, where godly peoples had set up good strong palings to keep out the sin and folly of the common world? And why should the fanatical Methodists, with their Arminian theology, come at a later date to demand equal ecclesiastical privileges with "the orthodox," who had

made the State laws only for their own communion, and fundamentally outlawed all other communions? It is not very strange if the children of those Pharisees, inheriting some of the exclusive privileges of their fathers, should inherit something of their exclusive spirit, and oppose with all the remnants of their unjust power the freedom of those who wish to be independent even in matters where all the old religions have agreed. Therefore, make all men support the Church by indirect taxation, deny to atheists the right of legal testimony in courts of law, and compel studious men at college to waste time daily in mock prayers, and deny to women, as well as idiots, paupers, and criminals, the elective franchise.

Most of those who take this course profess to be Christians. Let them read, then, Christ's memorable and lofty words: "It hath been said by them of olden time, . . . but I say unto you"—do just the reverse. He teaches that the olden time often shows what to shun rather than what to follow. He there utters a principle which is to be good to the world's end and to all eternity. The horizon must ever advance with the traveller, and widen with his elevation.

It is indeed hard to change laws which have been once established, and have wrought themselves into the frame of society. But that does not affect the principle of obligation. He who favors the continuance of laws which are irrational and unjust is himself irrational and unjust, whatever be his professions or pleas; and, when it is in his power in these days to change and will not, he hardly deserves to rank with his less favored, but equally wise fathers. Here, we describe the recent action of "the ancient and honorable" men of Harvard College, who have resolved afresh to force attendance on daily public prayers. Read the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, and then say whether God wants hollow forms in the name of worship. Surely, if he does not want it, who should force it on him under the pretext of homage? Such enforcement will react in favor of unbelief and positive irreligion, so that there can be no plea on the score of benefit to the coerced. And from every cause, religiously, morally, personally, there will be an ultimate reaction against an institution which cannot rid itself of the taint of bigotry.

WILLIAM I. GILL.

WORKINGMEN AND CHURCH-GOING.

That the number of workingmen in this country who do not attend and who feel no interest in the Protestant churches is large, and rapidly increasing, is a fact beyond dispute. It is not uncommon to see in the religious papers sermons and articles which imply that nearly all the troubles among workingmen, including the present strained relations between capital and labor, are due to "infidelity," and that the panacea for all these ills is church-going. It is assumed that the restraints and consolations of Christianity and regular church attendance must be relied upon to solve the labor problem, or at least to make men contented with their condition. The *Nation* pertinently observes that the "restraints" of religion, by which is meant the motives drawn from belief in punishment and rewards after death, are not those on which the modern pulpit places great stress. "The exhortation no longer is, Restrain passion and limit indulgence and shun lawlessness or you will be everlastingly damned in the world to come; but rather, Do these things, or you will waste and wreck this life. Conduct is put in the light of a present social duty. It is the day of the gospel of the 'secular life.' All this seems to us a great gain. It tends to make church-teaching a

much more practical and vital thing. Yet it tends just as surely to make the gain which it is supposed would result if workingmen were regular church-goers extremely problematical. There might be a 'restraint' in their being told, if they believed it, that, unless they were patient and submissive here, they would never attain eternal happiness; but, when preaching is so largely made a matter of the present life, there does not seem to be a strong likelihood that it would make them more contented with their lot, while they felt it to be one of hardship or injustice."

The *Nation* notes the fact also that contentment with a condition of poverty is not the general characteristic of Christians, for the very good reason, it might have added, that they do not believe in the New Testament doctrine as to the blessedness of poverty. "The great mass of American Protestants are found in the middle and wealthy classes. Workingmen do not see in them a placid satisfaction with straitened circumstances, but, rather, fully as much desire and striving for the good things of life as the man of the world exhibits. It is singularly opposed to the tendencies of human nature to suppose that a workingman who has to fight for a bare existence would be made meekly content, if he were only in the habit of sitting in the gallery of a church once or twice a week, and looking down upon a collection of the prosperous and wealthy." Intelligent workingmen are not likely to regard as their friends and helpers any class of men who assume that they ought to be contented with their lot so long as it admits of improvement, and the clergy are not likely to attract them to the churches by talking about the "restraints" and "consolations" of religion. An intelligent interest in the practical solution of problems now claiming their attention, and a sympathetic co-operation with them to elevate their condition, are likely to be more effective with workingmen than efforts merely to make them swell the numbers of the churches, in which membership is no proof of either intellectual or moral superiority over men and women who do not belong to the churches.

B. F. U.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

SAYS Monroe's *Iron-Clad Age*: "When religion ceases to be an emotion, and becomes good behavior and gentle, kind words and works, the world will begin to receive some benefit from it."

WE congratulate Mr. Mendum, the proprietor, and Mr. Seaver, the editor, of the *Boston Investigator*, on the commencement with its issue next week of the fifty-fifth volume of that journal, and of the forty-eighth year of its present management.

LAST Sunday, Prof. Dolbeare, before the Parker Memorial Science Class, gave a most lucid exposition of what is known to scientific men respecting "Some Forms of Energy." The lecture was one of the best of the season. Next Sunday, Mr. Peter Annet will address the class on "The Missing Link."

THE Secularization Committee of the Free Religious Association have concluded to ask the next General Court of Massachusetts to make a law providing that nothing in the Sunday statutes shall be brought up to defeat any actions either for damages, for fraud committed on that day, or for the value of goods sold and delivered on Sunday and retained by the buyer.

AS WITH certain other woman's rights once debated hotly,—rights of property, of occupation, of education, and the like,—the decisive act of citi-

zenship will by and by be seen to belong to that neutral ground which lies between the realms of sex. Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman as a "woman" from the right. But, before much can be said successfully about the "right," a great deal more must be said about the "duty."—*W. C. Gannett, in Unity.*

MR. S. B. WESTON, the co-worker with Prof. Adler, has commenced a course of lectures at the hall, north-east corner Eighteenth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia. The lecture last Sunday was on "The Need of an Ethical Religion." The other subjects will be as follows: "Why Liberal Christianity does not Satisfy us?" April 12; "The Success and Failure of Liberalism," April 19; "The Meaning of a Society for Ethical Culture," April 26. Mr. W. M. Salter will speak May 3, on the subject, "Is there a Higher Law?" Prof. Adler will give the closing lecture of the course, the date and subject to be announced hereafter. The lectures commence at 11 A.M. They are free, and all are invited to attend.

JUDGE T. C. RUSSELL, in a discussion before the Chicago Philosophical Society, at the close of a lecture by Mr. Cahill in defence of the Roman Catholic Church, said, as reported by the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*:—

According to my observation and my knowledge of history, no church or religious organization has been otherwise than antagonistic to new ideas in just precisely the same way and in just the same measure, according to their power, as this Church has been. I can tell you of a case in this city where within a year, in a leading church by a leading theologian, there has been as utterly ridiculous and hostile criticism of the doctrine of evolution as there is to be found within the limits of the Roman Catholic Church,—criticism which showed that the man who made it had never read and could never have read *The Origin of Species*, or any other book which was a faithful exposition of that doctrine. It is in the nature of religious institutions to be conservative. It is a cardinal principle that they are repositories of truths not taught by human reason, but delivered to them. They do not go through the world seeking new knowledge. They teach the knowledge that is reposed in them.

A SUBSCRIBER sends us the following, which he says is going the rounds of the press, and asks us to copy it and comment on it: "Some inquisitive gentleman from Athens asks the *Atlanta Constitution* if Ingersoll's wife is an infidel. The *Constitution's* answer is: 'As Mrs. Ingersoll is not a public character, we do not like to answer such a question. Newspaper paragraphs occasionally state that Ingersoll's views are shared by his family. We do not believe it. It takes the strongest kind of testimony to convince us that a man is an infidel; and, in the case of a woman, it would take the most overwhelming proof. It is not a woman's nature and constitution to be an infidel. Men may drift away for a time from the true faith; but women, with their clearer intuitions, will hold fast to the only hope that makes life worth living. No: we do not believe that Ingersoll's wife is an infidel; and, if we knew her to be one, the fact would never be published to the world through our agency.' " In the dedication of one of his books to his wife, Col. Ingersoll refers to her as "a woman without superstition." Mrs. Ingersoll, whom we know to be a most estimable as well as an intelligent and thoughtful woman, has "the true faith"—faith in truth, justice, and humanity—in as large a degree, perhaps, as it is possessed by the Christian ladies of Atlanta, and of no "hope that makes life worth living" is she desti-

tute; but, since she is not a believer in Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, Mormonism, or any other alleged supernaturalistic system of religion, she is what the *Atlanta Constitution* means by the term "infidel,"—a term applicable in the same sense to Harriet Martineau and George Eliot as well as to Humboldt and Darwin, a term which for centuries has been used as a weapon against the most advanced and the bravest and best minds, but which to-day instead of carrying odium with it (except among religious zealots) conveys rather the idea of independence of thought, fidelity to conviction, and sterling worth in the persons to whom it is applied. Our Southern contemporary does not seem to know this. Further comment seems to be unnecessary.

MORE than a year ago, Rev. Edward C. Towne gave to the public a statement reflecting severely on the character of George Henry Lewes. He claimed that he had unquestionable evidence that Lewes was an immoral man; that he had cheated George Eliot into a union with him by deception and falsehood, and had, by his conduct, made her life miserable. Our admiration of Lewes as a thinker, and the high opinion of his moral as well as his intellectual worth which his writings had forced upon us, made us utterly incredulous as to Mr. Towne's statements. In *The Index*, we said: "No proof whatever is given to substantiate these statements, which are opposed to the testimony of those who were intimately acquainted with Mr. Lewes and George Eliot; and they seem to be the repetition by Mr. Towne of some mischievous or idle gossip he heard in England. Such statements wholly unsupported, in regard to a great thinker and scholar, made years after he is dead, will not be readily believed by fair-minded men and women, and are likely to do more injury to those who make them than to the persons concerning whom they are made." The *Presbyterian*, among other journals, having reprinted Mr. Towne's statements and made them the basis of criticisms on "infidelity," we remarked, "Since Mr. Lewes was a free thinker, it was not to be expected that the *Presbyterian*, before copying this stuff, would consider whether, by repeating it, it would not be circulating falsehood and slander in regard to the dead." Subsequently, Rev. E. C. Towne, in an address before the Liberal Union Club of this city, repeated his calumnies, which were reported in the daily papers, copied far and wide, and read with avidity by thousands too willing to believe evil of a distinguished free thinker. The recently published work, *George Eliot's Life related in her Letters and Journals*, edited by Mr. Cross, not only shows conclusively the utter falsity of Mr. Towne's statements regarding George Henry Lewes and George Eliot, but proves beyond doubt that Mr. Lewes was a most faithful and affectionate husband, and that, through the twenty-five years of his union with George Eliot, his noble qualities of head and heart commanded the purest and profoundest love of his gifted companion. The only thing for Mr. Towne now to do is to retract his statements, and apologize to the public for his assault upon the noble dead.

Poor indeed thou must be, if around thee
Thou no ray of light and joy canst throw;
If no silken cord of love hath bound thee
To some little world, through weal or woe;
If no dear eyes thy tender love can brighten,
No fond voices answer to thine own;
If no brother's sorrow thou canst lighten
By daily sympathy and gentle tone.
Daily struggling, though enclosed and lonely,
Every day a rich reward will give:
Thou wilt find by hearty striving only,
And truly loving, thou canst truly live!

—Unknown.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

The Foes of the French Republic.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

The Third Republic celebrated in September its fifteenth anniversary,—a long existence for a government in this country, where, during the past century, none has lasted more than eighteen years, while the average duration has been scarcely twelve. A sort of general law, says the *Paris Temps*, derived from these calculations, shows that the fifteenth is a critical year for a French government, and that its fate is decided during this period. "This is doubtless due to the fact," the writer goes on to say, "that, at the end of this term, a new generation comes upon the scene, with other recollections of the past and other objects of enthusiasm or hatred, with experiences and wants quite different from those of its predecessors. Up to the present day, it has always been this fresh wave of popular life that has swept away, almost at the same time, the monarchical and hereditary régimes that have tried to take root in France." Therefore, it may be interesting at this moment to examine the existing political situation in France, in order to determine whether the Third Republic will probably pass safely through this critical climacteric of the transition from adolescence to manhood.

Let us, then, consider the outspoken and implacable foes of the Republic. I find them broken up into three factions, each of which is divided into two groups, as follows:—

- I. The Monarchists, subdivided into (1) the Orléanists, (2) the Pure Legitimists.
- II. The Bonapartists, subdivided into (1) the Jeromists, (2) the Victorians.
- III. The Catholics, subdivided into (1) the Ultramontanes, (2) the Liberals.

The hostility of the factions to each other is surpassed only by that of each of their own

groups, but all are united in their dislike of the Republic. Let us take up the first division, the Monarchists.

The death of the uncompromising Count de Chambord a year ago last summer was considered by many to be a calamity to the Republic; for his old-fashioned hobbies of divine right, the white flag, and the temporal authority of Rome, which modern France, born of 1789, would never accept, had now given way to the nineteenth century opinions of the Count de Paris, who does not scorn parliamentary government, the tricolor, universal suffrage, and Montalembert's "free Church in a free State." But scarcely had the exile of Frohsdorf been laid at rest by the side of his uncle at Grätz, when it became evident, on the one hand, that the want of union among the Monarchists and, on the other, that the new pretender's temperamental phlegm, or his conscientious regard for legality, or his fear of banishment,—probably all three,—balanced, if not outbalanced, the advantages which the Monarchical party had gained by the Count de Chambord's death.

It was scarcely to be expected that the friends of Henry V., separated from the Orleans princes by the past, by tradition, by tendencies, and by a long estrangement, would, without a murmur, accept the new chief. Signs of recalcitration soon showed themselves. In the autumn of 1883, the confidant and secretary of the Count de Chambord, Count Maurice d'Andigné,* announced in the public prints that he would not make obeisance to the Count de Paris; and, last summer, a number of Pure Legitimists, as they may be called, with M. d'Andigné at their head, broke openly with the Neo-Royalists,—the Orléanists,—and declared that the House of Anjou, and not the House of Orleans, had inherited the rights and honors of the House of Bourbon. M. d'Andigné holds that neither the expressed wishes of the Count de Chambord nor the laws of legitimacy designate the Count de Paris as heir to the throne of the Capets. He asserts that the Orleans princes were not called to Frohsdorf in July, 1883, but that they went of their own accord, and that the famous last interview between the two cousins was, on the part of Henry V., the forgiving act of a Christian, not that of a king embracing his successor. In regard to the rights of heirship, M. d'Andigné said, at a public meeting held in Paris last July: "If it were not for the treaty of Utrecht, the incontestable heir of the Count de Chambord would be the head of the House of Anjou.† Now, are the renunciations annexed to the treaty of Utrecht valid? No."

The importance which attaches to the conduct of M. d'Andigné and his handful of followers does not lie in what did or did not occur at the death-bed scene in the Château of Frohsdorf, nor in the interpretation to be placed on certain clauses of a compact made over a hundred and fifty years ago: it is worthy of attention on account of the sidelight which it throws on the political, religious, and social opinions held by the Count de Paris. These "bolters" object, at bottom, to the grandson of Louis Philippe, not because he may have been distasteful to the Count de Chambord, nor because the House of Anjou may have better claims than the House of Orleans to the throne of France, but simply because the Count de Paris accepts the

* Since these lines were written, the Count has died.

† Don Carlos, of Spain, whose wife is the sister of the late Count de Chambord. His son, the Infante Jaime, a boy of fourteen, is often spoken of by the Pure Legitimists as a pretender in prospect. The republican newspapers have nicknamed these princes the *Blancs d'Espagne* as a pendant, perhaps, to the sobriquet bestowed on the Orleans princes of the Blancs d'Eu (referring to the Château d'Eu where the Count de Paris resides). Whiting is the English equivalent of *blanc d'Espagne*, and *blanc d'œufs* (Eu) means the white of eggs; hence the wit.

results of the Revolution. The opposition of the Pure Legitimists means, therefore, that the Neo-Royalists are practical politicians.

The main strength of the Count de Paris lies exactly here: he stands ready to be the king of modern France. Another source of his power and, at the same time, of his weakness is the well-known fact that he will not employ force in order to obtain the crown. When the country calls him, he will come forward. Like the Count de Chambord, he will not snatch the sceptre from the hands of a reluctant people; but, unlike his old-school cousin, he will respond to the *vox populi*, and not wait in vain for the *vox dei*.

A few days after the Count de Chambord's death, the following significant lines appeared in the *Soleil*, the organ of the Orleans princes, over the signature of the distinguished journalist and Liberal Monarchist, M. Hervé: "The Count de Paris is the representative of hereditary right. But he must also be the representative of popular right. He will then be doubly legitimate. In a country like England, where monarchy exists, the tacit consent of the nation is sufficient. But, in a country where monarchy has been overthrown, there must be, in order to restore it, a manifestation of the national will. So long as no such manifestation occurs, there will be an heir to the throne, but no king."

It is now more than a year and a half since these lines were written, and the Count de Paris has neither said nor done anything that contradicts them. But this patient and law-abiding policy of waiting upon events does not meet with the approval of all Monarchists; and, on this account, it is a source of weakness. M. André Barbès, one of the fuglemen of the party, called upon the Count de Paris the other day "to act or abdicate." Politicians ply the count with questions as to who his advisers will be when he is king, for they have seen an ominous statement that Conservative Republicans are to be called to the ministry. Ultramontane ecclesiastics, in their turn, press the royal candidate to state what his relations with Rome will be; for they fear lest he look with a too favorable eye on M. de Falloux and the Liberal Catholics. But the Count preserves politic silence; and, notwithstanding the defection of M. d'Andigné and his out-and-out followers, notwithstanding the murmurs of the bolder element of the party, and notwithstanding the pretender's strict abstention from interference with the natural working of the present régime, he is unquestionably the most formidable danger that menaces the Republic.

Although the Bonapartists have, during the last ten years, been steadily losing ground, until they have reached to-day a most miserable state of disintegration, yet they are vainly striving to make up by noise and audacity what they lack in numbers and popularity. The chief cause of their decline and impotence is the want of a worthy and able leader, or rather it is the presence of two unworthy, weak, and, what is still worse, mutually hostile leaders,—Prince Napoleon and his eldest son, Prince Victor.

Prince Napoleon, on the whole, has the better claim on the support of the Imperialists; but his public career has been so full of absurdities and contradictions that he inspires neither confidence nor enthusiasm. Many Frenchmen who still cherish the moribund Napoleonic Legend cannot forget that, under the July Monarchy, this degenerate prince was compelled to leave France on account of his intrigues with the democrats; that during the Revolution of 1848 he declared it "the duty of every good citizen to unite with the Repub-

licans"; that in the Legislative Assembly he was one of the leaders of the Mountain; that in 1875 his organ pronounced "the republican form the most compatible with the principle of universal suffrage"; that in 1876, when a candidate in Ajaccio for the Chamber, he published over his own name these words: "The form of government is not in question: it exists; I accept it freely"; and that, when elected, he sat among, and he voted with, the famous 363 who, under the leadership of Thiers in 1877, defeated the monarchical machinations of the Broglis-Fourtou cabinet, and definitively founded the Republic.

Nor is the prince more palatable to ecclesiastics than to politicians. Rome long ago placed him under its ban. The faithful still remember his set speech delivered in the Chamber of Deputies in 1876; for it was a violent attack, from beginning to end, on the clerical party, and contained such unpardonable expressions as this,—"Semez du Jésuit, vous récolterez du révolté." Nor can good Catholics forget how, in 1880, he applauded M. Jules Ferry's decrees against the unauthorized religious orders, so that when the renegade prince came forward, three years later, as the champion of the Church, in the silly placard which occasioned his arrest and imprisonment, they felt that he was adding insult to injury. A free thinker under the Empire and an outspoken foe of Clericalism under the Republic cannot hope for much support among the Catholics of France.

Military men recollect that, as a soldier of the Second Empire, Prince Napoleon was always in command of the reserves which never got into action; that, according to popular belief, he deserted his post in the Crimean war; and that he shunned the Duke d'Aumale's challenge called forth by an attack in the Senate on the Orleans princes. Among the officers of the French army, Prince Napoleon is still simply Plon Plon.*

A prince who entertains such views of politics, religion, and glory, cannot hope for royal honors in a country like France. But as if his republicanism, his free thinking, and his cowardice were not enough to destroy him and his party, his enemies determined to set his children against their father, quite forgetting the Scriptural adage that a house divided against itself cannot stand. M. Paul de Cassagnac, who leads this onslaught on the domestic felicity of the unfortunate prince, employs language which is more suited to Billingsgate than to the columns of a Parisian daily. "He treats me like a scoundrel and assassin," Prince Napoleon might say to his friends, in the words of Paul Louis Courrier; "but don't be moved by it: in his mouth, these expressions simply mean that we are not of the same opinion."

The prince's eldest son, Victor, a boy fresh from college, has been prevailed upon, after a disgraceful series of deceptions, to denounce the policy of his father, to quit the paternal roof, and to set up a small establishment of his own with funds furnished him in a secret and questionable manner. Prince Victor has not only lied to his father and equivocated to the public, he has not only turned his back on his home and accepted money from persons in no way related to his family, but he has openly proclaimed himself a candidate for the imperial purple, in direct opposition to his father's claims. In a word, both as a private individual and as a public character, he is the declared enemy

of Prince Napoleon. And Bonapartism, already condemned on account of the infirmities of the father, is now irretrievably lost and dragged in the mire by the reprehensible conduct of the son.

A curious parallel may be drawn between the Monarchists and the Bonapartists of the Third Republic. It is evident that Jeromism is the Orleanism of the Empire, just as Pure Legitimacy is the Victorism of royalty. The Pure Legitimists have not yet succeeded in obtaining a leader, which was the case with the anti-Jeromists until a short time ago. But, as a prominent Republican organ cruelly remarked the other day, money will be able to secure the one just as it secured the other. Prince Napoleon and the Count de Paris stand for Parliamentary Government and Liberal Catholicism, while Prince Victor and the Pure Legitimists represent clericalism and the principle *L'état, c'est moi*. The country, if it should decide to abandon its present form of government and should be left to choose freely a new régime, would turn unquestionably to Orleanism, or to that kind of imperialism personified by Prince Napoleon. But, as the prince is utterly unacceptable for reasons peculiar to himself and foreign to his creed, and as Bonapartism, in whatever shape, is still, and with good cause, distasteful to a vast majority of Frenchmen, it is undoubtedly the Count de Paris who would reap the benefit of a change.

And lastly, among the declared foes of the Republic, we have the Catholics, by which I mean more particularly the whole body of ecclesiastics from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy; for, with very rare exceptions, the priests are the most uncompromising opponents of the political "powers that be." Their opposition is peculiarly pernicious, because of the influence they exert over the women and children of France. The astonishing revolution of public opinion in favor of the secondary instruction of girls which has marked the past five years of the Third Republic, and the less admirable reform known as the secularization of primary instruction, have their *raison d'être* in the effort of Republicans to checkmate the power exercised over their wives and children by the Catholic priesthood. The average French democrat of to-day might exclaim with Abbé Raynal in the last century, "*Je voudrais, avec le boyau du dernier des prêtres, étrangler le dernier des rois.*"

The divisions among the Catholics who, as we have already seen, are separated into two hostile camps, do not materially weaken the common cause, as in the case of the Monarchists and the Bonapartists; for the schism is not based so much on persons and principles as on dogmas and tenets. The Ultramontanes, who are in a large majority, do not acquiesce in the conquests of modern France. The Syllabus is their creed, and Pius IX. their ideal pope; the old régime their model form of government, and Henry V. their model king. If they accept, for the most part, the Count de Paris as the successor of the Count de Chambord, it is not without revulsion and without a strong hope of bringing him over, and, if necessary, of forcing him over to their own way of thinking when once the crown shall have been placed upon his head.

The so-called Liberal Catholics are stanch Orleanists in politics. As laymen, they are little else than free thinkers that go to mass simply for form's sake; and, as ecclesiastics, they cling to the forlorn hope of conciliating Rome with the new society born of the Revolution. They oppose the Syllabus and Ultramontanism, because they know that a monarchy based on such principles cannot hope to stand, even if it could be once set up. They hold that the Count of Paris rejects these

impossibilities; and they believe that, if he comes to the throne, Parliament, Monarchy, and Church will move on together in unbroken harmony. Perhaps there is some ground for this optimism. But, however this may be, the religious doctrines of the Liberal Catholics undoubtedly find favor at the Château d'Eu.

The French Catholics, therefore,—whether Liberals or Ultramontanes, whether "*habiles*" or "*incurables*," as the two factions have been happily dubbed,—must be classed among the most formidable and indefatigable enemies of the Republic. They are doubly dangerous; for, while they do not leave a stone unturned in their effort to destroy the present government, they are united almost to a man in supporting its strongest rival, the Count de Paris. Nor must it be forgotten that, notwithstanding the anti-clerical propaganda and legislation of the past decade, Rome is still very strongly intrenched in this country. Just as in Belgium, where the Catholic party boldly seized upon the government a few months ago, so here the wily priests and their long-headed secular backers are continually working for this same end. Macaulay's famous picture of the traveller from New Zealand standing on a broken arch of London Bridge and sketching the ruins of St. Paul's finds its justification in the France of to-day as truly as in the glorious epoch of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and the cry of Gambetta, "*Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi*," is still heard ringing throughout the length and breadth of the Third Republic.

PARIS, March, 1885.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CURIOUS CRITICISMS ON SPIRITUALISM.

Editors of The Index:—

Your number of March 12 contains an article headed "Mistakes of Spiritualism," from a correspondent who says he has thus been called out by "one of his Spiritualist friends." Though the writer is personally unknown to me, I am also one of his Spiritualist friends, in the sense that I have only the most kindly feelings toward him, unmodified by my wide dissent from his views. My sincere desire is to serve him; for what higher interest can either of us have than the truth?

I, too, have been requested by a valued friend, firm in the Spiritualistic faith and of a much larger experience than my own, to reply to these strictures. But I have hesitated: partly because it seemed quite possible that the critic's friend had made his request in order that he might furnish a reply, and partly—for I must be frank, though friendly—because the statements and reasonings of the article seem to me to be such as would disturb no intelligent Spiritualist by their force nor greatly mortify any opponent of that belief.

Perhaps it would have been better, had our critic entitled his communication "Mistakes of Some Spiritualists"; as Spiritualism, like Free Thought, Unitarianism, and even Orthodoxy, so called, embraces some variety of views. Yet, with the exception of the first count in his indictment, I know of no Spiritualist who ought to plead "guilty."

The first and, indeed, the grand "mistake" that is charged is that "Spiritualists hold that mind can and does exist independently of the body." Undoubtedly, every Spiritualist holds this opinion, and deems it a fundamental one. If it can be overthrown, the whole philosophy of Spiritualism falls to the ground. But "if" is often a very important word. Pray, how is this grand doctrine to be overthrown? Surely, not by saying with our critic, "it is a belief common to all forms of orthodox Christianity," unless it is assumed or proved that orthodox Christianity holds no truth whatever. But this is held, not only by all forms of Christianity, orthodox or not, but by nearly every known form of religion, and I may add philosophy, the world over and in all ages. Probably no belief has been more widely or more persistently held. This does not, indeed, prove its truth; but it, at least,

*The fifth volume of the suppressed *Mémoires du Comte Horace de Viel-Castel* contains many slurs on the prowess of Prince Napoleon during the wars of the Second Empire. On the eve of the Italian campaign occurs this entry in the count's journal: "Friday, May 6, 1859. A play on words apropos of Jerome Napoleon is now going the rounds. On dit that the object of the war is defined by the council of generals.—Randon, Plon Plon, Vaillant" (*Rendons Plon Plon vaillant*) Randon and Vaillant were French marshals at the time of the breaking out of the war of 1859.

furnishes a strong presumption of it, and one too strong to be met simply with flat denial or with such unsustained assertions as these: that "without the senses there would be no mind," that "it has been clearly demonstrated that mind is a combination of sensations primarily," and that "without these sensations there could be no memory, no reflection, no reason, no feeling,—in short, no mind." These brave statements, our critic should be aware, are not admitted truths to great numbers of able thinkers. So far from being "clearly demonstrated," the most eminent names can be quoted against them. Possibly, this would weigh little with him, and as little the reasonings by which they are supported. For, to many,—excellent minds, too,—metaphysical reasonings are often very elusive and unsatisfactory, as under the forms of imperfect definition and logic many a fallacy has lain hidden. So, waiving all such argument for the present, I am glad that, as a Spiritualist, I can step outside the domain of obscure metaphysics on this matter, and offer to the critic a proof he can in no reasonable way escape. I offer to his "senses"—and here not insinuating that these are all the mind he would acknowledge himself to possess—the absolute physical proof that "mind can and does exist independently of the body." Of this proof, any one may avail himself who will take the requisite pains. And of it tens of thousands of acute observers have availed themselves, and to their complete conviction. No fact of science is more certain to the great body of those who have carefully explored the subject. And, before the evidence thus presented to them, all speculative argument, on one side or the other, seems weak indeed. With this evidence, our critic, who is to be presumed an honest man, must be simply unacquainted. But he should not forget that it has revolutionized the opinions of great numbers once of his way of thinking, and among them eminent scholars and scientists.

The second charge against Spiritualists is that "they hold that individual intuition is a reliable safeguard in the investigation of truth."

That Spiritualists differ from other people in their views of the authority of "intuition" I have never seen reason to believe. A genuine intuition, whether individual or not, must be authoritative with every one; for it is properly a direct knowledge or perception. But every one should be careful that what he calls an intuition is really such. Our confident opinions are not necessarily intuitions; and that our critic has a vague and, indeed, an erroneous idea of what an intuition is appears from his own illustration of it. He says:—

"The intuitions of the primitive and uncultivated lead them to gratify every impulse of their animal nature; but gradually, after generations of sad experience, these intuitions become changed, and the developed civilized man intuitively knows that he should control such impulses that lead to suffering and misery."

The instinctive appetites of the primitive and uncultivated and the judgments of the developed civilized man derived from sad experience are neither of them intuitions. Far enough are they from anything of the kind.

When our author adds that "individual conviction is not always reliable, but requires to be tested by the consent of other competent minds," he speaks a plain and well-known truth, hardly requiring "the scientific method," as he suggests, that it may be "abundantly shown." But that Spiritualists are less willing than other people that their individual convictions should be thus tested seems to me far from true. On the contrary, I speak confidently for all of them, when I say there is nothing we more desire than that our individual convictions should be tested by the consent or dissent of other competent minds who have adequately explored the subject. We are constantly inviting this. And we are as constantly surprised and disappointed that we are answered only by the mere prejudgments of theoretic reasoners or of very inexperienced investigators. Attempts to explode Spiritualism after the manner of our critic are much too common to be desirable.

The third mistake charged is that Spiritualists "hold that clairvoyance, or clear seeing, is a mental process possessed only by so-called mediums while under the control of spirits." In this, our friend is utterly misinformed. Not only do Spiritualists, as a body, hold no such view, but I know of no one of them who holds it. Clairvoyance is recognized by

them as a fact abundantly proved; but it is as a gift or spiritual faculty based in some peculiarity of one's organization, not as "possessed only under the control of spirits." Our writer must pardon the suggestion that he ought to study his subject more before he writes upon it again. And I beg leave to commend to him the fourth chapter of a very accessible book, Sargent's *Scientific Basis of Spiritualism*. Indeed, the entire book, if attentively read, and then followed by faithful direct investigation, would save him from such a travesty of clairvoyance as he gives in professed explanation of it.

The next paragraph of our author's criticism is intended, I presume, to tell us that, because "mental action is in a great measure automatic,"—whatever that may mean,—our involuntary thoughts and feelings are "mistaken for communications from the spirit world." What it *does* tell us is—as any one can see by referring to it—a very different thing; namely, that "the well-known fact that mental action is in a great measure automatic is mistaken for communications from the spirit world"! Passing by, however, this error of grammar as a mere oversight, and conceding the involuntary character of many of our thoughts and feelings, how does it appear that these "are mistaken for communications from the spirit world"? That in some cases this mistake *might* be made by careless or incompetent investigators is possible enough. But this is not what our critic means to say. He means that they are so, and not sometimes, but always, in every case; that is, if he means to say anything to the purpose. To say less than this is to say nothing.

The final item charged as among the "Mistakes of Spiritualism" is that "general abstract truths are mistaken for a special clairvoyant diagnosis of an individual case." As an illustration of these "abstract (?) truths," thus mistaken, the following is given: "e.g., a short time ago, a clairvoyant stated that the subject examined was suffering from indigestion or from liver complaint, the simple fact being that scarcely any one is free from these complaints! Another medium stated that the subject examined had a relative who had been hurt at some time in his life, either in the back or the hip or the foot, the simple fact being that scarcely any one lives who has not had a relative who was once hurt in the back or hip, etc."

And these silly specimens of professed clairvoyant revelations we are expected to take as samples of the whole! No: when such idiocy is imputed to "Spiritualism" or to Spiritualists in any great number, we shall be excused for some plainness of speech; and we shall say that such an acute detection of the whole imposture or such a profound solution of a great mystery—just as one chooses to regard it—may be quite satisfactory to some people who suppose they have intelligence. But whether it is the more complimentary to the understandings of some myriads of Spiritualists to be found in every civilized nation under heaven—many of them highly trained minds and practised investigators for years—or to that of the critic himself must be left with the reader to decide.

One thing at least, I trust, has been made plain. Our critic is not prepared to arraign Spiritualism on its "mistakes." He needs more study than he has given to it. Perhaps he has been unfortunate in his attempts at investigation. Some seem to be, and they are entitled to the benefit of this defence. But he may be none the less sure that "other competent minds" have reached truths in this search which they are at present compelled to regard as impregnable and, moreover, of the highest value.

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DYNAMITE AND ANTI-DYNAMITE.

Editors of *The Index*:—

Your correspondent who writes under the above caption scarcely defines his purpose, unless he wishes us to admit that even the dynamiter has a defence which entitles him to a hearing in court and an open debate, or, if not in court, at least in *The Index*. He tells us more than once that we are not to deem him a dynamiter. What, then, is he trying to persuade us? After a careful perusal, the article seems neither more nor less than an effort to claim for the dynamiter a status among free thinkers, ignoring entirely the difference between free thought and free action or free treason, and implying that *The Index* must

yield its columns for some dynamiter to prove that wholesale assassination of rulers and governments may sometimes be justifiable, when one man or a few are of opinion that they have wrongs to avenge, and that therefore, under terror of dynamiters, it behooves us to be careful how we make severe criminal laws.

How would the readers of *The Index* tolerate in its columns cool ethical discussions between dynamiters and anti-dynamiters, assassins and anti-assassins, burglars and anti-burglars? The burden of this article seems compressible into a short paragraph: "I do not excuse or justify the agrarian excesses the Irish are perpetrating; but you must bear in mind the great fact, 'the wrongs of Ireland,' so universally known and believed to have been perpetrated and persisted in for ages by the monstrous, tyrannical government of England, and that, if the Irish have committed crime, their tyrannical masters have goaded them into it, and the cure is conciliating laws."

The writer thrusts upon us the wrongs of Ireland as the pope would a dogma of the faith, not to be questioned: indeed his Holiness did precisely the same thing in noticing the agrarian crimes after the Phoenix Park murders by telling his good Catholics that Ireland was suffering under unjust land laws. Now, your correspondent could not prepare a more desirable article for *The Index* than one which specifies these wrongs. He need not go back to the heptarchy. Let him begin with the reign of Queen Anne, when there were great wrongs to be dealt with by legislation; let him specify what English legislation has done since that time to benefit the condition of the Irish, and, above all, what exceptional legislation to benefit England and exclude Ireland; and then, after proving the "wrong of Ireland," he will leave the question open whether any *provocation* could justify or palliate the most atrocious and savage crimes known to human experience.

There can be no denial that we are at length brought face to face with the greatest paradox presented in jurisprudence. It is by no means a new question: it would be difficult to say when it was not more or less discussed; but now we must dispose of it decidedly, or fall back into primitive barbarism, individual brute force and brute will. Where shall we derive the power to define and punish crime, without restricting free speech, free discussion, and free press, and at the same time maintain loyalty to our social compact or charter of rights conceded by barbarism to the majority,—namely, the power to make and enforce *all laws* decreed necessary for securing the greatest enjoyment and happiness to the whole, not even excepting the right of restricting free speech and free discussion? But now comes the paradox. Every citizen is assumed to be committed to implicit obedience, and to be an assenting party to the laws enacted by the majority. If we are to assume that the social compact guarantees to every individual the right of absolute free speech and free discussion, what shall we say to the ruffian who, under pretext of an ethical discussion of individual right to avenge his own wrongs by murder and assassination, holds forth at the street corner to make converts, and claims the right to educate his children as thieves and cut-throats? Concede this, and we admit that a social compact is utterly irreconcilable with the largest liberty and free discussion; and, in default of a social compact, we must revert to anarchy and brute force. But here steps in to help us out of our dilemma a right reverend sage, exultingly exclaiming, Have we not often enough predicted and warned you of this outcome of your impious rejection of divine revelation and divine guidance, of presumptuously relying on your finite judgment in presence of God's vicegerent? There is no denying that a well-authenticated deputy-god would seem a simple and welcome solution of all our social problems; but how shall we recognize divinity in a ruler who lets slip upon us a pack of his trained ferocious bloodhounds that in one city alone and in one night tear and murder some seventy thousand people, who only entertained doubts of his credentials! Did this atrocious policy of the deputy-god make one convert to his impudent and preposterous claims? No! But it precipitated the grand revolt: the religious world divided into Catholic and Protestant. But did it explode and annihilate the doctrine of coercing opinion by murder and torture? By no means: it established only the Bible as the rule of faith, and to doubt the Bible was still to incur the penalties of rack and thumb-screw. The kirk session in Scotland ri-

valled the inquisition of Spain. Calvin burnt Servetus, Rome burnt Bruno and Vanini.

Can we wonder that, when this monstrous deputy-god was beaten down on his knees, his conquerors were in no hurry to remove his disabilities, and set him at liberty to begin his diabolical work anew? But we may well wonder to find him within the next century denouncing *religious intolerance* as the great factor in the "wrongs of Ireland," and claiming for his true believers equal status in the councils of the nation,—the right to depose sovereigns and absolve subjects from their allegiance; while, by the canons of his Holy Church, it is now no murder to kill a heretic, and with the *Bull unum sanctum* claiming the supremacy of the spiritual sword.

Catholic Emancipation was the magnanimous resolve by which England hoped to conciliate her Irish subjects. With deputy-god beaten down on his knees, she hoped to disarm his brute forces by releasing them from all disabilities, by the offer of fellowship, brotherhood, and equal voice in the councils of the nation, without even a stipulation for the withdrawal and abandonment of the impudent and insulting claims which amounted to an allegiance to the deputy-god as superior to the sovereign of the nation.

This important stipulation was waived on the assumption that public sentiment had become too enlightened to permit these absurd pretensions to manifest themselves in action,—that they may be safely left to become a dead letter, never to be revived; and Catholic Emancipation was regarded as the panacea for curing all Irish discontent. But then followed the claim for repeal of the Union, clamored for by the "great liberator" always on the verge of treason; and then follows the great Vatican Council, in which the deputy-god reiterates all his impudent pretensions, and declares himself infallible and the only authority on faith and morals. Does anybody ask when we may hope to see Ireland pacified by concessions, without agitators, and wrongs to revenge by agrarian crime? The answer is, When a Catholic archbishop is installed in the See of Canterbury. Are we asked to look to Ireland for advanced intelligence and public sentiment? What is the war-cry of its agitators? "Down with landlordism." Why not raise that cry here or in England? "Ireland for the Irish," and why not America for the redskins? "The Irish nation,"—in plain English, the life of the British Empire! When the mouthpiece of these groaning and suffering Irish is interrogated, What legislation do you want? these are the vague responses: English statesmen are terrorized, agrarian crimes multiply, and, in despair, they devise concessions, the first of which is a surrender of the great principle underlying all free government,—the absolute ownership of property,—a first step in despotism; and they judged rightly in deeming despotism congenial to Irishmen, who can never be governed too much. No free government in this enlightened age would have dared interfere with owners to dictate the terms of a bargain or lease; yet this was done as a concession to Irish ideas of justice. And how was it responded to? The agitators wanted no concessions that may bring peace. They had secured by the emancipation concession a large force in Parliament, and their first use of it was a demonstration to obstruct all legislation and lock its wheels. After the unstatesmanlike and fatal concession in the Land Act, we need no further evidence of the willingness of England to pacify Ireland by almost any desperate measure; and what has this done to give a hope or glimpse of finality in concession? Already, we have a new item of "the wrongs of Ireland." The odious Crimes Act must be abolished, and the Parliament House with its members and half of London must be blown up by dynamite before the courts have time to try the first criminal! Is England so paralyzed that she hesitates to strike the assassin whose knife is at her throat? For the last fifty years, all England's legislation to affect Ireland has been characterized by concession and conciliation. The disestablishment of the Church, a just measure, did nothing for the poor man and laborer; the poor laws, the grants for education, the franchise extension, have brought concession no nearer finality and peace. Home rule, the Irish Republic, and the Irish kingdom are all in full view,—and no doubt the great popular agitator as president or king,—are now, in the programme of concession, the future of Ireland. If common sense could take root in Ireland, it would be seen at once that, if the great agitator has a pro-

gramme of legislation to quiet Ireland, he should show it. Legislation can be done in Westminster Hall as well as in Dublin Castle. A doctor called in, who refuses to show his prescription, is unhesitatingly pronounced a quack. If this great "Sydrophel" had anything better to propose than the humbug of "Down with the landlords!" Ireland for the Irish, and home rule, he well knows that English statesmen would welcome him to their councils, and that the highest honors of a great statesman would cheerfully be accorded to the pacificator of Ireland; but such honors conferred on him, he knows too well, would be only putting the lion's skin on the fox, and his tail would betray him.

There are certain obstructions to the pacification of Ireland; and, until they can be removed, such task seems utterly hopeless.

1. It will require two generations of secular education before the average Irishman can understand liberty, and ceases to cry out for despotic rule. The deputy-god will oppose secular instruction [with all his brute forces to the bitter end.

2. Ireland contains tens of thousands of acres producing less than half its capability under improved cultivation. The starving population have not capital to make improvements, and will not suffer them to be made by those who have, on peril of assassination. There is plenty of water power and cheap labor, that, with the help of capital, may in a few years convert Ireland into a rich and prosperous country; but, with its agitators and agrarianism, none but an idiot will risk his capital or his life in the hopeless experiment. The English government have voted money to move the redundant population to less crowded districts and to assist emigration. This was denounced by the divine and infallible authorities as another tyrannical scheme: it would relieve distress, and therefore deplete the ranks of the anarchist army. What, then, is to be done with Thugs, dynamiters, and assassins avowedly deliberating on the furtherance of their purposes? The only answer possible is, Stamp them out. We have reached a crisis when the whole civilized world must fearlessly affix boundaries to the largest liberty. Special courts should be instituted, with power summarily to suppress treasonable conspiracies and dynamiters and assassins, who should always have in view the probable end,—a drum-head court-martial,—a cord and the nearest lamp-post. We cannot afford to have a third President assassinated, nor to have the whole Congress and Capitol blown up. In applying this sharp remedy, cases of injustice or error could scarcely fail to occur; but what individual disciple of humanity would pause for a moment to estimate his own risk of such contingency, in face of the fact that the dynamiter has become a deputy-god, who, without aid of queen or duke could perpetrate his St. Bartholomew massacre by implements carried in his pocket. Let every town and district forthwith organize its Law and Order Society, every member being solemnly pledged to pursue to the death the dynamiter or assassin, whether the proposed victim be foreign or native. Let humanitarianism show its force, and dynamiters will be few.

OCTOGENARIAN.

THE TOWER BUILDINGS OF BROOKLYN.

Editors of The Index:—

Perhaps your attention has long ago been called to the wonderful blocks of buildings erected on Hicks, Warren, and Baltic Streets in Brooklyn, N.Y., for the benefit of the laboring classes. In recently visiting them, I was filled with envy that Brooklyn had got so far ahead of Boston in this matter. These great "Tower Buildings," of Alfred T. White, look more like enormous castles than tenement houses. The excellence of their planning and management surpasses one's expectation. They are, undoubtedly, the ideal tenement houses. Modelled upon the finest specimens of the kind in London and other English cities, they are lacking in nothing essential to the comfort of family life. Any mechanic can be happy in such homes. Winding up a perfectly fire-proof brick staircase (the houses are of brick throughout), with slate steps, you emerge at every landing on an outside balcony, admitting plenty of light and air. Each suite of rooms is entirely cut off from every other, and has its own private hall running back from the lobby. All the rooms have direct sunlight, either from the street or the great inner court. Sitting-room and living-room have fireplaces and mantels. The

tiny little kitchen contains window, ash-flue extending down into the cellar, a sink, stationary wash-tub, and a water-closet with separate outside window. All refuse must be burned. The halls and sidewalks are as clean as those on Beacon Street. The people are contented. The rooms are never empty, the tenants of the various buildings being eleven hundred in number. You see clean imitation lace curtains at the windows, and iron crestings or railings form a place for flower-pots. Sewerage and ventilation are nearly perfect. Flags fly from the high towers, once a week a band of music plays in the courts, hot and cold baths are provided. All rents must be paid in advance, or the tenant receives notice to quit. A reduction of ten cents a week is made for those paying four weeks in advance; and those who keep all the rules, hold their rooms one year, and pay promptly in advance during that year, receive, at the year's end, a dividend of from five to ten dollars, according to the value of the rooms they occupy. In these great hives of separate homes, fifteen nationalities were in one year represented. No chance for quarrelling when partition walls are deadened; and you never need see your next-door neighbor, unless you meet him on the stairs. A pamphlet, with plans, has been published, giving detailed information about these Brooklyn buildings. And I say this: that, if there is a Boston capitalist who wants to make seven per cent. on his investment (the Brooklyn Company clear this net), let him study, not that pamphlet merely, but the buildings themselves. If Boston were once fully aroused upon the subject of improved dwellings for the poor, how long would such rookeries as that on Lincoln Street offend the sight?

I did not say anything about the cottages of the Brooklyn Company: rows of trim little houses with flower balconies, immaculate front steps, front doors of curled maple, delicate curtains, and a green park extending the whole length of the "Place" (Warren Place), with a fountain in its midst. A comfortable, healthful, six-room house, costing \$1,000, rents for \$18 a month! While, of the tenement rooms, prices range from only \$1.55 to \$2.75 a week for two, three, and four room suites, each with scullery. And this in the heart of Brooklyn. Prices could be put almost as low for similar buildings in New York.

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE BOSTON SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE.

Editors of The Index:—

The anniversary of the Boston Society for Ethical Culture proved an occasion of rare interest. After simple opening exercises, Mrs. Bisbee defined the principles of the society and its attitude before the world, and Boston in particular.

Mr. F. M. Holland, of Concord, spoke impressively of the work to be done outside the churches, of Boston's need in this direction, and of the advantage of the Utilitarian School of Ethics (for which Mrs. Bisbee stands) over and above the Kantian basis represented elsewhere. He referred particularly to the practical hymns sung by the children (as well as adults) of the society, also to the method of instruction by flower-symbolizing of every-day virtues. He liked the society's silent meditation, which is substituted for vain-glorious appeal to deity: and he concluded that a work so great as that attempted by the society must grow slowly, but he felt that it must come, so surely as truth must prevail. The next speaker was Mr. A. H. Grimke, who paid a touching tribute to man, speaking of the consecration each one owes to his true self, once found. Mr. Walter Wright spoke feelingly of Mrs. Bisbee's endeavors to purify the lives of individuals, and urged all to proclaim the society's work. Dr. John Perrins made a fitting comparison between the eclecticism for which he stands in medicine and that which Mrs. Bisbee represents in ethics. Miss Cora Scott Pond spoke warmly of her sympathy with the work. Rev. Annie Shaw said she was a good Methodist (a preacher of long standing). Still, with all her disbelief in Free Religious thought, she could not remember when she had felt herself so happily restored as now, with Mrs. Bisbee's people, to the "old class-meeting." Rev. James Sallaway said he was a good Unitarian, yet he felt there were those whom only the Roman Catholic Church could serve; and, though he could not understand the agnostic, he was sure, on the same principle, that there were many in the city of Boston whom no one but Mrs. Bisbee could reach. Mr.

Peter Annet gave an interesting talk on the old church ways, concluding that science to-day begins to add to its force affection, so that the Boston Ethical Society, founded as it is on "reverent free thought and personal friendship," meets a want long felt. Mr. John Orvis represented what he called the "Spiritual Philosophy," and he spoke of the vast need of woman's work in moral education. He hoped that the cultus of the society would amount to incorporation of truth into the life. Rev. William G. Babcock said that, as father of Mrs. Bisbee, he considered himself, in a sense, the "father of the movement." He thought that knowledge and encouragement to live according to the highest standards of morality make ethical societies a necessity of our times. "Churches have all they can attend to in other directions. How to live rightly is of infinitely greater importance than what death can do to us." Other friends of the cause who intended to be present or who have expressed sympathy are William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., Frank Garrison, Elizur Wright, Benjamin F. and Sara A. Underwood, Dr. Sara E. Brown, Georgiana Davis, Isabella B. Hooker, Susan H. Wixon, Revs. J. K. Applebee and Minot J. Savage, and John Storer Cobb. Altogether, the meeting was one destined to give powerful impetus to the movement in behalf of "Ethical Culture" and free thought.

SUPERNATURAL GOODNESS.

Editors of *The Index* :—

In conversation recently with a circle of intelligent friends on the changed and ever-changing conditions of mankind in their relations of social intercourse, activity, and growth, and the ways and means whereby these conditions may be, and are, changed for the better, I was met with the claim of religion: that natural agencies and the enlightened methods of science and education were not adequate; that supernatural power and aid must be invoked, something above and beyond Nature being requisite to the attainment of a right moral state of society and the individual.

I am not unaware that it is the general belief that some invisible personal agency, or agents, supplement the natural forces and works of man; that, while acting in a consciousness of freedom and selfhood, we are yet but the willing instruments or unconscious figures of a hidden agent, who keeps us barbarians or makes us civilized men at his pleasure; and that no goodness is worth having which is not the product or work of this supernatural agent.

Every child is made familiar with the church phraseology of the "Holy Ghost" and "divine revelation"; and so ingrained into the popular mind, indeed, is this religious superstition that any doubt or question in regard to it is held to be a sin. Nevertheless, I must ask, Is it true that what we understand and speak of under the term "Nature" is a delusion? or even that in physical and material matters there is law, a fixed order, but that moral goodness is an exceptional commodity, to be procured only by prayer or credulity, bought and sold by priestly arts, by church authority, or withheld except from the favored few?

I know of no evidence, saving tradition and imagination, that moral goodness is exceptional, is not attainable and susceptible of perpetuation, in the natural way and order, like any other quality or attainment of human character and life. How is it, then, that intelligent people are still deluding themselves and others with the notion that by beating their gods, or by some other equally irrational means, they are going to win some special gift, some unnatural holy ghost? I cannot help thinking that it is simply a relic of primitive ages, when men worshipped the ghosts of their ancestors, believing that all the affairs of the world, physical as well as moral, were controlled by ghosts.

It is perhaps true that the belief in the presence and action of disembodied spirits, like the worship of the dead, operates sometimes as a moral force to restrain from evil or incite to good action; but even this is within the realm of Nature, is conformable to law, not in contravention of it. And, even admitting that such beliefs have a moral effect, is it therefore true that they are superior, that they should be treated as supernatural, as importing something better than Nature, to be perpetuated as a *sine qua non* in modern life and progress?

I cannot help thinking that the whole Old and New Testament conception of a miracle-working agency, interrupting, correcting, contradicting Nature, is a delusion. What though it be claimed that the God of Nature and the God of the Bible are one? It can only be maintained by discarding three-fourths of the book or unjustly distorting its language. The truth is that the belief in ghosts is well-nigh universal; and the Bible would be a miracle indeed, if it reflected the truths of modern science rather than the current early beliefs which it really does reflect.

Pious people are often claiming that as supernatural and miraculous which is simply and obviously natural. The establishment of Sunday-schools for the training of children in moral precepts as well as doctrinal belief is an admission that moral education is really taking the place of the old orthodox scheme of a supernatural "change of heart." Every effort to make men better by natural agency is a movement away from Orthodoxy,—away from a state of miracle-working, wonder-believing childhood. It does not require much insight to see that men are believing less and less in miracles as they know more of Nature and the regularity of Nature's ways.

A. N. ADAMS.

For *The Index*.

WHAT KNOW WE?

What do we know of death? We seem to be.
We seem to joy and sorrow, love and hate,
And learn from other lives that mix with ours
Some lessons that come early, some too late.

We wisely work experiment with matter crude,
We closely search, and find those common laws
That govern change and action, life and growth,
As traced to great result from potent cause.

But what shall visit us when life is done
We know no more than summer flowers or birds;
And, when we speak of life that follows death,
Our grave conjectures are but idle words.

MEDORA CLARK.

MADISON, WIS.

BOOK NOTICES.

FRER GEDANKEN ZUR BEURTHEILUNG DER KIRCHE UND IHRER GESCHICHTE. By Jonas Justus. Stuttgart. 1884. 128 pp.

In the first chapter of this work, the writer considers the origin and development of the religion of Christ. The rapid spread of the newly arisen ideas he ascribes to the teachings of the equality of men and universal brotherliness on the one side, and the shrewd adaptation of the church dogmas to the current paganism on the other. The next two chapters relate to the papal history. The papacy is regarded as a loathsome caricature of the religion of Jesus. The persecutions of so-called heretics are dealt with in a comprehensive manner. The inquisition ("holy officium"), the trials for witchcraft, etc., in their long and dismal train, here pass once more the tribunal of analytic history. But Martin Luther, too, whose merits are briefly acknowledged, is severely censured. He is made responsible for delivering the cause of the Reformation into the hands of monarchs, and thus creating that "Caesaro-papism" as it to-day characterizes the Protestant countries of Europe with all the gloom of a sham theocracy. Nevertheless, can we say, rejoins the writer, that the German and Swiss reformation sprang from purely religious wants; while the avarice and corruption of the throne gave birth to the English Church, which is as far from the ideal church as its founder from the ideal man. Later on, the Jesuits and general history of recent times in regard to religious movements are treated; but especially the last chapter adopts in a more satisfactory form the idea often mentioned in the work of the impracticability of a return to original Christianity, which in fact only lived in the utterances of its supposed founder, and more conspicuously in the refined philosophy of St. Paul. Another universal blunder is the supposed necessity of a uniform church, which, being in contradiction to the nature of man, shall lead to the disintegration of the Catholic Church as much as all endeavors to recur to an imaginary arch-type of a church are in themselves self-destructive. The Free Religious congregations the author thinks the only rational manifestations of that ideal religion as it was advocated by

the Alexandrian *theologi* before the Romish dogmatists dared to define by vote the *regula fides* of the Church. If Christ himself discarded the narrow theocratic Judaism of his surroundings, and appealed to the more healthy paganism for a divinely reorganized humanity, why then will Christians first become Jews,—that is, imbibe the narrow ideas of special revelation, special legislation, and special salvation? True religion remains here on earth, administers to the ethical wants of humanity, and teaches men their actual value and vocation. Therefore, the true friend of religion should neither press for a return to the arch-church nor ponder over the invention of a new religion, since both are in themselves irrational conceptions, but look forward to the rise of the "free church," whose members shall place their ambition in the "right conduct, not in the right faith." "This Church," the writer concludes, "shall, through the fulfilment of man's historical evolution, coincide with the free State."

F. W. O.

BREAD PILLS: A Study of Mind-cure. What It Is and How to Do It. By C. M. Barrows. Boston: Deland & Barta. Price 35 cts.

This is a very sensible book on, at present, a very popular subject, which the author treats in a thoughtful, respectful, and common-sense manner. The results of his observations and investigations of the subject are comprehensively summarized in a quotation given by him:—

"The best receipt for health, say what they will,
Is never to suppose we shall be ill.
Most of the evils we poor mortals know
From doctors and the imagination flow."

THE *Freethinkers' Magazine* for March reprints from *The Index* Mr. F. M. Holland's address at the Florence Convention, on Secularization. There is also a poem to Robert G. Ingersoll, and a number of short articles, protesting against the Nicaragua Treaty, criticising Heber Newton's consistency, defending the morality of infidels, and urging the erection of a Freethought School with a building to cost \$25,000. The question of location is left to a committee, whose members for Massachusetts are G. N. Hill, president of the Ingersoll Secular Society, and F. M. Holland. The memory of John S. Verity is duly honored; and there is a timely quotation, under the head "Fasting and Prayer," from the letter of Thomas Jefferson, beginning thus: "I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from meddling with religious institutions."

THE *Andover Review* for April contains the first of a series of "Sermons to Workingmen," by Dr. Newman Smyth, with an introduction by Prof. Tucker. The other articles are "The Moral Purpose of the Later American Novel," by Prof. Charles F. Richardson; "Co-operative Creation," by Rev. F. H. Johnson; "Bach and Händel," by Prof. Blodgett; and editorials on "The Crusade against Common Schools,—School or Scholar," "The 'Vagueness' of a Defensive Orthodoxy," and "The West African Conference"; "Historical Criticism,—Ancient Religions, the Deities of Ancient Egypt," by Rev. Lysander Dickerman, and "Book Notices." Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"WIDE AWAKE" for April has short stories by Rose Terry Cooke, Ellen Olney Kirk, Helen E. Sweet, and Charlotte S. Fursdon, an English writer. Interesting instalments are given of the continued stories by Charles Egbert Craddock, E. S. Brooks, and Lizzie W. Champney. Mary Hartwell Catherwood writes of "Gipsies"; Mrs. Fremont gives a delightful "souvenir" of Dolly Madison and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. Yan Phou Lee gives an interesting account of some Chinese girls. There are more than half a dozen poems by well-known writers; and the illustrations are, as usual with this excellent magazine, numerous and beautiful.

"PANSY" and *Baby-Land* for April, from the publishers of *Wide Awake*, are both received, and found brimming with amusement and instruction for the babies, and little ones outside of babyhood. *Pansy* is especially rich in the following instructive articles: "A Story Book of Science"; "That Old Bell!"; "Thin Slices of American History"; "Nicknames of States"; "Alfred the Great"; "Our Alphabet of Great Men"; and "Ancient Roman Houses and Customs."

Pirate SONG of VICTORY

The literary "pirate" question which we have recently been called upon to discuss recalls to mind the "Parnassus Dream" which a "Literary Revolution" friend sent us some time ago. It bears repeating, and has an appropriate ring to its melody in these days of new and glorious victories.

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I slept where the moon, serenely bright,
Shone full in my face through a summer night
I dreamt I was in a Land of Light,
With Fielding and Moore and Shelley
And White.
And Shakespeare and Milton—a goodly
With Addison, Dryden, and others, quite
Too numerous to mention;
And there the worthies, one and all,
Whom we the "classical authors" call,
Beneath the shade of Parnassus tall,
On Pegasus Place, in Helicon Hall,
Were holding a big convention.

Virgil was sitting beside Voltaire,
Boccaccio chatting with Dumas, pere,
And Pope curled up in the corner there,
While old Sam Johnson was in the chair,
Wall-eyed and grim, with carotid hair,
And he said, "Of course you're all aware
Of the latest literary advances;
The publishers seem to be going to
smash
Beneath the great 'economy' lash,
For John B. Alden is cutting a dash
Exceedingly reckless and awfully rash,
In selling for almost nothing for cash,
And ruining regular prices!"

"I hold in my hand a letter from four
American publishers who feel sore,
And they speak for a score, or possibly
more,
Who live by traffic in printed lore.
I read: 'We pray from this earthly
shore
Ye authors of old attend us!
O, give us a lift in this hour of need.
For the publishing business is going to
seed;
That man Alden is making with speed
As many books as the folks can read,
And selling disgracefully low, indeed;
It cheapens your fame—for you we
plead!—
Ye talented ghosts, defend us!'"

"What word shall we send to this
earthly band?"
Then Scott, with an "Elzevir" in hand,
Arose (amid cries of "Take the Stand!")
And said, "This scheme will possess the
land;
No good is the Harper or Scribner brand
While Alden shows that he can com-
mand
The brains of sage and scholar:
A shilling for Pope—good binding on;
The same for the poems of Tennyson;
Ten cents for your Pilgrim's Progress,
John;
For the Ulick, thirty cents; and Don
Quixote for half a dollar!"

Then Chaucer said, "I am rather old,
But I am mighty glad this day to be told
How cheap my Canterbury Tales are
sold.
And the poets and wits of the Queen
Steele the bright and De Foe the bold,
Berkeley the sober and Swift the scold,
From the time of Sir Walter Raleigh;
Shakespeare's works, and Smollett's
and Sterne's,
Bacon, Bellingbrooke, Byron and Burns;
And Babbington Lord Macaulay."

Charles Dickens said, "T'would be fool-
ish to let
Good luck of mortals cause regret:
For the price of a theatre-ticket they get
Milman's Gibbon—the perfect set—
Dante and Virgil, two shillings net,
For a dollar Adam Smith's Debt,
And Mill on the Laws of Nations;
And I see by this wondrous circular
Sent up by J. B. A. that for [War,
Three cents you get the Seven Years'
For a dime King Henry of Navarre,
And for thrice the price of a good cigar
Will Shakespeare's inspirations."

Then Goldsmith rose and expressed it
thus:
"It is simply a case of de gustibus,
But I see no reason for all this fuss,
For publishers never did much for us,
While needy, summer and winter;
Therefore, confound it, I hold this view:
The high-price houses are doubtless
blue,
But unto the man our thanks are due
Who sends our thoughts each palace
through,
And into the humblest cottage too,
For the many are always more than the
few.
And the people are more than the
Printer!"

A slight shade rose—'twas Edgar Poe—
Who said, "I've been talking here with
De Foe."
We agree, and the ancients have told us so,
That who makes two printed leaves to
show
Where only one did formerly grow
Is as good a man as we want to know;
And this letter here, from the realms
below,
Reveals its earthly animus:
I move it be not received!" About
A thousand voices removed all doubt,
Ben Johnson and Halleck and Hood
spoke out.
Kit North and Irving and Father Prout,
Midst arm of cheers & a mighty shout,
And the motion pass'd—unanimous!

THE "FREIDENKER."

Freedom, Culture, and Prosperity for all!
(Organ of the Freethinkers of North Amer-
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North American Turnerbund.)

Editor, C. Hermann Beppe.

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THE INDEX

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

ONE of the traits of the character of the critical scholar, Richard Grant White, who died last week, was his kindness to young authors who needed sympathy and encouragement.

HON. CHARLES W. SLACK, editor of the *Commonwealth*, who died last Saturday, was a man of many public and private virtues, whose death is mourned by a large number of friends in this city and State.

SOME idea of the annoyances Gen. Grant is subjected to by the preacher Newman, "encouraged by women of the family," may be inferred from a remark of ex-Senator Chaffee, who is one of the inmates of Gen. Grant's house. "He ought," said the ex-Senator the other day, "to be let alone on that subject; for he has his own notions well settled, and Newman can't alter them. It is a shame to pester him."

VISITORS to Montreal during its winter carnival may have noticed beside the ice-palace the vast unfinished St. Peter's Cathedral. It has been decided by the Roman Catholic Bishop to resume its construction; and a band of priests will soon begin their task of collecting more money from their flocks, chiefly the poorest class, in the city. Verily, these followers of the lamb carry shears in their hands.

CERTAIN articles in the newspapers, referring to the will of Mrs. Eddy by which she left money for the use of Mrs. Lucy Stone and Miss Susan B. Anthony, contain the statement that "the heirs" of the deceased have sought to have declared null and void the bequests referred to above. In justice to all concerned, it should be said that the will was disputed only by the guardian of the grandson of Mrs. Eddy, the other heirs, the nearest related, having done all they could to have the will sustained.

DR. JEFFERSON CHURCH, one of the oldest physicians in Western Massachusetts, died last week in Springfield, Mass., at the age of eighty-

two. Although in active professional practice, he found time in the old days of slavery to give much time to the abolition movement. His home often contained one or more fugitive slaves waiting for an opportunity to escape to Canada or elsewhere. He was a warm friend and supporter of Garrison, John Brown, Phillips, and others who were prominently identified with the anti-slavery movement.

A WELL-KNOWN English writer, in a letter from London, writes: "I have been so busy of late that I have had no opportunity for anything but political work, the political situation here being of so absorbing a kind. . . . Still, I do not by any means lose interest in *The Index* and its work. I hope you flourish, and spread the light which is needed both in England and America. Things here are generally in a very bad way. The time is out of joint,—unjust war and heavy taxation and social distress and continued depression, spite of the optimistic predictions that were made some time ago. My own impression is that things will be worse before they are better. No one here is in a very happy or hopeful frame of mind."

THE Boston *Sunday Courier*, commenting on Mr. Wendte's statement that many abstain from church-going because they are afraid of being robbed of their pleasures and dissipations, remarks: "If people who stay away from church felt anything so definite as a fear of being 'robbed' of their pleasures and dissipations' by church-going, the seats would not long remain vacant. The state of things against which the Church has to contend is far more dangerous than this. It is an absolute indifference to theology and all that it implies; it is a perfect confidence that the clergy are as a rule so steeped in fustian and absolute conceits about 'fleshy minds,' 'ethical impulses,' and all the rest of it, as to be utterly out of sympathy with practical life and human concerns. The Church has clung to the idea of the enmity of the natural man until that individual, after passing through the various stages of irritation, impatience, and tolerance, has come to be absolutely indifferent."

AT the annual meeting of the Florence Free Congregational Society, Mr. and Mrs. Spencer stated that they should not be candidates for re-election to the office of resident speakers of the society. There has been for some time a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of having any resident speaker, and Mr. and Mrs. Spencer's declination of further service beyond their present term was not unexpected. The Executive Committee, in their annual report, say: "This declination necessitates deliberation and action, on the part of the society, as to what method of carrying on its works shall be adopted, at the close of Mr. and Mrs. Spencer's term of service; whether the society will continue its present course of having a resident speaker, who shall supply the desk for the whole year; or whether it will return to the original plan of employing a resident speaker who shall occupy the desk a part of the year, and a variety of speakers be employed during the remaining portion of the time; or whether some other

plan shall be chosen." Mr. Spencer's views during the past year have undergone some modification, and it is stated that he will return to the Unitarian ministry.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE in the *Christian Register* says: "I am obliged to admit that he [Mr. Francis E. Abbot] did right in withdrawing from the Conference. I see that, with his views, he could not honestly be a member of the Unitarian denomination, nor, indeed, of any Christian body." Mr. Abbot replies that he understands this to be a confession of "the essentially exclusive nature of the Unitarian Preamble-creed." Mr. Clarke says in response that, while Mr. Abbot was excluded by the Preamble from his *own* "point of view," he was *not* excluded from his [Mr. Clarke's] "point of view." Mr. Abbot replies that there is "a universal moral law to which all individual 'points of view' should be carefully and consistently conformed," and asks whether it is not incumbent on every Unitarian "to interpret the Preamble according to the clear and evident intent of its language as scrupulously as upright judges interpret the laws they administer, and thereby to accept as decisive of its meaning the Conference's own 'point of view.'" Mr. Clarke says that, from his "point of view," the Preamble "expresses not a dogma to be believed, but a work to be done. It means that we unite as Christians to carry on all good work." Mr. Abbot reminds Mr. Clarke that, if the Preamble had said only that, he should not have offered his substitute at Syracuse; for that is exactly what the substitute proposed and "exactly what the Conference on Dr. Clarke's own recommendation voted down." To defeat Mr. Abbot's substitute, he declared that a repeal of the confession of allegiance to Jesus as "Lord and King," when it had been adopted, would seem like "hauling down the flag." "I submit," says Mr. Abbot, "that the individual point of view which permits such tactics as these—which, from dread of being refused the Christian name by other Christian sects, at one time insists on the confession of the 'Royalty of Jesus,' but which, from dread of being accused of illiberality by the outside liberals, at another time wholly omits that confession and puts forward in its stead a purpose of 'carrying on all good work,—is neither reasonable nor right." In regard to his leaving the Unitarian communion, Mr. Abbot says: "The sharp alternatives were—hypocrisy or exclusion; and they are so still for every Unitarian minister who cannot in good faith profess allegiance to Jesus as his 'Lord and King.' Nothing but unmanly quibbling can make those alternatives other than they are." "You will go your way," he concludes, "I mine: I would gladly go with you, if the terms of your fellowship were still what they were; but I will walk alone till I walk into my grave, before I will accept the terms of your fellowship as they are. The freedom of thought I must have will brook no Preamble-creed. And so God bless you, and farewell." On both logical and moral grounds, Mr. Abbot has clearly the best of the controversy.

THE MORMON PROBLEM.

The Edmunds law for the suppression of polygamy in Utah appears to be working more effectively than it was at first supposed possible. Convictions of prominent polygamous members of the Mormon Church, it is found, can be obtained under it; and government officials are alert in arresting offenders and bringing them to trial. The consequence is that many of the leading members of the Church are temporarily leaving the Territory or keeping in concealment, in order to escape the prosecuting officers. The whole Church is greatly disturbed by the aspect of things, and it is reported that even the question of migrating beyond the limits of the United States has been mooted. But it is hardly probable that this course will be taken. The population of the Church is now too numerous and wide-spread, and too deeply rooted in Utah, to make migration a feasible solution of the difficulties of the situation. It is doubtful whether the Mormon elders, great as is their authority, could enforce such a measure upon the membership of the Church as a whole. A revolt might ensue; and, as it would be in the interest of civil order against an ecclesiastical command, the recusants would have the support of the United States authorities, and, so choosing, might easily maintain their ground against the authority of the Church.

A more probable resort, indeed, than to this desperate expedient of migration would be an official decree from the Church itself declaring polygamy to be no longer a constituent part of the Mormon religion. It is even rumored—though it is to be feared on little evidence—that at a general Conference of the Church to be held the present month such a declaration will actually be issued. The wish is probably father to the thought. Yet there is said to be a growing party in the Church, and particularly among the younger members, opposed to polygamy. And it is a possible thing, perhaps, that the elders may be wise enough, looking not only at present difficulties, but at the future of their Church, to solve the whole problem by proclaiming the abolition of polygamy. Since it is not claimed that polygamy is authorized by the Book of Mormon, but was established by a supplementary revelation, another supplementary "revelation" may appear, disestablishing the custom without any disturbance of the foundations of the Church. This would seem a comparatively easy solution of the Mormon problem, and is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Polygamy abolished, by a law made unalterable in a State constitution under forfeiture of State autonomy, the controversy between the United States and the Mormon Church would be effectually settled. The United States government has nothing to say about the faith and religious customs of the Mormons except on the point of polygamy, where United States law is violated. Remove that, and the Mormon Church will be as free as any other form of faith to maintain its creed, practise its worship, and develop its ideas of industrial economy, in which it has had such marked success, according to its own wisdom and pleasure.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, though in the special suit brought before it, favoring the Mormons, contains an important general decision adverse to their claims, which may have weight with them in the present disturbed state of affairs. The court decided that the test-oath with regard to polygamy which the Commissioners had required as a qualification for voting was illegal; but they so decided on the ground that no such authority had been given

them in the law of Congress by which they were appointed. The general plea, however, of the Mormon counsel, that Congress had no right to disfranchise citizens of Territories, the court disallowed. It declared the political rights of the people in Utah, as in other Territories, to be "franchises which they hold as privileges in the legislative discretion of the Congress of the United States." This puts it in the power of Congress to give the Commissioners the authority to establish the test-oath as well as to do other things to carry out the intent of the present law. The Mormons, therefore, must be more discouraged than cheered by the Supreme Court's decision.

Apropos of the Mormon problem, it may here be said that a new emigration society has been organized in Massachusetts for the purpose of sending a class of settlers to Utah, who would help to free the Territory from polygamy. The most prominent directors in this new society were also prominent in the Kansas emigration society, which did such effective work, nearly thirty years ago, to make Kansas a free State. The wise energy which characterized that work and the success attending it may be significant of one of the ways by which the solution of the Mormon problem is to be found.

WM. J. POTTER.

"MODERN PAINTERS."

The first volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* was received by the anonymous art-witlings of the early part of this century with scorn, merriment, and astonishment. *Blackwood's Magazine*, the genius-killer,—"Blackguard's Magazine," Mr. Swinburne calls it,—took the field with a long sardonical-earnest review: "We at first thought the book [it said] to be an ironical satire on modern painters, and determined to defend them, it seemed so preposterous to affirm that modern painters were superior to all the ancient masters in landscape. . . . He knows nothing of the masters whom he maligns. . . . In condemning them all, he is like the unfortunate gentleman in an establishment of 'unsound opinions,' who gravely said, 'The world and I differed in opinion; but they were too many for me, and put me here.'" *Blackwood's* then proceeds, very strangely, to devote eighteen closely printed, double-column pages to a review of this utterly worthless and very funny book, and closes with the opinion that landscape painters would gain little by the volume, unless it were some mortification at being so sillily lauded; and that lovers of art would stand little chance of being 'Turnerized' by the "Oxford Graduate's" palpably fulsome, nonsensical praise. All of which sounds very amusing in the present day, as is so often the case with the crushing lucubrations of mighty critical prophets, when read some years after the dust has grown thick upon them. It were hard to discover a more hopelessly imbecile and spiteful collection of reviews than the articles on Ruskin in the *Athenæum*, *Blackwood's*, and the *Quarterlies* of London, which have appeared simultaneously with the issue of each of his volumes. The "criticism" is the very calenture of petty envy, and overleaps itself by the grossness of its malignity.*

*"I came by surprise, the other day, on a cuttle-fish in a pool at low tide. On being touched with the point of my umbrella, he first filled the pool with ink, and then finding himself still touched, in the darkness, lost his temper, and attacked the umbrella with much psyche, or anima, hugging it tightly with all his eight arms, and making efforts, like an impetuous baby with a coral, to get it into his mouth. On my offering him a finger instead, he sucked that with two or three of his arms, with an apparently malignant satisfaction, and, on being shaken off, retired with an air of frantic misanthropy into the cloud of his ink. Now, it seems to me not a little instructive to reflect how entirely useless such a manifestation of a superior being was to his cuttle-fish mind; and how fortunate it was for his fellow-octopods that he had no command of pens as well as ink, nor any disposition to write on the nature of umbrellas or of men."—*Ruskin, in the Contemporary Review*, 1871.

Modern Painters is a work which, according to its author, was written not for fame nor money nor conscience' sake, but of necessity, for the sake of righting an injustice. "It is a book," says Leslie Stephen, "which, in spite of incoherence and utter absence of concentration, has done more than any other of its kind to stimulate thought and disperse antiquated fallacies." It is Ruskin's greatest work by far. And the wealth of thought is not to be mastered by an indolent or hasty reader. The work is a life-treasure, a great storehouse of truth, portions of it so severe in treatment and so suggestive and original as to require repeated readings and ponderings before the full import is revealed.

More particularly, the five volumes of *Modern Painters* may be described as a discussion (with many digressions) of the truths of landscape painting, with continual reference to Turner as the master, and continual reprehension of such artists as Claude, Gaspar Poussin, Salvator, Cuyp, Berghem, Paul Potter, and the two Teniers.* As incidental and ancillary to the main theme there is necessarily a large amount of valuable nature-study at first hand, and analytical examinations of eminent poets and other great authors. One may say that the spinal ideas of the whole work are embodied in the two phrases, "What is Truth?" and "What is Beauty?" The first volume discusses the truths of power, beauty, and relation of color, chiaro-oscuro, clouds, mountains, water, and vegetation. Volume second treats of ideas of beauty, and partakes of the nature of an introduction to the rest of the work; namely, volumes three, four, and five, which, while treating of style, invention, classical and mediæval landscape, and the beauty of mountains, leaves, and clouds, are yet full, every page of them, of thorough investigations into the truth of the things taken into consideration. (The author of the work says he can never be sure of the petals of beauty, unless he feels in his hand the strong stem of truth.) The painstaking accuracy of Ruskin makes the study of his greatest work an education for young scholars. A work to the making of which went the expenditure of a fortune and seventeen years of toil and travel is one that impliedly bears on every page a rebuke of slovenly or hasty writers. How many purely literary workers are there who would give, as Ruskin did, a week or two of hard walking to determine some geological problem that must then be dismissed in an unnoticed sentence? Or how many other scientists are there who would omit entirely, as he did, all discussion of the sea from their study of nature, because they could obtain from mathematicians no satisfactory explanation of the curves of waves?

Organically as well as chronologically, *Modern Painters* is divided broadly into two main portions: the first comprises volumes one and two; the second begins with volume third, written after ten years of preparatory labor.

Students who attack the five volumes of *Modern Painters* for the first time are not to understand that all parts of the work are of even merit. It is an unevenly written and diffuse conglomeration of thoughts, and the clew of logic often hard to follow. As for the first two volumes, all but artists had better skip them altogether, and begin with volume three. Volumes one and two are condemned, in large measure, by their own author, who is engaged in the task of recasting them; for not only are many parts of them (as he says) "written in a narrow enthusiasm, and the substance of

*The title of the work, as originally designed by Mr. Ruskin, was to have been "Turner and the Ancients"; but, by the advice of friends, he reluctantly adopted the present title, and added references to other modern landscape painters.

their metaphysical and religious speculation justifiable only on the ground of their absolute honesty,"* but occasionally the art teachings are unsound. In the preface to *Frondees Agrestes*, Prof. Ruskin gives other reasons for not republishing in its entirety volume one of *Modern Painters*; namely, that some portions of it are rendered unnecessary, owing to the established fame of Turner, other portions having always been useless in the praise of excellence which the public will never give the labor necessary to discern.

By the time the second volume of *Modern Painters* appeared, Turner himself had given its author his thanks, and came, in honor of the father and mother, to keep the birthday of their son.

In preparation for the third and succeeding volumes of his great work, Ruskin determined to make exhaustive studies in a wide range of correlated subjects,—painting, architecture, geology, mineralogy, and botany, as well as the biographies of artists and the history of their times. For ten years, he toiled in the picture galleries of Europe, and alone amid the Alps of Switzerland and the meadows of England, going from city to city and castle to castle, sparing no expense, seeing, collecting, systematizing, planning works in every department of art, literature, and natural history, and gathering a body of notes that it would take three or four lifetimes to utilize. During this decade of years, 1846–1856, appeared the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* and the *Stones of Venice*. At its close was published the third volume of *Modern Painters*, which no more resembles its predecessors than *Lear* is like *King Henry VI*. Ruskin is now a mature man, and treats art, literature, and life with the broad scope and the firm touch of one who is master of his craft. Volume three is the best of the five, and discusses themes of more popular interest than the others. The reader should understand that the topics of the whole work are arranged with a view to convenience of reference rather than in any formal system, so that the hesitating student may confidently take up any volume of the five, and find it a separate treatise, or group of treatises, of entirely independent connection and interest.

W. S. KENNEDY.

"THE NAPANEE" (ONT.) "TOWN HALL CASE."

I have been requested to furnish a general and accurate account of the now historico-legal "Napanee Town Hall Case" for the columns of the *Index*, as such an account has never yet, I believe, been furnished your readers.

In the autumn of 1874, having been for some years previously, with pen and otherwise, preparing the minds of friends and neighbors somewhat for the reception of new light on Secular questions and broader views of mental liberty and freedom of speech, I addressed an invitation to Mr. B. F. Underwood of Massachusetts (U.S.) to come to Napanee and give a course of lectures on the liberal questions of the day. Mr. Underwood, who was then occupying most of his time in the lecture field, and whom I regarded as the ablest exponent of Secularism or Scientific Materialism then on the platform in America, readily consented to come over the lake, make our acquaintance, and inaugurate liberal lectures in Canada. Having arranged with Mr. U. for a course of three lectures for the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September (1874), with the hearty co-operation and assistance of a few staunch friends I proceeded to make the necessary arrangements. I leased the Napanee Town

Hall from the Mayor for the three evenings mentioned, taking the precaution to make a written contract with him and to pay for the same in advance. I then issued advertisements in the local papers and by posted bills announcing the lectures, the subjects of which were to be as follows:—first night, "Evolution vs. Creation"; second night, "What Liberalism offers as a Substitute for Christianity"; third night, "Fallacies and Assumptions of Theologians regarding the Bible and Christianity." The clergy were invited and were promised ample opportunity to reply after each lecture. But no sooner were our advertisements issued than the bigots of the town were up in arms to prevent the lectures. The town Council, in total disregard of the mayor's contract, voted that the town hall should be shut against us. The mayor, who was the leading lawyer of the town, was, *ex officio*, chairman of the Council; and he at once advised me of the adverse decision, and urged that I try and procure another hall to avoid trouble and further conflict between him and the rest of the Council, promising, however, to open the town hall for us in case we failed in securing another suitable place for the lectures. Meanwhile we circulated a petition through the town asking the Council to reconsider their prohibitory resolution and peaceably give us the use of the hall according to contract. This petition was signed by a majority of the leading business and professional men of Napanee and was duly presented to the Council by the mayor himself. A counter petition from the Y. M. C. As., but poorly supported, was also presented. The majority of the Council, however, remained incorrigible, ignored our petition, and re-affirmed their first resolution that we should not occupy the hall for our lectures. Failing to get another suitable hall the mayor, at this juncture, reiterated his promise to order the hall opened to us when the evening arrived for lecture. I then addressed a letter to the Council and the public through the local papers (two of which were against the bigoted action of the Council and one in their favor), advising them that we would firmly adhere to our contract with the mayor and that the lectures would certainly come off as announced. By this time the excitement not only in the town but throughout the surrounding country was at fever heat, and the general feeling, especially in the town, was against the narrow and pusillanimous action of the town Council. At length the memorable evening for the first lecture arrived, and long before the hour of opening a dense throng of hundreds from town and country filled the market square in front of the town hall. Mr. Underwood had arrived during the day in good order and ready to diffuse the new light of Science and Secularism to all and sundry who cared to hear. As the time for opening approached, the police of the town accompanied by a squad of the Council, and under its direction, took possession of the entrance to the hall completely barricading the door. The interest now became intense. No prohibitory, municipal, legislative, or parliamentary election ever awakened such interest or produced such excitement in the town of Napanee before. The hour for opening having arrived we made our way through the throng to the hall door, and exhibiting our written contract with the mayor for the use of the hall that and the succeeding two nights I demanded admittance thereto. The mayor, who had given orders to the janitor to open the hall, was not present to contend further with the Council and constabulary. Our demand for admittance was met with a dogged refusal; and after some parley I distinctly informed this fossil obstruction to our way that if

they persisted in excluding us I would prosecute them for damages. This failing to raise the blockade we retired in good order, albeit the indignant crowd, had they received one word of encouragement from us, would have "run" that medieval blockade in less time than it takes to write this sentence; but we counselled moderation and advised the incensed crowd to desist and we would try law instead of brute force. We then proceeded straight to Music Hall—the best in the town—where an entertainment was in progress, and opened negotiations with the manager of a theatrical company who had the hall leased for the whole week. In consideration of \$125.00 cash, which we paid him, he agreed to step down and out and relinquish the hall to us for the three following nights. The crowd had assembled in the street in front of Mr. Underwood's hotel and in response Mr. U. appeared upon the balcony and addressed them briefly, announcing that we had secured Music Hall and that the lectures would come off there the following three evenings, which elicited hearty cheers.

The next day, anticipating disturbance and trouble at night from our bitter and cowardly opponents, about a dozen of us quietly got ourselves sworn in as "special constables" so that we could deal with the cowardly fanatics as they deserved in case they showed their teeth. When the hour for the lecture came the large hall was packed—all eager with expectation and interest as to what might happen, with a score or two there determined to disturb and break up the meeting. The lecturer proceeded, and after we had ejected four or five of these red-hot religionists who could not keep quiet, the rest, considering discretion their best card under the circumstances, either stalked out or remained peaceable.

Barring this disturbance by a few, this first lecture was listened to attentively; but was received for the most part in stoical silence without the outward expression of either approval or disapproval. The physiognomical observer of faces, however, could see that a majority were more than interested—they were pleased,—the braced-up rigidity for the occasion was seen to be surely relaxing under the courteous bearing and cogent reasoning of the lecturer. They feared to applaud the unpopular "infidel," but evidently relished the substantial intellectual food he offered them. At the conclusion, however, led by the few warm friends of the lecturer, there was a good round of applause.

Thus ended the first free thought lecture ever given in Canada. Everybody now breathed easier, and the popular pulse was rapidly sinking to the normal standard. The second evening the hall was again full of a better class of people, including a few ladies, and nearly all listened attentively and respectfully without interruption. The last night also witnessed an increasingly large and still higher-class audience of intelligent and deeply interested listeners, including quite a sprinkling of ladies; and it had already become apparent that the "infidel lecturer" had, by his gentlemanly demeanor, scholarship and forensic ability, already, in great measure, disarmed malice and made a generally good impression. A few no doubt still thirsted for the godless lecturer's blood and for ours as well; but with the great majority of the hundreds who for the first time heard their traditional beliefs brought in question and their cherished dogmas refuted, the bitter animosity was obviously vanishing. An interesting and amusing episode occurred the second evening. At the conclusion of the lecture, in response to an invitation from the platform to any person, especially the clergy, who wished to reply, a Methodist min-

*From preface to the 1873 edition of *Modern Painters* (limited to one thousand copies, and certified by Mr. Ruskin's own signature).

ister near the door came to his feet, and with a great profusion of grotesque gesticulation and inflated flourish opened a very animated fusillade of personal squibs and irrelevant shots at the proverbial "man of straw." Mr. Underwood, in rejoinder, so dexterously pricked the gas-bag, and the collapse was so complete, that the audience could not withhold a rousing cheer for the agnostic polemic. Thus did this initial course of Liberal lectures in Canada finally turn out eminently successful. Considering the bitterness of the struggle—fierce and bitter on one side but firm and uncompromising on the other—it is a marvel that no blood was spilled. A few liberal friends were present at the lectures from a distance to cheer and encourage our own little band by their presence and sympathy.

We bade Mr. Underwood a warm good-by, being determined to soon again renew the acquaintance so pleasantly and profitably begun (though in the midst of battle), which we soon after did in another course of five lectures.

Our next step now was to carry out our promise to the "fossil blockade" to prosecute them for damages. We accordingly entered an action against the town of Napanee for \$300.00 damages for violation of contract. This case (*Pringle vs. The Town of Napanee*) which lingered in the Canadian Courts for four years, with varying verdicts, was finally decided against us on the strength of an old English statute which, though practically quite obsolete, yet, unfortunately, still remained unrepealed on the statute books. I have not space here to follow in detail the long course of litigation, which has assumed an historical as well as legal importance in the Law Reports of this country. But although we were technically defeated in the courts, we assuredly achieved a great secular and moral victory. The case, being unique, awakened interest throughout the whole country, as far east even as New Brunswick where the matter was discussed in the press. The judges who tried the case from time to time, especially the High-Court Judges, were unmistakably in sympathy with our side of the case. Our cause they felt to be just, but they were obliged to administer the law as they found it and decide against us. I quote below briefly from two of the judgments of the High Courts:—

"If the lecturer used arguments which he in good faith believed to be legitimate and well-founded, if he indulged in no malicious attacks upon sacred persons or subjects, if there were no malicious or wilful attempts springing from pure wickedness to mislead the minds of hearers and lessen their reverence for God and Christianity, I should not, but for the expressions used by the learned Judge of the Exchequer, have thought that a lecturer was committing an act *per se* unlawful. However erroneous the opinions of Underwood may be, there is no ground upon the evidence of imputing to him any wicked or malicious motives. There is no reason to doubt that he was advocating doctrines which he himself, however mistakenly, believes."

Further as to Plaintiff:—"The evidence satisfied me that the plaintiff made every reasonable exertion to get another hall, and that the only one suitable for his purpose which he could procure was Music Hall, and that he could not get it for a lower sum than one hundred and twenty-five dollars. I find that he acted reasonably and fairly."

At the final hearing of the case before Chief Justice Harrison and Justice Armour, the latter remarked that "if Christianity were true there could no possible harm be done by discussing its doctrines, and in this age we were standing upon

the threshold of great discoveries in Nature, and that it would never do to muzzle those people who were engaged in such investigations, because their discoveries did not agree exactly with the preconceived notions of some so-called religionists."

From the above extracts it is very easy to see what the verdict of judges so liberal and enlightened would have been in the Napanee Town Hall Case had they not been tied down to old laws of which they did not approve.

ALLEN PRINGLE.

SELBY, LENNOX CO. ONT.

OUR KITH AND KIN.

There is a story widely current among men to-day that a little Hebrew, of mean appearance, but dauntless zeal, once stood on Mars' Hill, and declared to unbelieving Greeks that God "Hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." That such a statement should have been received with scorn by the Greeks goes almost without saying, because they could not conceive of their cultured nation being of the same blood as the "outer barbarians." So the "apostle to the Gentiles" found but little favor with the worshippers of the "unknown God." Yet the teachings of Paul in that day were scarcely more abhorrent to the cultured than are the teachings of science to-day to the "orthodox"; for, while the proselyting Hebrew simply taught the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of his God, science to-day teaches the universal kinship of all organic life, and says, in words that cannot be mistaken, that time hath woven in one loom all forms of life on the bosom of mother earth, whence all came, and to whom all must return.

How all life is related in an endless chain is one of the most fascinating studies any one can pursue; for it opens the most unexpected relationships, and reveals wonders such as ancient folk-lore never touched.

Take, for instance, the common red clover. No one would suppose for an instant that human sympathy and the love of poor people for the animal world had anything to do with its growth. Yet science teaches us that this is so; for the red clover is fertilized by the humble-bee, which, having a longer proboscis than the hive-bee, can reach down to where the nectar lies buried in the male clover's heart; after which it flies to another clover, a female, bearing on its wings and body the pollen of the male, which is thus transferred to the other. And the clover obeys the law of increase, so that cattle grow fat, and farmers' hearts are gladdened thereby.

The fertility or sterility of the red clover depends then upon the numbers of the humble-bees, and their number is regulated by the number of field mice; for the mice are fond of honey, and prey on the stores of the bee. Therefore, if mice increased inordinately, the bees would infallibly perish, and with them the red clover, as the fertilization of the clover by the wind or by other insects would prove a very uncertain matter, and its chances for life would be small.

Now, the number of mice in any cultivated district depends upon the number of cats kept in that locality; for the number of mice is inversely proportioned to the number of cats. The more cats, the fewer mice; the fewer cats, the more mice, the fewer bees; the less clover. That is a simple proposition, and it is an equally simple one that the number of cats in a community is regulated by the sympathies of the people: for, if people are small-souled and penurious, cats are reduced to a minimum; but, if children are numerous and hearts are tender, there is sure to be plenty of cats, and so the red clover is compar-

atively safe. And the case seems very clear that the perpetuation of the clover and the moral sentiments of the community are related to each other by a very simple chain of cause and effect. Hence, we begin to realize, as we think of it, that not only are men and nations related to each other, but all life on the globe form "Parts of one stupendous whole."

In whatever direction one turns, this same relationship appears; and I remember the surprise with which some simple, kindly friends of mine saw a bat's wing, as it seemed, for the first time, though, in reality, they had known and dreaded bats all their lives. It was on Falkner's Island, a little four-acre oasis in Long Island Sound, where I was passing the sunny summer days, with the wonders of sea and sky, of air and rocky islet, to fill the flying hours. I had caught a bat; and, after ending its savage misery, I proceeded to spread it out, and open its mysteries to my friends. And with what voiceless surprise they saw that it had *five fingers* on its hand!—that the thin membrane of which its wings were composed was spread out over its elongated fingers; and so much of human plan and purpose, so much of visible relationship was there in this hideous visitor that there was something "uncanny" in it, especially to people who had been born and bred where the Mosaic cosmogony had to be accepted under dreadful penalties,—for the Pentateuch explains nothing, while it tells everything.

But, if the wing of a bat were a mystery, how much greater the mystery when we discover that the fin of a porpoise, the flapper of a seal, the leg of a horse, and the arm of a man are all built on the same plan,—that the five fingers and five toes seem to have belonged to a vast army of our most distant kin; and we feel a sense of awe creeping over us, as this relationship becomes clearer and clearer, as it ever does, through patient study. The five fingers of the porpoise are only revealed when the knife has cleared away the black skin. The five toes of the horse have been reduced to one great toe, with its armature of toe-nail, which we call the hoof; yet the rudiments of the earlier form still linger in the bones of our existing horse, and the occasional birth of a three-toed horse shows only a reversion to an early type, which we could readily accept, even if Prof. Marsh had never found the fossil bones of the three-toed *hippus* that once roamed our own land, long ages before the Spaniard brought our modern species to repopulate the western plains with wild horses!

Strange are the revelations of science, and passing strange that they have come to dwell with only a small class; yet every man and woman should be scientific in their thinking, and seek for the cause of every effect, and the effect of every cause, that come into their daily lives. We have come to associate science with retorts and crucibles, microscopes and telescopes; with "Lang neb-bit words" and high sounding jargon, which make us fear its very name, even though it is ever calling us to come up higher. But a knowledge of the relationship of life to life through the endless chain that reaches into the infinite would make us better men and women; and as we watch, in our daily lives, the affection of a dog for his master, the jealousy of a parrot of its mistress, the overbearing tyranny of an English sparrow to its poor rivals in the struggle for existence, and the grim savagery of a child torturing flies in a sunny home, we would learn to trace our relationship so far that we would be kind to every living thing that shares with us the breath of life. Then, a scientific knowledge will set us free from the vile superstitions that have cursed the

world for weary centuries; and we will come to realize the deep truth hidden in the words of the Christ of India, centuries before the babe of Bethlehem had been born:—

"Pity and need
Make all flesh kin. There is no caste in blood,
Which runneth of one hue, nor caste in tears,
Which trickle salt with all."

PETER ANNET.

MR. SAVAGE ON MAN AND ANIMALS.

In a recent sermon on "Evolution and Immortality," Rev. M. J. Savage says that there are those who "tell us that, when once we have granted the fact that man is derived by natural descent from animal forms, we are found logically to accept one of two positions,—either that all the animals are also immortal in their nature, or else that man who is naturally derived from them is not." Mr. Savage does not think that there is any logical necessity for this alternative, because man differs from animals, he says, in one "significant particular." "Man has developed a conscious personality, which we look on as the essence of that which we call soul; and there is not, so far as I am aware, any proof that any animal, however sagacious, however highly developed, has ever attained anything even approaching to this."

We do not see how man can be derived from the animals and yet have any quality or characteristic which "no animal ever attained anything even approaching to." If the conscious personality has been "developed" from the lowest psychical conditions, it is the product of innumerable modifications of pre-existing forms and modes of intelligence. If in the animal there is and was nothing approaching to conscious personality, then the change from the animal to the man was no development at all, but a leap from one to another mode of being, involving the appearance of a creature having an essential element not possessed by the animals and not the product of progressive changes in animal life. But this idea is inconsistent with the theory of natural descent and with that principle of continuity which is fundamental in evolution. We do not think that the logic of those who say that, if man is derived from the animals, the animals are immortal or else man is not, is touched by Mr. Savage's statement. Only upon the hypothesis that all life is immortal, it seems to us, is there any possible reconciliation between the doctrine of natural descent and the doctrine of immortality.

There is, so far as we can see, no logical connection between the fact of self-consciousness and the doctrine of immortality. Are we warranted in assuming that the animals have nothing approaching self-consciousness? "Can we feel sure," Mr. Darwin asks, "that an old dog with an excellent memory and some power of imagination, as shown by his dreams, never reflects on his past pleasures in the chase? And this would be a form of self-consciousness. On the other hand, as Büchner has remarked, how little can the hard-worked wife of a degraded Australian savage, who uses hardly any abstract words and cannot count above four, exert her self-consciousness or reflect on the nature of her own existence! That animals retain their mental individuality is unquestionable. When my voice awakened a train of old associations in the mind of the above-mentioned dog, he must have retained his mental individuality, although every atom of his brain had probably undergone change more than once during the interval of five years. This dog might have brought forward the argument lately advanced to crush all evolutionists, and said, 'I abide amid all mental moods and all material changes.'"

Mr. Savage says that he has no prejudice against

the doctrine of the natural immortality of animals; and his generous and kindly nature prompts him to declare that it would be a great delight if he "could hold that faith of the simple Indian, as Alexander Pope pictures him, dreaming of that far-off future when 'his faithful dog shall bear him company.'" He adds: "I have known many a dog, many a horse, that seemed to me, if goodness and service and merit are to come into this discussion, to deserve continued existence much more than many a man I have known. And, if I could have my choice as to future company, I would gladly leave out some of the men I have met, and take some of the animals in their place." Evidently, Mr. Savage's heart is right: it is his logic only that is at fault, else he would not, while holding that man has been developed from animals, assume that there is an essential quality in the former to which nothing attained by the latter even approaches, and at the same time admit that in goodness and service and merit and companionable qualities some animals are superior to some men, and that he would prefer them for "future company."

"This pleasing hope, this fond desire, this longing after immortality," will probably never be extinguished from the mind and heart of man, and it may have a solid basis; but no good can result from adducing in its support arguments which are without substantial foundation in fact or reason.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"SCIENCE," says a writer in *Knowledge*, "regards the whole of Nature as an open 'secret.' To aid in exploring its arcana and unravelling its intricacies, all her sons are invited. The intervention of priest or high priest is superfluous. No *sanctum sanctorum* is acknowledged, with entrance granted only to a favored few. All workers are welcome, and none who honestly labor are sent empty away."

OF Hon. Charles W. Slack, the Boston collector of internal revenue, who died of pneumonia last Saturday, at the age of sixty, the *Springfield Republican* says:—

After graduating from the Eliot School in Boston, young Slack became a thorough printer through eight years' service on the *Boston Journal*, then went into the job printing business, and in 1864 began to publish the weekly *Commonwealth* newspaper, which had been established two years before. The *Commonwealth* used to have a considerable audience, and when edited by Moncure D. Conway was a powerful sheet; but its circulation has not been great of late years, and it represented a type of politics that is fading away. Mr. Slack did good work in the early days of the abolition movement, and his service in politics was well rewarded. For three years from 1861, he was assistant cashier in the Boston custom-house, and in 1869 was made collector of internal revenue, a place worth \$4,500 a year. He was efficient as an official, and also as a partisan in the *Commonwealth* and outside of its columns. As a man, he was courteous and agreeable, holding many friends. The change in the national administration had an interesting and mollifying effect upon Collector Slack's extreme views, and his charity was large enough to recognize the good things which President Cleveland has been doing. Collector Slack leaves a widow, daughter, and son, the latter an internal revenue weigher and gauger.

"THE liberalists who stand outside of the Church," says the *Christian Register*, "are constantly inveighing against its existence; but the Church may well ask, What better fruit have you

to offer?" Liberals generally may answer: What we "inveigh against" is theological creeds, which are an insult to human reason, and the expenditure of time, money, and misdirected moral enthusiasm in supporting them, when they retard progress in a thousand ways. We do not "inveigh against" the moral teachings of the Church, which, however, did not originate with and are not the exclusive possession of the Church, and which do not justify or excuse her in perpetuating error. The benevolent and charitable work of the Church is commendable, but not more so than that of uneclesiastical and untheological organizations devoted to humane and philanthropic objects. Liberals generally are disinclined to unite simply on the basis of their dissent from church creeds, and hence general organization among them on a large scale is hardly practicable. But is it presumed that they do less for practical moral reform than the same number in the Church? Because, for instance, they do not as a sect carry on philanthropic work, is it any reason for doubting that they do their part of this work through organizations formed for this purpose or privately? Does not the Church even derive a large part of the money it uses for philanthropic purposes from those who are outside of the churches, and many of whom are Liberals? Liberals may continue to criticise church creeds and to show their preference for modern rational thought, working at the same time for reforms which the Church opposes, and still not be behind the members of the Church in practical, humanitarian work, even though they do not choose to become a sect.

MR. FRANCES E. ABBOT, it is safe to say, will not, because he cannot accept the terms of fellowship offered by the Unitarian Conference, have to "walk alone." Giving Unitarians full credit for being advanced in thought beyond other Christian sects and for doing needed and valuable work, still we must remember that the membership of Unitarianism is not large, and that the Liberals included in its fellowship are but few compared with those who are not and never have been connected with any Unitarian church, are in no way committed to any theological creed, and are yet bound together in a fellowship of thought and spirit, without articles of agreement or any written "terms" whatever. This large and increasing class of liberal thinkers is composed of seceders from all the sects, and of men and women who have never belonged to any of them. Without any general organization, their influence is profound and far-reaching; and they are modifying and shaping the thought of the civilized world. Conspicuous among them are the names of Humboldt and Haeckel, of Mill and Lewes, of Darwin and Spencer, of Harriet Martineau, George Eliot, George Sand, Lydia Maria Child, Frances Power Cobbe, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Parker and Emerson, of Wasson and Higginson, of Ingersoll and Bradlaugh,—persons who, whatever their differences of views and methods, all recognize the authority of reason over theological creeds, and contribute to the advancement of intellectual freedom. In these days, no liberal thinker need "walk alone." If he wishes social intercourse in addition to that afforded by society in general, he may find it in scientific, literary, reform or merely social clubs and associations in almost every community. Even though excluded from the churches by their absurd creeds and silly ceremonies, outside of them he may commune with the great minds of the world, and find companionship among independent spirits and opportunities for usefulness by unsectarian methods. No soldier in the grand army of progress can "walk alone," or help feeling the elbow touch of brave and noble comrades.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VIII.

THE CHURCH IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

Duration and General Characteristics of the Period.

The apostolic period in the history of the Christian Church is commonly reckoned to extend from the death of Jesus to the end of the first Christian century.* During the early portion of this period, as we have seen, a new element was introduced into the Christian faith,—the element of universalism, as distinguished from the narrower Hebraism of the Judaizing followers of Peter and the original Galilean apostles. Doubtless, this feature may be shown to have a natural relationship and correspondence with much that had been latent in the thought of Jesus; but, if the propagation of the new doctrine had been left entirely with his personal followers and disciples, it is doubtful whether Christianity would ever have become more than an insignificant Jewish sect, which would have ceased to exist when the popular expectation of the immediate coming of the heavenly kingdom had succumbed to the chill of weary waiting and successive disappointments.

The history of the growing faith, from the time of Paul to its final secular triumph and recognition by Constantine, is the history of the continued conflict and final reconciliation of its Pauline and Judaistic elements; of the rise of Gnosticism and the conflict with this and other so-called "heresies";† of the development of its Christology

*The necessary limitations of these papers will prevent a strictly chronological treatment of the history of the early Church. It will be our aim, however, to deviate from this method only when the requirements of a concise topical consideration of certain branches of our subject render such deviations inevitable.

†The word "heresy" (Gr. *αἵρεσις*) had originally no opprobrious signification, but meant simply the "choice" or "accepted belief" of an opposing controversialist. In or Greek philosophical writings, it was sometimes used to designate a philosophical principle or a particular sect or school of philosophy.

and dogmatic theology, culminating in the deification of Jesus; and of the evolution of the forms and ceremonies which ultimately constituted the ritual and sacraments of the Christian Church. Unless the circumstances and consequences of the conflict between the Hebrew and the Hellenic or Gentile parties are kept constantly in mind, the student of this intermediate phase of the development of the new religion will miss much of the significance of the leading features in its history. The mediation between these two parties was finally effected through the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy of Philo, the original purpose of which, in its ante-Christian phases, as we have seen, was to demonstrate the harmony of Platonism and Orientalism with the Mosaic law.* It was, therefore, the natural mediator between these diverse elements in Christianity. The documentary evidences of this reconciliation are found in the Acts of the Apostles, the tendency of which is toward a modified Paulinism, in the non-Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Epistle of Barnabas, preserved to us among the so-called apocryphal writings, and other documents of like character. The chief witness on behalf of Paulinism is the great apostle himself, as represented in his authentic writings. The opposite side of the controversy is presented in the Epistle of James and the Apocalypse; in the writings generally of the early Fathers of the Church, and particularly in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. The final triumph of the Alexandrian mediation is attested by the reception of the Logos epic as authoritative scripture in the latter part of the second century.

Early Rites and Ceremonies: Baptism.

With the final accomplishment of the reconciliation through the deification of Jesus, the rites and sacraments of the Church, which had gradually taken form after the subversion of the more marked Judaizing features of apostolic Christianity, were elevated into greater prominence. It is our purpose now to trace the natural origin and development of some of these ceremonies. The rite of baptism early came to be regarded as the chief symbol and sacrament of the Christian faith, assuming an importance and significance akin to circumcision in the ordinances of Judaism. Baptism was probably adopted by the Jews from Persian or Chaldean sources,† and was administered by such pre-Christian sects as the Essenes and the disciples of John. In its original Jewish form, it differed little, save in its symbolical signification, from an ordinary bath. It was intended both to secure bodily cleanliness and to symbolize at the same time the removal of the stains of sin from the soul. Among the Jews and early Christians of Palestine, those submitting to this rite came down to some convenient place by the side of the Jordan River, sometimes singly, but oftener in families, and having completely disrobed, as is not unfrequently the public and promiscuous custom in Eastern countries, even at the present day, they plunged into the river, and entirely submerged themselves in its waters.

In its earliest Christian phase, baptism was only administered as a sign of voluntary repentance and admission to the membership of the Christian community. It was not administered to children or to those of any age who were born into the new faith. With the decline of Judaistic tendencies among the early Christians, however, baptism came to be deemed an essential symbol of the Christian religion, and was therefore thencefor-

*See Lecture II.

†The name "Sabæan," often applied to the ancient Persians and Chaldeans, means, simply, "the immerser" or "the washer"; and ceremonial ablution was an important rite of the Zoroastrian and Magian religions.

ward administered to all adult believers in connection with a public profession of their faith. The earliest baptismal formula in use among the Palestinian Christians was, "I immerse you into the name of the Lord Jesus." The familiar trinitarian recognition of the "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" did not come into use before the second century. The Greek word (*βαπτίζω*), which the translators of the New Testament have appropriated without translating, means simply and uniformly "to immerse." This was unquestionably the original form of the rite. In localities where the facilities for complete immersion were wanting, however, there seems to have been an occasional substitution, at a very early day, of the shower-bath,—not a mere sprinkling, as in later times, but the use of a sufficient quantity of water to envelop the entire person.* In its earliest Christian phase, baptism appears to have been regarded as a symbol not only of spiritual purification, but also of the resurrection. The sins of the flesh were washed away, the "carnal body" was buried beneath the waters, and rose from them into the new life of the spiritual man. As Christianity assimilated Gentile converts, and advanced westward to cooler climates, and especially to Rome, where the people were familiar with the ceremony of *lustration*, the rite lost more and more its primitive character. At last, the idea of physical cleanliness remained wholly in abeyance; and it retained only its spiritual and symbolical signification. It was not, however, until long after the Christianization of the Roman Empire that "sprinkling" was generally substituted for immersion.†

Subsequent to the early part of the second century, after the organization of the Christian congregations had been perfected, and the three orders of deacons, presbyters, and bishops were fully recognized, the rite of baptism could be administered only by the bishop or presiding elder of the church. Usually there was but one place for baptism in each town or city, and that was never in a church. There was but one time for the administration of the rite in every year,—the period between Easter and Pentecost. Baptism was always administered at midnight, and never in public. In an outer chamber, the converts, of either sex, disrobed to but a single garment, and, turning toward the region of the sunset, uttered together a defiance of the evil one, saying, "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, all thy pomp, and all thy service." They then turned toward the east, and by the utterance of an appropriate verbal formula recognized the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. Passing into an inner chamber, in the presence of a deacon or deaconess, the entire company disrobed completely, and stood up naked to be questioned by the bishop. Satisfactory answers having been given, their bare limbs and bodies were rubbed with oil from head to foot. They then plunged into the water, were again anointed after emerging from it, were clothed in white gowns symbolical of their purification, and received the "kiss of peace" from the bishop and a taste of milk and honey. They afterwards recognized their new communion by repeating for the first time the Lord's Prayer.‡

*See the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, where this form of the rite is expressly authorized. It is noteworthy, however, that the substitute is not called "baptism" (immersion), but simply "pouring."

†In a like manner, the sacrificial rite among the Zoroastrians degenerated into a mere symbolical presentation of a single hair of a heifer in the presence of the sacred flame instead of the immolation of the entire animal. The Eastern Church still recognizes immersion as the proper form of the baptismal ceremony.

‡For this account of the origin and earliest form of the baptismal ceremony, reliance has been placed, in the main, upon the interesting testimony of Dean Stanley in *Christian Institutions*. Care has been taken, however, to make comparison with other reliable authorities.

Many of the leading features of this ceremonial were evidently of Eastern and probably of Persian origin. Our modern sticklers for "immersion" would hardly advocate the adoption of the original custom in its entirety. With the lapse of time, many changes have affected the administration of this rite. A magical efficacy came to be assigned to it at an early day; and even infants were regarded as doomed to eternal misery, if dying unbaptized. To forestall this doom, the rite was sometimes administered to them with most unseemly haste. At the present time, instead of the complete bath, we have usually the substitute of sprinkling with a few drops of water. Instead of anointing the entire body with oil, we have the application of a few drops only, as in the Catholic ceremonial, or the total disuse of unction, as in nearly all the Protestant sects. Instead of the bishop alone, any clergyman may administer the rite. Instead of making adults the only recipients of it, as in the earliest times, it is now usually administered in childhood. In regard to this and to other ritualistic observances, however, we of the liberal faith will doubtless agree that letter and form profit little, and that a custom which has come to be regarded as a magical rite rather than a natural symbol of spiritual purification is better honored in the breach than in the observance.

Religious Services: The Lord's Day.

The earliest Christian congregations had no church-buildings or houses devoted exclusively to religious assemblies. Meetings for worship were commonly held in private dwellings. The usual and most convenient room for the assembly was the *triclinium*, or large dining-hall, found in nearly every house of the Roman period. Around this room were arranged cushions or low divans, upon which the worshippers sat or reclined during the reading of the Scriptures—the Old Testament only—and the formal address or exhortation. A raised seat at one end of the room, the *cathedra*, or chair, was occupied by the reader or minister. The custom of meeting on the "Lord's day," or first day of the week, for religious services and social converse, is of early origin, dating from the apostolic period. At this time, however, the day had acquired none of the peculiar sanctity attaching to the Jewish Sabbath, and was never, as in later times, confounded with it. The seventh day was still observed, according to the mandates of the law, by the Jewish Christians. The earliest Christian writers outside the limited circle of the Nazarenes, who compare the two days, regard the Lord's day, not as a continuance of the Sabbath, but as an institution of an essentially different character. Christianity, according to their view, abrogated the Hebrew commandments. Owing to its principle of universalism, it regarded all places as alike sacred and all days as alike holy and dedicated to the service of God. Ignatius of Antioch contrasted the Lord's day with the Sabbath as something done away with. Justin Martyr says that Christianity requires, not one particular Sabbath, but a perpetual Sabbath. The Christians were regarded as atheists by their enemies, because they had no temples, no images, no altars, no festivals, no holy days. The nature of their baptismal ceremony and the privacy of their meetings threw an air of secrecy and concealment around their religion, which caused it to be viewed with distrust and suspicion by intelligent adherents of the older faiths.

The Agape, or "Love Feast,"—Forerunner of the Eucharist.

In the same room, the *triclinium*, after sunset, the congregation again gathered, reclining as

before around the sides of the room, to partake of the agape, or "love feast."* This prototype of the sacrament of the eucharist† was originally merely a commemorative social meal of a communal character, to which each contributed a portion of food as to a picnic. Bread and wine were essential elements in this pleasant social repast; but other articles of food, particularly fish, which accompanied bread in the ancient meal as commonly as cheese or butter does with us, were usually present. The poor, who were unable to contribute to the repast, were always welcome to partake with the others. This common meal was doubtless a survival of the simple communism of Jesus and the apostles. In the "paschal feast" or "last supper" of the Master with his disciples, which this repast was intended to commemorate, the wine was doubtless served in large bowls, and mixed with water, as was the universal custom of the time. The bread was the unleavened bread of the passover, and fish and perhaps other simple articles of food were doubtless present.

At the conclusion of the "love feast" as well as at the breaking up of the earlier meetings, the company parted, exchanging the "kiss of peace." In some congregations, this interchange of salutations was confined to those of the same sex; in others, no distinction was observed. We have numerous evidences in the New Testament Epistles and writings of the Fathers that these social repasts, at first held daily, not unfrequently became scenes of boisterous revelry and undue license.‡ These abuses brought upon the churches the condemnation of the apostles, and doubtless operated to lessen the frequency of the communal meals, which ultimately degenerated into the monthly celebration of the eucharist. With the common acceptance of the conception of Christ as the paschal lamb,—the sacrifice substituted for the offering of the Jewish passover,—a conception which, though suggested by Paul, we first find fully developed in the Fourth Gospel, the commemorative repast took on a new and more solemn character. From the Oriental and symbolical expressions of Jesus,—*"This is my body," "This is my blood,"*—the bald literalism of the scholastic theologians subsequently developed the dogmas of transubstantiation and consubstantiation, giving rise to that notable metaphysical controversy which in after generations distracted and divided the Christian Church. As in the case of baptism, we have in the modern ceremony of the communion an instance of degeneration, transfiguration, and survival, accompanied by the assumption of a magical efficacy as pertaining to the rite, which leaves it with but little resemblance either in form or idea to the primitive custom of the apostolic age.

Origin of the Priesthood: Clerical Orders.

"In the first beginning of Christianity," says Dean Stanley, "there was no such institution as the clergy." The earliest Christian communities were not organized with any view to permanence. Believing in the near approach of the revolution which would substitute a new and divine social order for that then existing, the converts came together naturally for mutual sympathy and encouragement, with few of the formalities of an established religious organization. The *ecclesia*,§ or church, was thus in its earliest form merely a communal assembly of believers. Such was the essential character of the apostolic community at

Jerusalem, and of the earliest churches founded by Paul and his co-laborers. Their simple religious ceremonies were probably patterned upon those of the Jewish synagogue, but were originally less formal and elaborate than the synagogue services.

In these primitive assemblies, the apostles and immediate followers of Jesus at first had a certain natural pre-eminence. As time passed, and the need for a complete organization became imperative, the older members of the various communities came to be looked up to for counsel and instruction. Each congregation finally had its council of presbyters* or elders, and these in turn chose one of their number as a presiding officer. In the earliest writings of the Fathers, the terms *πρεσβύτερος*, "elder," and *ἐπίσκοπος*,† "bishop," were used interchangeably, and indicated no division of offices or functions. The term *διάκονος*, or deacon,‡ was also used originally in precisely the same manner as were "elder" and "bishop." As found in the New Testament and earliest writings of the Fathers, these terms nowhere denote the division of the clergy into distinct orders, as in later times. Nothing like the modern episcopacy existed before the second century.

"The deacons," says Dean Stanley, "were the most original of these institutions, being invented, as it were, for the special emergency of the church at Jerusalem. The presbyters were the 'sheikhs' or elders,—those who by seniority had reached the first rank,—as in the Jewish synagogue. The bishops were the same, viewed under another aspect,—the 'inspectors,' the 'auditors,' of the Greek churches."§ The church organization is thus seen to have been in its inception purely "congregational," or democratic, recognizing no pretended authority of a priestly or magical character, such as is involved in the dogma of the apostolic succession. Early in the second century, the *ἐπίσκοπος*, or bishop, was elevated above the elders and deacons, and concentrated many of their former functions into his own office and person. "He alone could baptize, consecrate, confirm, ordain, marry, preach, absolve."|| There thus happened in the Christian communities what would occur in a club or society which should hand over the entire management of its affairs to a committee, which in turn should abdicate in favor of its chairman, so that he could say, "I, in my own person, am the association."

Before the conversion of the Roman Empire, bishops, presbyters, and deacons were chosen by a show of hands by the entire congregation. This, however, was largely a formality,—a survival of the primitive democracy of the earliest communities, the choice having previously been agreed upon by the council of elders. The entire proceeding was not unlike that of a ward caucus or political convention in our American cities. After being thus chosen, the bishops were ordained, either by the ceremony of breathing, which symbolized the transmission of the *πνεῦμα*, or Holy Spirit, as in the African churches; or by lifting up the hands in the Oriental form of benediction, as in the Eastern or Asiatic churches; or by touching the dead hand of the predecessor in office, as in the Armenian church; or by the transmission of relics or the staff of office, as in the early Celtic churches; or by the imposition of hands, as in the Roman and later Protestant churches of

* Gr. *πρεσβύτερος*, "elder."

† Literally, an overseer or watcher.

‡ Literally, a servant: from *δια* and *κόνις*, one who is dusty from running, or one who has to do with dust and dirt.

§ *Christian Institutions*,—by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster,—which see for an interesting account of the development of ecclesiastical ceremonies and sacraments.

|| Ibid.

* Gr. *ἀγάπη*. † Gr. *εὐχαριστία*, "thanksgiving."

‡ I. Cor. xi., 20-24.

§ Gr. *ἐκκλησία*, "the called," "the elect." In Athens, this term was applied to an assembly of citizens or freemen, summoned by the crier, for consultation upon matters of public import.

the West. All these practices imply the survival of superstitions and fetichistic notions which originated in the primitive barbarism and ignorance of prehistoric times.

Growth of the Hierarchy. Importations from Paganism.

The limits of this discussion will not permit us to trace in detail the subsequent development and later modifications of the Christian hierarchy. With the establishment and temporal recognition of the Catholic Church came the fiction of apostolic succession, and the ultimate transfer to the Bishop of Rome of the title and paraphernalia of the emperor as *Pontifex Maximus*. The occasion of the papal establishment in the West was the retirement of the emperors to Constantinople, which ultimately involved the division of the Empire and the practical abdication on the part of the emperors of their assumed pontifical authority over the Roman Church. In the East, the powers which inhered in the emperor as *Pontifex Maximus* were transmitted to the imperial house of Russia, whose Czar, or *Cæsar*, is still the recognized head of the Oriental Church.

Many of the forms and paraphernalia of the Church are inheritances from the cultus and State ceremonials of pagan Rome. The cathedral, or church of the bishop, derives its name from the *cathedra*, or simple chair, at the head of the *triclinium*, or Roman dining-hall, where the presiding elders of the earliest congregations were seated. The *sella gestatoria*, in which the pope is borne aloft in religious processions, is the ancient palanquin of Roman nobles and princes. The red slippers which he wears are the *campagnes*, or red shoes, of the emperor. "The kiss," says Dean Stanley, "which the faithful impress upon those shoes is the descendant of the kiss first imprinted upon the foot of the Emperor Caligula, who imported it from Persia. The fans which go before him are the *punkahs* of the Eastern emperors, borrowed from Persia."* Christianity and heathendom are brought into startling and significant proximity in these inherited customs. On one side of the mate to the obelisk now standing in our Central Park—which eighteen hundred years ago was transported from Egypt to the Monte Citorio in Rome—is its original dedication by the *Pontifex Maximus*, Augustus Cæsar, to the sun; on the other, its re-dedication by the *Pontifex Maximus*, Pius VI., to Christ,—faithful type and symbol of the Church, in whose ritual and creed are mingled the inherited customs and traditions of the Aryan and the Semite, of pagan Rome and the simple ethical monotheism of Judea. Error and truth are both so firmly graven upon the ecclesiastical superstructure that they together testify to its natural growth out of the mind and heart of man.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE.

Editors of The Index:—

Somewhat crude ideas prevail on this subject. Many people suppose that the legislation asked for is a sort of protective tariff in the interest of regular physicians; while the truth is that it is an effort to shield the ignorant and unwary from being grossly imposed on by swindlers. Quacks manufacture patients for real physicians at least as often as they take them away. It is the illiterate patient, who not only loses his money, but his health, that needs pro-

tection. For the educated fools who prefer quacks, nobody proposes to legislate. Let them drink the bitter draught they pour out for themselves with their eyes open, suffer and die: legislation cannot help them.

The battle is really between two parties; namely, those who believe in *laissez faire* and those who think that government—good government—should be to some extent paternal. "Every one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," is the first party's motto. "Each for all, and all for each," might serve for the second party. I think that the tendency of modern thought and action leans toward the paternal way. Even the "hang-as-they-grow" people are almost ashamed to repeat Cain's question nowadays, and prefer to pose as keepers of their brethren—after a certain fashion!

Mr. Underwood's article in a recent number of *The Index*, saving a few misconceptions, states the case fairly. I merely wish to allude to these, and supplement his sound arguments.

Regular physicians are not allopaths any more than they are homœopaths. This is a misnomer intentionally propagated by Hahnemann's disciples, who, having attached a tail to their own name, would like to see one fastened on ours. Homœopaths call themselves by that name, often put it on their signs and cards; but allopathist is only a silly nickname, repudiated by those to whom it is applied. Regular physicians do not confine themselves to any limited method, but are free to employ all agencies likely to help their patients. So that, instead of its being "the old school" in a fossilized sense, it is really the most progressive of all schools. Where did either chloral and cocaine come from? Not from any of the hide-bound medical sects, but from this same "old school."

Then, again, the word "respectable" is very elastic. Carlyle says that in Scotland it means a man who keeps a gig (a two-wheeled open buggy). Here, we draw the line at the poor-house, and not always even there. It is a notorious fact that many of the grossest charlatans have had hosts of "respectable" patrons. Even the "Christian Scientists"—and hopeless idiocy could scarcely sink lower than that—are patronized by many well-to-do persons, ordinarily reckoned "respectable." If we wish to judge wisely, I think we will need a better standard than "respectability" to judge by.

The question is one of law. It may not be amiss to ask, Do lawyers allow ignorant and incompetent persons to practise in their courts? By no means. The candidate for admission to the bar must first study law, and then pass a careful examination before being allowed to practise the profession. Those who oppose a like procedure in medicine must surely believe that one's goods and chattels are of more importance than his health or life.

As the law stands at present, any man, without preliminary training, can assume the rôle of physician. He has only to hire a room and get a sign painted. More than one journeyman shoemaker in my neighborhood have transformed themselves into physicians by this very easy process. If a landsman, ignorant about our coast, should offer himself as a pilot to a foreign vessel, we would call it swindling. A quack does the same thing. We ask government to make all kinds of swindling unprofitable as far as it can.

Leaving out of question the havoc played with life and limb by bogus practitioners, two palpably evil results follow the present system: First, any tin-sign "doctor," along with a confederate of the same stamp, can sign a certificate of insanity, and send a perfectly sane man or woman to the lunatic asylum. In Massachusetts, we have the safeguard of an examination before certain judges (Judge of Probate, etc.) before committal. But every one conversant with such business knows that the main dependence is placed on the medical certificate. The safeguards against unjust incarceration should be increased, not diminished. Second, any unscrupulous rascal, with the aid of a tin sign, may pass himself off as a physician, and sell prescriptions for liquor, to be procured at any drug-store. *This has actually happened*, and is one easy way to circumvent the prohibitory law.

All that we ask is that a person shall demonstrate his or her competence before being allowed to practise medicine, and this is no more than the civil-service rules require of clerks and day-laborers.

SYMINGTON BROWN.

April 4, 1885.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

Editors of The Index:—

My attention has just now been called to some comments made by a correspondent in *The Index* of Jan. 8, 1885, on a case stated by me, involving "Protection and Free Trade," made so long ago as Nov. 27, 1884. I am very sorry to say I do not see *The Index* regularly. That case was this:—

"Assume that England has free trade, France a protective tariff, that both make any one class of goods; assume that a Frenchman makes and can sell in his home market two, and only two, thousand pieces of the goods at a given price; that, if he makes three thousand pieces, he can make each of the three thousand pieces at a lower price—say two points—than when he makes only two thousand: his selling price at home remaining the same, he will gain four thousand more on that home trade merely by making the larger amount, the pieces cost¹g him that much less.

"Assume that he sends the last thousand pieces to London, and, to make a quick sale, sells them at a loss of three points on each piece. He will lose three thousand points on this part of his trade; but, on both points taken together, he gains one thousand points. And so continuously, and on a calculation of that profit, he repeats that operation. His neighbors do the same, and all in every country in the same trade follow suit. It is easy to see that the English merchant is satisfied with this state of affairs; for he gets his goods for less than cost, less than any one anywhere can make and sell all his product for. The English working-man must compete against all these goods sent and sold, as we have assumed, at a calculated and intended loss balanced into a gain, on the whole, as we have set forth above.

"Ordinarily, the English maker must also lose, and lose till he is ruined by this mere trick of trade, this hopeless, unjust, fatal competition, or give up his trade, and turn to another to be attacked and ruined in like manner in that.

"Any device to countervail this trick of trade, blameless as the world goes, any adjustment to modify this particular kind of competition in the interest of fair play for working-men, would seem to lie very near the foundation of every just government and of the success of every humane religion.

"This a tariff might do by making the Frenchman pay to the English government more on each piece than he could possibly gain by this unwholesome 'free trade' with the English merchant. . . . This situation has nothing in common with mediæval tariffs: it is purely a product of modern commercialism, modern free trade."

On this case, your correspondent of Jan. 8, 1885, makes comment as follows:—

1. "Your correspondent must of course have had in mind, though he did not formally express it, the fact that, as such a result could only be reached when one country already has a protective tariff, the case can be thought of as justifying protection only as *retaliatory*, and not as a general system."

Reply.—The main fact seems conceded here that such a result as I have pointed out *could be reached* when one of two competing countries has a protective tariff. If that is conceded, then, as we cannot control the tariff regulation of any country but our own, it would seem the part of good sense to protect our working-men from just "the hopeless, unjust, fatal competition" that I have pointed out in the case stated. It is not retaliation at all. The tariff is only a means of making impossible a course of unwholesome trade that ruins working-men, and through them injures the country at large; while the party that sells a portion of his goods at a loss makes money out of the whole trade as set forth.

But the result pointed out in my first article is reached just as surely, just as ruinously, when one of two nations has a practical monopoly in trade growing out of any other conditions than a tariff law. Suppose England and the United States are both free-trade countries. England has a practical monopoly of a great trade other than that with the United States: it grows out of her whole commercial and colonial policy, her subsidized, untaxed steamship lines, her established business relations all over the world, her domestic policy favoring the lowest prices for labor, the cheapest product, her large accumulations of capital seeking investments at relatively low rates. All these and more she has; and they consti-

* *Christian Institutions*. I have found Dean Stanley to be the most unbiased and independent historian of the early Church, and am mainly indebted to him for the facts herein presented, though care has been taken to substantiate his statements by comparison with other writers on church history and with primitive documents now extant.

tute such commanding, practical advantages as against the United States as to produce a monopoly in many lines of trade with countries other than the United States practically as firm, close, and reliable as the tariff gives to France in the other illustration, so that, although in this illustration her monopoly of markets is produced in a different way from that by tariff law, the advantages she gains from it—from this *practical* monopoly—are just the same in kind and are just as great in amount as if her monopoly were created by tariff law itself. Of course, the same results of "hopeless, unjust, fatal competition" can be inflicted in this case, and in the same way, as in the other illustration.

The working-men of the United States in any trade exposed to that competition need the same remedy as those exposed to it in the other illustration: that remedy is a tariff law.

The other comments do not reach the case stated, and are therefore not pertinent to our present issue. But, as they occasionally do service in free-trade reasoning, a word or two may be useful.

2. It is stated, as if it were an absurd position held by protectionists, that "a nation inflicts very serious commercial injury upon her rivals when she insists upon selling them her products for less than their real value. The conclusion is unavoidable that their impoverishment will be complete when all their wants are supplied gratis."

An illustration here will illustrate. A fisherman drops his hook, baited with a worm, among a school of fishes. He is evidently doing a "losing" trade: he is supplying a morsel of food gratis to the fish that swallows it; but "the impoverishment" of that fish is generally "complete" when he is laid out at that fisherman's feet. The fish, took in the short cheap benefits of free trade and its *gratuities*: he finally came, like other victims of free trade, to the substantial *business* for which "his wants were all supplied gratis." Again:—

3. "No one needs to be reminded that trade can never be one-sided,—that, if you wish to sell, you must consent to buy."

If my commentator had reversed this statement, it would have been quite lucid and full of common sense: if you wish to *buy*, you must sometimes consent to *sell* to have something to buy with. It is true that, if you sell, some one must buy.

Perhaps he means, in a large way, that the principle announced is true of nations; that modern trade, being essentially barter, a nation selling its products must buy the products they make from the same parties to whom it sells; that, if we wish to sell our corn and wheat and cotton to Great Britain, we must buy of Great Britain her cotton and woollen goods, her hardware and pottery.

This concrete statement of the general principle announced exposes its fallacy without farther remark or illustration. We should plainly be able to sell our cotton and corn to Great Britain, even though we made every thread of our own cotton and woollen goods, all our hardware and pottery, without buying from any one a single cent's worth of either.

Of course, if Great Britain should become so poor as not to be able to buy our goods at all, we should not be able to sell them to her; but that is not exactly a contingency about which we need to trouble ourselves just yet.

There is nothing essential left of our commentator's claims, so far as is now perceived. A slight tone of superior wisdom and condescension floats like a perfume through the commentary; but, as this seems inseparable from all advocacy and defence of free-trade dogmas, we let that pass.

JOSEPH SHELDON.

PRAYING AND SWEARING.

Editors of The Index:—

Referring to Mr. Whipple's very just and seasonable article in *The Index* of March 19, entitled "Church Custom vs. Bible Doctrine," please allow me (not that I suppose I have found anything new) to mention two other important points in which established Christian usage broadly violates, deliberate, peremptory, and unqualified teachings of the Christian Redeemer.

1. *Public Prayer*.—Jesus enjoined with the most careful particularity that prayer should be secret. Yet the universal Christian practice is to pray publicly, and in companies; that is, representatively. Not only, however, is public prayer a violation of an

express command of Jesus, but representative prayer is a complete absurdity psychologically, on the Christian hypothesis.

2. *Taking Oaths*.—Jesus prohibited swearing even more thoroughly than public praying. He used specifications which show that he meant to prohibit every sort of summons or appeal to a divine being to witness or sanction any human assertion; and that he meant to enjoin, instead, telling the truth. Yet official oaths are universal. And, as if to show in this case also how psychologically correct were the views of Jesus, the practice which he forbid has punished his disobedient constituency by permeating Christendom with a moral dry rot of respectable perjury. Oaths in courts, oaths in custom-houses, oaths by office-holders, are violated so extensively that it is a question whether perjury is not more nearly the rule than the exception. Ask any lawyer whether the oaths of witnesses make their testimony more credible. "Custom-house oaths" are a disgraceful proverb.

Christian churches which permit such a state of things cannot prosper with a real spiritual prosperity. They may make a good deal of money.

F. B. PERKINS.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27, 1885.

WALTER S. PALMER, in the *North American Review* for April, criticises Rev. Dr. Shedd's article on endless punishment. He says: "The reverend gentleman handles his brief well; and, if he fails to convince me that everlasting damnation is a cheerful creed, quite reconcilable with human ideas of the goodness of God, it is not from any want of talent as, literally, a devil's advocate. At the same time, I think he has a very bad case, unless, as I suspect, he is a sly humorist, and really means, in his dry way, to express sympathy for the other side. I am reminded of a famous dictum of Frederic the Great, uttered when this very question was fluttering the ecclesiastical dove-cotes,—'Let those who believe in eternal damnation,' he said, 'be eternally damned, as they hope and believe; but, in the mean time, let them leave other more charitable people alone.' I quite agree with Dr. Shedd that God is eternal justice, but on what possible ground does our finite reason presume to fathom the ways in which that eternal justice is to work? How is the Conditioned to postulate the conduct of the Unconditioned, to show where finite sin ends and infinite retribution begins? . . . The God of his imagining is, to my thinking, something monstrous beyond measure; and to talk of eternal mercy in such a connection is, I feel, little short of blasphemy. The wrath of the Lord may be likened to a sword, but never to an instrument of endless torture. But I am quite certain that Dr. Shedd does not realize the full extent of his argument, that he is the victim of his own solitary blunder in logic. He has tried to define the indefinable, to postulate what is inconceivable; and, in so doing, he has invested the divine Father with the attributes of a human Rhadamanthus. . . . All Dr. Shedd's cleverness will not free him from the folly of having taken a brief for the devil, and thrown discredit on the tenderest and deepest intuitions of human nature."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE RELIGION OF PHILOSOPHY, or the Unification of Knowledge: A Comparison of the Chief Philosophical and Religious Systems of the World, made with a view to reducing the categories of thought, or the most general terms of existence, to a single principle, thereby establishing a true conception of God. By Raymond G. Perrin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885. pp. 566. Price \$4.00.

This work is one of the most original of recent attempts to unify all knowledge, and therefore all life and phenomena, under one ultimate or universal principle. In its elucidation, the author ranges through all the principal systems of philosophy, giving a sketch of their progenitors, and reviewing and criticising them from the stand-point furnished by the principle which he conceives as embracing all the phenomena of both mind and matter. It is written in an excellent, straightforward style, and shows extensive culture and research, which, together with the lucid manner in which the author applies his principle to the explanation of widely varying phenomena, render it a most interesting work.

The first part, under the title of "The Scope of Language," treats of the evolution of all the various

philosophical systems from that of Thales in ancient Greece to that of Sir William Hamilton among the moderns; and the analyses of their various theories, from the stand-point of the author, are singularly concise, clear, and just. In the chapter on the German philosophers, he shows that Idealism not only gives rise to the greatest logical inconsistencies, but that it is demoralizing in the extreme in its effects upon society. Its direct influence is seen in the tendency toward the enthronement of human attributes and qualities as God-inspired feelings, such as love or virtue. "The idealization of virtue or self-abnegation, the theory that virtue is an *absolute* principle moving in a foreign universe of sin, an *a priori*, God-inspired intuition, instead of the natural development of a well-ordered life, the result of pure examples and good habits, leads to all those extravagances of conduct which vary from asceticism and other forms of moral austerity to all the more general and lower grades of hypocrisy. Lastly, the idealization of the faculty of reasoning (mind) gives rise to the greatest logical extravagances, from the Dialectics of Plato and the absolute scepticism of the academicians to those forms of Idealism known as the *a priori* philosophy of Kant and his followers, the influence of which still remains in modern agnosticism."

The second part is devoted wholly to the philosophic systems of Herbert Spencer and George H. Lewes, under the title of "The Nature of Perception," which principle the author avers "underlies and must explain the whole fabric of ontological science." In his review of Spencer's system, while according him due merit and characterizing his expositions in high terms of praise, he subjects the fundamental principles of his theory of knowledge and his doctrine of an ultimate "Unknowable" to a most close and searching criticism. The theory of perception and of knowledge advocated in this work, as distinguished from that of Mill and Spencer, is simply that the ultimate fact is motion; that its aspects are Space and Time, which are inferences drawn from the ultimate fact of motion; and that to follow out the process of thought from these first inferences to the combinations of which all knowledge is built up is to establish the nature of perception. "Intellectual activity is akin to universal activity, a *form of motion*. Consciousness, thought, reason, perception, knowledge, are but different names for different aspects of this activity. The prime factors in this activity are the subject and object, the creature and its environment; and, in this dual aspect of the phenomenon of knowledge, we have that contrast, comparison, expression of difference or primordial relation from which the great structure of the mind is built up, to which contrast we trace the origin of all thought, and by which we explain Perception."

The author makes a masterly analysis of Spencer's treatment of the process of reasoning, and shows how it is vitiated by his assumption of ultimate concepts irreducible in thought. Rules, which Spencer calls intuitions, and defines as undecomposable mental acts, are shown to be mental procedures that are so rapid as to appear to be undecomposable. The principle of perception explains every possible intuition. Mr. Spencer's works generally, the author finds "a masterly picture of the related stages of progression from the simplest to the most complex type of organic life," and for his *Sociology* he has unstinted praise, regarding the first volume as "one of the most interesting literary productions of the century," and as being "the romance of human life viewed from the most commanding position which thought affords."

The third division of this work, under the head of "The Religion of Philosophy," is devoted to a critical consideration of the various great systems of religious belief which have appeared in the world. As in philosophy, so in religion, the author finds that the idea of an unknowable mystery vitiates the whole of them, and degrades them into superstitions, but that this belief in mystery is only the negative side in all these religions. Its positive side is morality in its widest sense, including right thought as well as right action. Hence, the real nature of the religion of each nation is to be estimated by the rectitude of its action and thought. Divine means the highest or most general: hence, God means the Universal Principle. All religions express the attitude of man to the Universal Principle. All that is of value in the various religious beliefs consists in universal impersonal principles of thought and action. In this view, the author unites religion and philosophy, and furnishes a crite-

tion by which to judge of the real worth of all the different religions that have been developed in the world's history. The zenith of human knowledge is our appreciation of the divine or most general. "The religion of philosophy acknowledges no mystery: it advances a conception of God which declares all mystery to be a species of immorality, an impediment to the appreciation of divine unity. It ranks the superstition of the lowest races with the belief in an unknowable entertained by so many enlightened minds of the present day, and finds in both conceptions the same principle of irreligion."

The final chapter of this section of the work is upon the religion of Christ, in which some of the doctrines attributed to him are subjected to rational criticism. The principles of knowledge have nothing to do with the disputes which have arisen between all the different sects of Christians. The tale of blood and misery that has followed them proclaims their inhumanity. Even to feel interested in the themes of these disputes requires a party spirit entirely outside of those principles of knowledge which are of such vital concern and importance to humanity. "The initial error of Christianity, its conception of God, is clearly a product of the Hebrew life and religion. Through this medium, the superstitions of prehistoric times have been disseminated throughout our civilization; and we have the terrible consciousness of not only inheriting the conceptions of savages, but of regarding them as divine."

The two closing chapters are upon the science of morality, and are an appeal to the women of America. In the former, an inquiry into the great problem of the influence of religious beliefs upon conduct is instituted, and a plain but eloquent arraignment of some of the hideous vices and corruptions of social life in our Christian civilization is made. In considering the problem of morality, a just conception of God is the only key to its solution. "If we imagine God to be a person, we are bound to attribute to him personal motives, a divine will; and, in the exercise of this will, we are compelled to recognize a special providence. These beliefs at once throw the question of morality into hopeless confusion, and raise insuperable difficulties to any understanding of conduct." The belief in a personal God implies a contradiction in terms,—a fact which, in itself, is certainly a sufficient condemnation. To postulate a "divine will" as a guide for action confuses the whole question of conduct. Who is to interpret this divine will? Who is to find language for it? Is it those who think so poorly that they are still lisping the earliest superstitions of our race? Will is a complex derivative or relative fact, the function of certain conditions. God is the ultimate fact. Is it not clear, therefore, that the "will of God" is a contradiction in terms, an impossibility? What can be more immoral than to build our ideas of duty and self-control upon so illogical a foundation?"

From the foregoing account, some idea may be gleaned of the scope of this extraordinary work. In the opinion of the reviewer, it is one of the most important contributions from the press of recent times, and deals in a masterly manner with the great problems and questions of such vital importance which are agitating thinking minds of the present day. If, as the author avers, the controlling and governing influences of our social, mental, and moral condition are survivals of beliefs born in the grossest ignorance of savagery and barbarism, the sooner the intelligent portion of the community realize this fact, the better for society, especially when we bear in mind that many of our leading institutions of learning, that seek to lead and control the thought of the people, are engaged in teaching and interpreting these survivals of ignorance and barbarism as a basis for a knowledge which is as destitute of any use or benefit to the real needs and wants of humanity of the present day as would be the wooden and stone idols of ancient races.

F. S.

MAN'S BIRTHRIGHT; or, The Higher Law of Property. By Edward H. G. Clark. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885. pp. 133. Price 75 cts.

This writer thinks he has "arrived at a logical and well-founded solution of the vexed questions concerning the rightful ownership of the earth's surface and of property depending upon what Aristotle calls 'Nature's bounty.'" His theory is that mankind in the aggregate are the rightful possessors of all the material resources of the world, that the unconscious elements of the universe exist solely and exclusively

for the benefit of the conscious, and, therefore, that the common ownership by men of whatever has a merely material existence is clearly an indisputable, natural right. Mr. Clark holds with Henry George that land is of right common property, and that, since the earth's surface derives its chief value from the presence of population, no one man can rightfully absorb from it the wealth his neighbors mostly contribute to it; but he objects to the outcome of George's theory, for the virtual confiscation of land, and imposing upon it the whole burden of taxation, would "rob good faith and honest toil just as surely as if he should take a farmer's coat from his back or the watch out of his pocket."

In order to secure a division of the land to be held according to ability and industry to utilize it, Mr. Clark would have recourse to a "natural rent,"—a birthright and death-rate tax due mankind yearly for the use of their estate from individual sub-owners holding special distributions of it. Statistics show, the author says, that two in every hundred die annually. Two per cent. of a country's wealth thus falls back into the common estate every year. If the effects of every citizen at death should be seized by their sovereign owner, mankind, all present individual property would revert to the general store in fifty years. But such a reversion is undesirable, since it would only necessitate a redistribution of the property into individual hands, to make it yield its full value to any one. Since two per cent. of the earth's wealth reverts from one generation to another every year, that amount is the natural interest on the estate, and should be levied and collected in the form of a tax as the share of the sovereign owner. This is Mr. Clark's "higher law of property," under which property may be bought, sold, or bequeathed as it is now, but with the certainty, sooner or later, of lapsing into the hands of those most capable of utilizing it; and, "so long as this rent is paid, it will be of no consequence who holds the property."

This author's main disagreement with Henry George is in recognizing no essential difference between land and its unworked products and the result of human labor and skill applied to the raw material of nature. He does not think it right not to tax "a palace, but the plot under it," not to "tax a line of steamships, but their wharf," not to tax "a lump of gold, but the hole in the ground out of which it was dug." Mr. Clark points out that the labor of modern civilization, the value of which arises from the quantity and quality of production, is dependent for its worth not less than land upon the presence of the people with their needs and desires. He would therefore have all wealth taxed equally and in a direct manner, as above indicated.

The leading ideas of the work are credited to David Reeves Smith, author of *Ownership and Sovereignty*. Mr. Clark writes apparently with the greatest confidence that he has found a solution of the problem of the regulation and the distribution of wealth, and without doubt there is force in his main propositions; but they are not likely to be received with favor by those who possess much or little property at present, and, whatever results might accrue in time from carrying out these ideas as far as practicable, they suggest no immediate settlement or palliation of existing difficulties.

B. F. U.

THE ART AMATEUR for April gives us as its chief attraction a biographical sketch of Daniel Ridgway Knight, and claims for him a high rank as a faithful, earnest, and original artist. He belongs to an old Quaker family in Philadelphia, and is now about forty-three years old. He has studied in France under Charles Gleyre, and in the School of Fine Arts, where he took many prizes, and afterward travelled in Italy. Returning to America during the War of the Rebellion, he saw some scenes which have furnished him with subjects for pictures, one of which represented "Union Refugees gathered in a Barn." He did not continue in this line of work, however, but married and returned to France to live, making his home at the old town of Poissy, on the Seine. There he studied with the famous Meissonier, and began to paint in the open air, studying landscape and cloud and sky effects, and the picturesque peasants about him. The illustrations from his genre pictures show his skill in drawing, his eye for picturesque effects, and his power of expressing the lighter and sunnier phases of country life; but they have nothing of the austere dignity and moral power of

the creations of Jean François Millet, with whom he is compared. We cannot but wish that he had remained in America and taken part in the agitating life of the last twenty years, when he might have been the painter of a life of work as true and earnest, if less grave and sombre than the labor of France before the republic. There is also a notice of the sculpture of Theodore Baur, but the only illustration given of it does not command our interest: the vague mixture of the native Indian and the classic Bacchus is as confusing as it is disagreeable. Decorative art gets its full share of attention, as usual.

E. D. C.

THE March number of the *Bay State Monthly* gives interesting biographical sketches with fine portraits of the members of the publishing firm of Lee & Shepard of this city. A sketch of the life of "Hon. Rodney Wallace" is accompanied by a steel-plate portrait of the subject. Atherton P. Mason contributes an historical sketch of Fitchburg, which is profusely illustrated. The other articles are "Major-Gen. Lew Wallace at Shiloh," by Gen. H. B. Carrington; "The Past and Future of Gold," by David M. Balfour; "Reuben Tracy's Vacation Trips," by Elizabeth P. Gould; "Elizabeth: A Romance of Colonial Days," by Francis C. Sparhawk; and poems by Mrs. Caroline A. Mason and W. C. Sturte. Boston: J. N. McClintock & Co., 31 Milk Street.

Among the most interesting articles of the April number of *St. Nicholas*, we may mention "The Conscientious Cat," a story of the mining regions by Agnes A. Sandham; "Zenobia of Palmyra," by E. S. Brooks; Chapters 10 and 11 of "Among the Law-makers," by Edmund Alton, which graphically describe "the pages as law-makers," and fun-makers as well. "Back Again," a poem by Celia Thaxter, expresses the possible sentiments of the returning birds of spring time. The serials by J. T. Trowbridge and E. P. Roe deepen in interest. "The Gilded Boy" and "Easter Morning" claim precedence among the many beautiful illustrations. Sold by Cupples, Upham & Co.

THE *Unitarian Review* for April contains the following articles: "The Apostle Paul," by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.; "American Sonnets," by John W. Chadwick; "The Sabbath Question Once More," by Edwin D. Mead; "Nature's Pronoun,—'He' or 'It,'" by Rev. W. C. Gaunett; "Christian Hermeneutics and Hebrew Literature," by Prof. E. P. Evans. The "Review of Current Literature" gives reviews of nine recent works, with mention of others.

"OUR LITTLE ONES" for April, in addition to its many fine pictures, pretty poems, and nice stories, gives the following instructive articles: "The Mole's Queer House," "Three Babies on a Tree," "About Japan," and "The Wise Little Woodpecker."

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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

PROF. F. W. NEWMAN, who has done such grand service for free thought, reaches his eightieth birthday on June 27.

THE *Banner of Light* denies the statement of a Philadelphia paper "that the séances of the mediums for the physical manifestations in Boston were not remunerative the past winter, etc. The fact is just the reverse. The managers inform us that the interest in the spiritual manifestations was never more satisfactory and remunerative."

At the Easter meeting of the pew-holders of Christ's Church Cathedral, Montreal, there was a disgraceful scrimmage. The Clerk of the congregation was objected to as Secretary, and sent sprawling on the floor by a member of the High-Church party. Frequent hisses and applause accentuated a scene of disorder, which lasted until one o'clock in the morning.

THE low average morality of the people is indicated by the following paragraph from the Boston *Sunday Courier*: "While, in general terms, it is recognized as true that war between any two of the family of nations means loss to all, and while equally is recognized the moral enormity of carnage and bloodshed, it is amazing to find how general is a feeling of submission to the catastrophe of a war between England and Russia, because it is expected to start up trade in this country."

BISHOP LAFLECHE, of Three Rivers, Canada, wants the St. Louis Club of that city to come under his episcopal direction. The St. Louis, like the Somerset or St. Botolph Club of this city, a pleasant social resort for good people, objects to revision of its rules by ecclesiastical authority. Pressure may repeat the history of *L'Institut Canadien* of Montreal, which latter concern in the direct and indirect consequences of its resistance to arbitrary interference cost the Church of Rome, among other things, \$60,000 in cash.

JOHN A. TAYLOR, corporation counsel of Brooklyn, in answer to an inquiry from the Civil Service Commission, affirms that women are eligible to serve in positions under the city government,

and may, the same as men, compete in examinations for these positions. He says very sensibly: "Clearly, the law should be plain which should shut out any large class of persons from demonstrating, under the careful restrictions provided by your commission, their capacity to serve the public; and no great hardship can arise from placing on the salary list a few women from whose money, collected through the tax-office, we are constantly paying the salaries of males."

MR. ALLEN PRINGLE, in his admirable article in the April number of the *Popular Science Monthly* on "Apiculture," says that "the more advanced scientific bee-keeping of to-day, without assuming much license or latitude, may be called 'one of the fine arts.' To the cultured and æsthetic devotee of art proper in the recesses of his studio, who has never practically studied the nature and habits of the wonderful little honey-bee, and manipulated it from day to day, this claim for our beloved art may excite a smile. Nevertheless, the apiarian devotee, who has studied, observed, and handled the marvellous denizens of his hives for twenty years, will affirm his art, no less than the flavor of the nectar it produces, to be, indeed, *fine*."

REV. DR. GIFFORD condemns the skating rinks because people go there for pleasure. He seems to regard pleasure as sinful. "Man," he says, "cannot love God and pleasure at the same time. When he loves God, he excludes pleasure. When he loves pleasure, he excludes God. There is not room enough in the same soul for both. People go to skating rinks for pleasure: that is enough to condemn them." This reminds us of what Macaulay said of the Puritans, who were opposed to bear-baiting "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." It did not seem to occur to Mr. Gifford that very many people go to church for precisely the same reason that people go to the skating rinks, because of the pleasure it gives them. Mr. Gifford is as severe in his condemnation of the theatre as of the rinks. The Boston *Herald* justly says: "The philosophy of Mr. Gifford's discourse is faulty as its statements and deductions are false, and the religion it teaches is a libel upon God. The idea that the Creator who made the colt to play, the lamb to skip, the dog to frolic, the child to crow and laugh, and all creatures to be glad in their own way, regards pleasure as so alien to himself that 'man cannot love God and pleasure at the same time,' is monstrous."

WE have received a printed circular entitled "What Unitarian Christians do Believe and What they do not Believe," by Jasper L. Douthit. The author says that, in preparing this new edition (the third), he has had the criticism and suggestions of more than a hundred Unitarians, most of them ministers, and has consulted freely various statements published by individuals, churches, and conferences, and especially those issued by the American Unitarian Association. The first article of the Unitarian creed, as stated by Rev. Mr. Douthit, is as follows: "Unitarian Christians do believe in one God, the Father, who is strictly one

Person, one Being, and only one; in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man; and in the Holy Spirit, the presence and power of God in the human soul." Among the other beliefs are these: "Forgiveness by faith in God through Christ saves us from a sense of alienation from God, but it does not immediately remit any other penalty." "That Jesus Christ is the best teacher and guide in morals and religion, and the reason, conscience, and soul are our final authority as to what he taught. Our fellowship is a *fellowship of Christian believers*, each one being free to define his own belief for himself." There are not a few Unitarians who would be unable to subscribe to the creed stated by Mr. Douthit.

INDUSTRIAL pursuits and commercial interests depend so largely, in the complex and extended civilization of modern times, upon international conditions that war between any two nations entails more or less loss upon all. A temporary advance in the price of wheat in this country, in consequence of a possible war between England and Russia, is referred to by some as proof of the great advantage such a war would prove to this country. This is a short-sighted as well as a heartless view of the subject. The temporarily increased activity which might result here in any department of trade would be more than offset in the end by the diminished power of purchase and consumption sure to result from the losses of the war.

THE Crimean war brought to the grave a million soldiers and workmen, so Kinglake declares; and the money cost to all the nations involved has been computed, by a French statistician, to be over \$1,700,000,000. It ought to be impossible in this enlightened age for two nations to engage in a contest to settle, by brute force, matters that belong to the domain of reason. When Mr. Adams proposed on behalf of the American government to submit the differences in regard to the Alabama claims to arbitration, Lord Russell declared rather haughtily that "her Majesty's government are the sole guardians of their own honor." But other English statesmen favored arbitration, and the question in dispute was settled at Geneva in a way that compromised neither the honor nor the dignity of the parties to the dispute. Why should not the dispute between England and Russia regarding the Afghan boundary be also a subject of that arbitration which Gladstone declared once to be "a powerful engine on behalf of civilization and humanity"? A writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, "If ever there was a question fit to be referred to arbitration, it is this." As the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* remarks, "Before these powers actually get a throat-grip on each other, and plunge into a bloody struggle, it would be worth their while to calculate whether the advantages either might gain would compensate for a price that might come very close to that of the Crimean horror." It looks now as though the Dardanelles and not the Afghan frontier would prove the point of antagonism between English and Russian interest.

A ROPE OF SAND FOR LOGIC.

Joseph Cook has always been fond of securing the indorsement of distinguished names for his views. And this year, his Boston lectures being particularly thin in their material, and being withal crowded into a corner by his long "prologues" and "interludes,"—not to speak of other side-shows of the "Monday Lectureship,"—stood in special need of such indorsement. He accordingly solicited letters from well-known theologians, college presidents, professors, and others, in which the writers should succinctly state the evidence which to them respectively was most conclusive for their belief in the supernatural authority of Christianity. Several such letters were read at the last two lectures. Most of them, perhaps, were characterized by signs of senility in the writers, which need not be wondered at, as generally they were from ex-presidents and ex-professors. But in none of the letters was this quality more painfully apparent than in the one from Prof. Park, of Andover. Among all the writers, Dr. Park would probably be pronounced as not only the most famous theologian, but as having naturally the largest measure of intellectual strength. He has been a power in the Orthodox Church for half a century. In the earlier part of his career, he was regarded as latitudinarian in doctrine. Latterly, he has been a leader of the conservative party, and busily intent on trying to prevent the old landmarks of Orthodoxy from being swept away by the very doubts and questionings which his earlier teachings aided in arousing. But, if his strongest defences are shown in this letter sent to the "Monday Lectureship," his exertions, plainly, will be of little avail. The letter discloses the fact that for more than fifty years he has been anxiously laboring to hold his creed together by a rope of sand.

Dr. Park begins his letter with a confession of his early doubts, and of how they were—not removed, but silenced. He says:—

Fifty-five years ago, I was sorely troubled by the objections of infidels against the morality of the Old Testament. About that time, I heard of a remark made by Dr. Channing in private conversation. The remark was this: "I have so high an opinion of the character of Jesus Christ that I am ready to believe anything and everything which he says." This remark appeared reasonable to me. The perfect heart of our Saviour would have made his intellect perfect, and his perfect intellect would have detected the real character of the Old Testament. If this character were not good, he would have detected it and would not have indorsed it. But he did indorse the Old Testament in the fullest degree and in the most decisive terms. If I cannot see the propriety of some of its statements, I believe that he saw it; and I bow down before his authority.

Dr. Park here took for the corner-stone of his creed the original Unitarian averment of the moral perfection of Jesus. But, even admitting that position, it is a crumbling foundation on which to build the Orthodox faith in the Bible as an infallible revelation. The Unitarians soon saw the weakness of the argument that entire purity of heart implied perfect intellectual discernment; and they generally came to say, with James Martineau, that the one point of infallibility left in the Bible was the moral character of Jesus, while all matters therein involving mental knowledge and perception, including Jesus' own mental beliefs, were to be tested and judged by the ordinary methods of human reason. Some Unitarians even came to see that to assert the moral perfection of Jesus as something to be judged apart from revelation would yield no infallible standard, since that assertion was made only by comparison of the moral character of Jesus with the finite and

fallible moral standard of man himself; and some of the bolder ones even affirmed that, according to their ideal of a morally perfect character, Jesus did not come up to the standard at every point.

But Dr. Park does not appear to have seen any of the logical difficulties in the way of building up the Orthodox doctrine of the Bible on the logically loose "remark made by Dr. Channing in private conversation." So he proceeded, merely on his own "high opinion of the character of Jesus," to infer that Jesus must have had a perfect intellect, and thence to infer again that his perfect intellect would have detected the real character of the Old Testament so that he would not have indorsed it, as he did, if its character had not been sound and good. And thus Dr. Park arrived at the conclusion that, even when his own reason fails to see the propriety of some of the Old Testament statements, he can believe that Jesus saw it; and he silences, therefore, his own reason before his authority. But *did* Jesus "indorse the Old Testament in the fullest degree and in the most decisive terms"? We have an idea that he questioned and denied some of the things "said by them of old time"; that he made light of not a few of the ceremonials directed to be observed in the Law of the Old Testament; that he openly violated the Old Testament commandment with regard to the Sabbath; and that, in other things, he was a pretty radical revolutionist in respect to the Hebrew religion. Prof. Park's logical rope, with one end attached to Dr. Channing's "remark" and the other to the "Andover creed," does not appear to hang well together. And, at best, how far does his method of inferential logic raise him above his own "opinion" of Jesus' character, from which he started? Has it come to this,—that the Orthodox creed rests, for its corner-stone, on the mere fallible opinion of any man?

Dr. Park brings forward several points of Orthodox belief, and seeks to substantiate them against hostile attacks by the same logical (?) method. We will quote one more of these, the one which he elaborates at greatest length. It is his argument for miracles, and is as follows:—

Once more. Fifty-five years ago, I became very sceptical in regard to the miracles recorded both in the Old Testament and in the New. The evidence in favor of them was too strong to allow my disbelief in them; and, on the other hand, the evidence against them was too strong to allow my belief in them. I remained for a long time in painful suspense. But, when I reflected on the vicarious atonement made by our Lord, I was so impressed by its grandeur that miracles in favor of it appeared to be reasonable. There seemed to be a propriety that he should rise from the grave. Indeed there seemed to be an impropriety that he should not rise. His atonement is so noble, and speaks so directly to the heart, and is so benign in its influence on men, that it removes the antecedent improbability against the great miracle of his resurrection. It creates a probability in favor of that miracle. It justifies our implicit faith in the testimony which favors it. We fully believe that Christ rose from the dead. Now, this is the most stupendous miracle recorded in the Bible. If we believe the greater, we can easily believe the smaller. If we believe in one, we can believe in all the miracles connected with that one. Now, all the miracles in the New Testament are connected with the sublime miracle of Christ's resurrection. All the miracles in the Old Testament are connected with the same. They were all designed to support the authority and to heighten the honor of the Messiah who was to come.

Let us analyze this argument. Prof. Park was unable to accept the ordinary evidence for the Bible miracles. Though not rejecting them, he says emphatically that "the evidence against them was too strong to allow of my [his] belief in them." He was in a state of "painful suspense." But, reflecting on the "vicarious atonement," his

mind was so impressed by its "grandeur" that all antecedent improbability against the particular miracle of the resurrection of Jesus was removed. Indeed, Jesus' atonement was so "noble" that "there seemed to be a propriety that he should rise from the grave"; ay, "there seemed to be an impropriety that he should not rise"! And, on the strength of this seeming "impropriety" that Jesus should remain in the tomb because of the nobleness of his act of atonement, Prof. Park henceforth gave "implicit faith" to the testimony for the resurrection, which previously his reason had been unable to accept.

It is to be noted, too, that Prof. Park's mind must have been impressed by the purely natural aspects of Jesus' death on the cross. The supernatural halo about his character, the miracle-element in his life, the ordinary Orthodox doctrine of the atonement as the act of a dying God, must all be left out of the question; for whether or not Jesus was invested with miraculous power was the very point in debate. If it was the common Orthodox view of the atonement which so impressed Prof. Park's mind, the argument would have been in too evident a circle to hold for a moment. We must assume that it was the simple, natural nobility of the atoning act—the death of a noble martyr for a grand cause—that had such a powerful effect on Dr. Park's mental vision that it seemed an "impropriety" that so noble a being should not rise miraculously from the grave; and his reason accordingly was convinced that "the stupendous miracle" of the resurrection of Jesus was true. Logically, this was a long and remarkable step; but Dr. Park must have taken this stride,—unless he described the vicious circle above indicated.

This great miracle being thus justified to Prof. Park's faith by the deep impression made upon his mind by the "grandeur" of the atonement, it became an easy thing for him to accept "all the miracles in the New Testament." The "greater" includes the "smaller." There may be no logical connection between them, and the conditions of the testimony for them may be very different; but, when faith has once adjusted its capacity to a miracle of the size of the physical resurrection of Jesus, it apparently can take in all the rest without any trouble,—the walking on the water, the stilling of the waves by a word, the feeding of five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, and the like. The reasoning is not strictly scientific, the step, again, is long and not exactly logical, yet it is taken. Dr. Park took it. But still longer and more extraordinary was that other step by which Prof. Park went back to the Old Testament and took into his faith all the miracles there on the ground that "they were all designed to support the authority and to heighten the honor of the Messiah who was to come." This is a proposition that would appear to need some proof. The Jews apparently thought that the Old Testament miracles had something to do with substantiating their religious beliefs. But, according to Prof. Park, they all pointed to the miracle of Jesus' resurrection, and they are only rendered credible by the nobility of Jesus' atonement. At least, he himself was not able to believe them until his mind was impressed by the "grandeur" of the "vicarious atonement" on Calvary.

But Prof. Park has hung upon that impression on his own mind altogether too heavy a weight. The chain will not hold. If this is his strong argument for the supernatural authority of Christianity, we imagine his defence against infidelity will raise more doubts than it can allay. Not all persons are impressed in the same way by the thought of the "vicarious atonement." Not a few

people fail to see the nobleness of a transaction in which offended justice is alleged to have been satisfied by the punishment of an innocent being. They have the same doubts on other points which Prof. Park describes himself as having had fifty-five years ago; but they have quite as much trouble over the idea of the atonement, and are not likely to find relief by his method of cure. It is, indeed, sad to think of a man with Dr. Park's splendid intellect and fine scholarship putting down by such a process the rational protests and natural inquiries of his vigorous mind, and spending his long life in constructing an argument for the Orthodox system of belief, which, as he uncoils it in this letter to the "Monday Lectureship," proves to be only a rope of sand.

WM. J. POTTER.

"ARE YOU A CHRISTIAN?"*

A tract was put into my hands in travelling, the other day, with this title. The tract distributor did not wait for an answer. Had he done so, I should have been obliged to reply, "In your sense of the word, probably not."

Had he been charitable enough to ask, "Are you not then, in any other sense, a Christian?" (the remark would be charitable, observe, as implying that there might be some other respectable definition besides his own), I should perhaps have answered, "I hope so." For many people simply mean by Christian one who "calculates to do about right," as a good woman once said to me. And I should be sorry to be left wholly out from that list.

Yet, if he had taken the trouble to follow the matter still farther, and had said, "But do you call yourself a Christian, putting your own meaning on the term?" then I should probably have said, "No, I do not."

To be sure, a general word like Christianity becomes, by much using, like a box with a false bottom, into which you can put as much or as little as you please. There are senses in which I might feel proud to be called a Christian, just as, if I wrote blank verse, I might be proud to be called Shaksperian. But as I know that the word is not generally used in that sense, and as we cannot spend our lives in giving definitions, I should prefer to be called simply a man—or, if you like to add an epithet, a good man or a bad man—rather than a Christian.

I remember that once, when studying at Divinity Hall in Cambridge, I happened to meet Octavius Frothingham at the wood-pile in the cellar; and we passed very rapidly, as students will, from the knotty wood to some other hard knots. I said, "Why, if we believe Jesus to have been simply a man, should we wish to call ourselves Christians?" He answered, "I have no wish to be called a Christian: I am quite willing to go through life as a Frothinghamian." His position then seemed to me very consistent, and I am sure he has adhered to it well.

The trouble about calling one's self a Christian is, first, that it is a very vague word, used in a great variety of meanings. Secondly, that, if you do not believe Jesus to have been the Christ (in any but some imaginative, Oriental sense), you have really no business with the word. And, thirdly, that the world has been trying for centuries to outgrow these domineering personalities in religion,—as in Buddhism and Mohammedanism, for instance,—and it seems better to throw one's influence on that side. Every great religious personality first helps the world and then hinders it. When we leave Calvin and Wesley and Swedenborg, and come among the Calvinists and

Wesleyans and Swedenborgians, we are conscious of narrowness and imprisonment. The greater the man, the more he appears to imprison other men. It seems the divine compensation for the good that great men do,—this belittling they leave behind them.

The profoundest writers of the age have not missed this truth. Emerson said, twenty-five years ago: "Genius is always the enemy of genius by over-imitation. The English divines have Shaksperianized now for centuries." And Goethe says in the same way, "Shakspeare is dangerous to young poets: they cannot but reproduce him, while they fancy that they produce themselves." (*Aphorisms*, by Wenckstern, p. 111.) What then? Are we not to read Shakspeare? Of course, we are; as Goethe says elsewhere, in same book, "The artist who owes all to himself has very little reason to be proud of his master." We need teachers; but it is the exclusive acceptance of any one teacher, even though he be the highest, that dwarfs a man.

It is inevitable, I suppose, that all our sects, in relaxing the severity of dogma, should pass through an intermediate period when the worship of Jesus stands in place of all other creed. To them, this worship will do good, because it is a step forward. But, to those who have been accustomed to a simple "Natural Religion," this personal idolatry would be a step backward; and it is better to keep clear of it. And it is satisfactory to think that those who decline to take Jesus for an exclusive exemplar really get more good from his example in one way than those who are more exclusive.

"Shakspeare was not made by the study of Shakspeare," nor Jesus by the study of Jesus. He at least was not a Christian,—in the sense of dependence on another,—whoever else is. If to be a Christian meant to get spiritual knowledge at first hand, as Jesus did, the name would be indeed worth assuming. But, if his disciples are to be trusted, he ended, like inferior other prophets, in teaching that no man could come to the Father but through him; and it is now too late by eighteen centuries to disentangle this subtle thread of error from the word "Christian." If this be so, we shall save ourselves from much perplexity by not claiming it.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

VICTOR HUGO.

Victor Hugo's eighty-third birthday (February 26) was celebrated in Paris with remarkable enthusiasm. Happily, he is not yet too aged to appreciate the homage which the occasion has called forth; although one must read this in his face, instead of hearing from his lips the response that he feels. In fact, robust and erect as he appears, the veteran author is passing into the Silent Land. Deafness has encroached so far upon him that he seems disinclined to converse. Perhaps he suspects his intellectual powers of failing with his hearing, though this is far from the fact. I called upon him, by appointment, on his birthday; and, though he spoke but little, what he did say was genial, vigorous, and had in it the old ring of the orator to whose eloquent conversation I had listened years ago. His humor also remained. He was amused by the title given him in the *Pall Mall Gazette* which I brought, "The new King of France," and the ingeniously ugly portrait which accompanied the article, which otherwise was gratifying, especially as it quoted Tennyson's sonnet addressed to him after his hospitality to the Laureate's son. His face beamed at the name of old John Brown, his daughter-in-law having reminded him that I conveyed to him twenty-two

years ago, from his American friends, a bust of the captain, concerning whom he had written, "America executing John Brown would be Washington slaying Spartacus." I was accompanied in this visit by Theodore Stanton; and, when we left, the old man attended us to the door, and parted from us with his habitual graciousness. This was about two o'clock in the afternoon. The family were busy with decorations of the house for the large reception which was to occur in the evening. Already, at the door outside a crowd had collected; and I observed a number of policemen, whose presence suggested the possibility of an anarchist demonstration. Nothing of the kind occurred, however; and the anniversary has passed off to the general satisfaction.

On the evening before the poet's birthday, a grand dinner was given at the Hotel Continental, at which two hundred guests were present. The leading journalists of Paris were brought together on this occasion. I expressed to my neighbor some surprise at seeing there a representative of the *Figaro* like M. Wolff along with a socialist editor like M. Maret, but he said it was the unique characteristic of Victor Hugo that all parties were united in their love for him. He has become a figure of France to whom none can be disloyal. The materialists love him, though he believes in God and immortality; and the Catholics revere him, though they cannot claim him as a Christian. The only lady among the two hundred guests, Madame Edmond Adam, who came as an editor, leaned upon his arm as we passed in to dinner, and sat by his side. She is accustomed to declare herself a pagan, a devout believer in the polytheism of Greece; but what her real religion is may be gathered by a note contributed to a collection of autographic felicitations presented to Victor Hugo on this occasion: "Maitre, Vous avez la taille de ceux dont les vieux Grecs faisaient des dieux. Votre amie, dont l'admiration s'accroît avec vos années, Juliette Adam." Madame Adam is a beautiful lady, whose wit and grace added much to the charm of the evening. With the *menu* was a leaf on which was a design by Maurice Leloir, representing two fair genii bearing a wreath and palm to the head of a statue of Victor Hugo. The speeches were few and brief. Arsène Houssaye read a little poem he had composed for the occasion; and Mounet-Sully, tragedian of the Théâtre Français, read effectively a poem written by Victor Hugo in 1821, entitled "Le Poète dans les Révolutions." M. Richard presented to Victor Hugo the first *fascicule* of the new *édition de luxe* of his works, and also a medal engraved by M. Roty, on which was a portrait, and on the other side, around the Muse, the inscription, "Il vivra éternellement sur les lèvres des hommes." M. Richard, in his remarks, promised the author that he would live to see the completed edition of forty volumes laid on an altar in the Champ de Mars on the sacred anniversary of '89. Victor Hugo smiled at this. He appeared deeply interested by the reading of his poem, repeatedly bowing his head with delight in the splendid rendering. When the speaking was over, and all eyes were turned upon him, he arose, and said: "Gentlemen, I can say but a few words. My emotion is too keen to speak long. You who hear me, and who are the representatives of French thought,—be thanked!" When the company passed into an adjoining room, where conversation was continued, some of the most eminent persons present conversed with young Charles Hugo, a fine-looking and modest youth of seventeen, who made a pleasant impression on all. He promises to be a good outcome of *The Art of being a Grandfather*.

"Child-lover" is the epithet that Tennyson has

* From *The Index* of Jan. 25, 1873.

applied to Victor Hugo, and it is felicitous. The great happiness of his age is to have little children around him, and to witness their joys. At the children's ball, given at the opera Mardi Gras afternoon, I observed him seated in a box, gazing with serene delight on the variegated sea of costumes rippling and dancing before him. Around him were his grandchildren; and an artist near me was making a study of the group, which ought some day to appear in the Salon. Similar balls are sometimes given at his house, when this old king of the republic of letters *s'amuse* in his way,—that is, in giving delight to others.

It is by his large and quick sympathies that Victor Hugo has been carried to the Left, where beats the heart. The son of a warrior, bred in the camp, his very pleadings for peace have echoed thunders of the artillery, as in that grand invective against war uttered in his oration on the centenary of Voltaire. I heard that oration, and was impressed by the feeling that, though I had seen the chief French commanders in the time of war, here was the ideal marshal of France. It was a proud soldier still who remained in exile on his island for twenty years, scorning the twice-offered amnesties of "Napoleon the Little," answering, "When Liberty returns, I will return." His great heart has pledged him to the people: the literary fraternity sometimes call him their father, but to the poor and the toiling his tenderness is maternal. On the evening of this birthday festival, when his drawing-room was full of gay children bringing him flowers, and a splendidly dressed company, the old man was told that at his door there were some thousands of people, mainly working men and women, come to pay him homage. He went to the front window of the ground floor, and, when it was opened, sat there as the vast throng filed past, each bowing to him. Then he said, "My friends, age draws on; but, before I die, let me say to you how deeply I am touched by this manifestation"—Here his voice broke down, and tears flowed freely on his cheeks. The people were silent with sympathy. Then the aged man summoned all his powers, and cried out, with a loud voice, "Vive la république!" The great crowd with one voice shouted back, "Vive la république! Vive Victor Hugo!"—this last cry echoing on through the great avenue that bears the poet's name, far and wide into the night.

For some days, the Paris press has been, as it were, edited by Victor Hugo; and the illustrated papers especially have devoted themselves to his apotheosis. *L'Univers Illustré* has a fine picture of John Brown pausing on his way to the gallows to kiss a negro child held in its mother's arms, side by side with a full-length portrait of the poet. Victor Hugo's words concerning John Brown have also inspired a note, included among the autographs already referred to, from a Haytian negro physician and scholar here,—St. Louis Joseph Tanvier,—who assures him that his name lives in the heart of every child of the dark race. These autographs, collected by the editors of *Gil Blas*, and bound finely in red and gold, are very numerous. Jules Simon writes: "Others will thank Victor Hugo for his works: I thank him for the unanimous admiration which they have inspired. All parties and all peoples together applaud his glory. Of all the spectacles our age shows us none is more consoling and reassuring than this." Renan opens the volume with the words, "Onorate l'altissimo poeta." Alphonse Daudet tells how, in boyhood, he used to read Victor Hugo all night, his candle veiled with paper lest the light should betray him. Naquet writes, "What glory for France to be the country of Victor Hugo!—Victor Hugo, less grand because the greatest of poets

than because he has placed his marvellous poetic genius at the service of the noblest of causes, that of humanity." Charles Bradlaugh writes, "To Victor Hugo, poet and pleader for the poor and suffering, lover of children, teacher of men, hater of tyrannies, worker of freedom, the reverent and admiring tribute of C. Bradlaugh." Lord Lyons writes:—

"Still may he have
All 'that which should accompany old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.'"

William Rossetti:—

"Soul of the Poet and Hero of all the world,
With heart for all the world,
Homage and love to thee from all the world."

Wilkie Collins writes, "I offer the tribute of my respect to the great writer whose works are worthy of his country, whose life is worthy of his works."

There are tributes in Greek, Polish, Chinese, Arabic (Ali Bey), Spanish, Italian, but, alas! only one from Germany!

The *édition de luxe* promises to be a superb series of volumes. The illustrations are by the finest designers and engravers, and, so far as I have seen them, are beautiful. This will be the real monument of Victor Hugo, who, along with Carlyle, Emerson, and Darwin, will always be regarded as among the most striking figures and potent influences which our century has produced.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE PARALYSIS OF THE PULPIT.

Among the many ministers who to-day are perceptibly heretic toward the established creeds of their churches, how many are cognizant that they invite, with ill-bestowed temerity, two dangers,—one of stultification toward the corporate Church, and one of stultification toward individual communicants? The innocent early-day acquiescence in loosely considered confessions of faith often returns in later life as a spectre to vex good souls struggling toward the light. We must, in looking over this field, always, of course, allow for the unconscious heresies that appear in men who hereafter may realize their position; for a great deal of such growth is evident to an inquirer. This care is necessary, in order that we may not do wrong to those who, hedged by an organized intolerance which gives little liberty once it is sworn to, writhe and tear the flesh in manly endeavor to escape bonds. But, after we have yielded this much, the limit of concession is reached. The further wranglings between the pulpits and the synods is not so habited as to command respect or sympathy. Up to a certain point, the thinker may believe his new views in accord with dogmas he conceives to be necessary truths. The time must come, however, when the moral nature of the man is submitted to test, and, when acknowledged, must take the place of suspected heresy. In the United States, to-day, we can recall numberless instances in which this seeming course is being enacted. Some among the heretics are merely formal Protestants,—alleging not that a dogma, for example, is wrong, but that the Church's interpretations of it are unequal to the trials of the age. But, generally, the difficulty presents one side, dealing not with varied offences, but with the common sin that persuades men to live under and by stated professions long after the substance of such professions is, to them, dissipated.

The pulpit is full of compromise. This comes from the fact that dogmatic religion is parading without a definition. It was once possible to bring all harbored within stated enclosures down to a common covenant. That is no longer done. The small advisory boards of the sects are given up now to dissension and uncertainty. How rarely

indeed is the preacher brought to an absolute description of what he thinks as to the future life! Once, hell was an actual factor for Christian propagation. Who dares to make it that now? The hypocrisy of unmeaning profession has usurped all potent places, and given the world fashion as a substitute for faith. Loosely sit all the demands for sincerity. Can we wonder, knowing this to be so, that men in the pulpit can dare to outrage every moral duty, and preach that which gives the lie to their own souls and to the creed under whose shadow they claim warrant? Truly, the man "without God in the world" is not the man whose heart tells him that no infinite love exists in the far-away skies to shape human life to certain ends, and who dares so to make a courageous deed of his persuasion. Rather is the "atheism" elsewhere, each could tell us in what neighboring pulpit, among the offenders, who are the "God-invested" of form and spiritual disease!

If ever evil needed that passion of righteous denunciation should follow it, this, first and foremost, appeals to honest men. Do we seek the soul or the vestment of truth? And, if it is the soul, do we not insult Nature herself by forging a name whose honor we have no warrant to make trade and barter with? What is life to serve, if not trust in its only true sense? We bow to false gods of our own creation the while we scorn those innate to natural power. This taint that vitiates the pulpit thought of modern days soils all that is called "the religious life." It makes men turn aside from the open pathway upon which their untrammelled inclinations would lead, to seek the jungles and serpentine resorts of literature. It leads to invention of useless terms, to sophistical efforts to establish consistency, to effeminating measures to emotionalize an audience into forgetfulness of intellectual implications, to a complication of external trappings that could be relied on to varnish the hollowness of spiritual promise. Is this nothing over which we need be anxious? Is justice so unmeaning that it deserves to be traded off for hypocrisy and tergiversation.

No one impugns the pure souls whose order of life is the same without and within. But the pulpit collectively gives out no such clear note at this day. Any one who doubts the declaration needs but to nail the first minister he meets to a definition. The road must be narrow, if we would hold our victims on such an occasion! When we do meet with such men as accept the challenge,—we might name Dr. Shedd,—those supposed most closely to agree with them cry out that the Church claims judgment for its to-day, not its yesterday. But when, again, we take the complaint in good faith and ask them, "What of the now?" evasion still stands foremost to baffle inquiry.

Nor can I wonder that the preaching of the time is simple equivocation. Long ago, men ceased resorting to the Biblical arguments for the State and ordinary social life. The common intellect found it necessary in science to explain phenomena by other than first century learning. To attempt to cling to religious truths of early ages while parting with all other primitive cogitations outrages reason. Therefore, integrity, as it generally finds expression in churches, speaks with a forked tongue. There is no marvel whatever in the experience. It is not possible to fit childhood's dreams with maturity's realities. However the inspiration lasts, the material grows old. Then comes in the conflict for the new body. The test involves the wreck of formalism.

There is something forbidding to an unfettered intellect in the contemplation of the struggles many men in pulpits invite before they are willing to resign names and things which no longer of

right accrue to them. Allowing for every force "bred in the bone," the dissimulation (for it is practically that) presents a danger which, while incident to fossilized organization, is repugnant to the taste of an enlightened investigator. Think (for each one can), as fitting here illustratively, of the divers Unitarians who have so sadly pacified all feeling of independence. That Church, if we but duly note it, contains, along with some of the noblest of men, a whole cavalcade of officers and privates to whom the idea of consistency seems an insult. Perhaps we do wrong to claim an exceptional coherency from Unitarians. I can easily admit that, if Unitarianism is willing to pool its issues in the Orthodox pot. But, if we have the right to ask explicitness of the mediæval remains, we certainly are entitled to an explanation from this new expositor, who rebukes mediævalism for its lax lines and magnificent subterfuges. No instances of clerical recalcitrancy are apt so forcibly to offend as those found among Unitarians. For that sect, even radicals, who do not halt with it, have a natural affection. Yet what shall we say of its cowardice? As the last stopping-place in "respectability," it shelters a refined clique of the educated and the aspiring, who, did they but obey their free sense of reason or their just interpretation of the Unitarian name, would no further outrage Jesus by a hypocritical use of his prestige, or insult the science of the day by dubbing its devotees philosophers of "pigwash." What is this "Lordship" of the Eastern Shepherd that we find still accepted by Unitarians? Was it ever reasonably defined from the Unitarian ground-plan? Is it not a nursing of old figures of speech? Does it not falsely give one ear to the future and one to the past, and accept favors, like a faithless woman, from rival hands?

So we may indeed see how a sin scarcely observable to the naked eye, and never clear to those who won't see it, ramifies near and distantly, to the ruin of pure aspiration. How sublimely does the Nihilism of Stepniak, obvious as are its faults, transcend such dainty handling of the truth! To me, belief that is present in every act of the man is always admirable. Rather, undue passion, excess of emotion, a wide wandering from reason, than play and by-play with the precious moments of the soul! What can the "permission" of bishops, the compliments of weak-hearted congregations, the power of a big salary, do to assuage the thirst of unsatisfied nature? Men turn their backs on themselves. They approve the moral laxity of congregations by preaching to Pleasure rather than Duty. We will have growth in the church, they remark placidly. Say, rather, growth in hypocrisy! It is to sad eyes that organized "religion" so disports itself. What is saving to moral impulsion springs from other though discredited sources. From this soaked and rotted body, hope is forever gone.

The passing age is that of "Red Revolution," over which the major number of men express horror. But I confess that to me there is a danger in the hypocrisy of churchly preaching which I cannot find in the hearty endeavor and unquestioning faith of the revolutionist. And, at least in the degree of candor and trust, the latter outdoes the best word of the unsexed priesthoods. The Nihilists in Russia, the Fenians in Paris, the Socialists in Germany, pin their indorsements to an explicit message. It is because the world is full of self-seeking and mental cowardice that this comparison becomes possible. Nor dare I urge emphatically against means of revolution that my heart condemns, while I find that murder and assassination naturally come in rebound from a fruitful hypocrisy. If we all dared to face the world with

the inmost thought and to honor every soul's endeavor to unseal the mysteries, no tale of outrage would ever be written. When we strain conscience, making it speak for others, and not for us, we subject nature to a tension which distorts and endangers the course of life.

No word of philosophy can be thought by a capable head to be the final outgiving. Because preachers have long closed every problem, they dare not now open the doors even to themselves. And here is the confessed spoliation of spiritual treasure. I honor the man who is equal to his conscience. I can applaud the thinker who dares, when light comes, to leave the windows open. And, when creeds change to bonds, what more noble than the heart that refuses to wear them? For more than so single a regard for integrity I ask no man. Conformity can be the burden of no free song. But the world of the spirit to-day asks explanation from establishments; and because their blood has lost purity and vigor, and they cannot give what is required, it has turned its face farther east. The playfulness of the formalists, the suavity of approving bishops, the sophistry of anxious money-gatherers, the dull, dead level of common preachment, can embarrass, but not stay the movement. And, while we can anxiously regard the struggles of isolated souls which strive through an indefinite light to penetrate beyond old stand-points, scarcely daring to leave loved pulpits even when the word of separation is due, we cannot pause to justify weakness and hesitation when so much hard labor is needed at the front.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE F. R. A.

The annual business meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Fraternity Hall, Boston, Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45. The usual conventions will be held in Parker Memorial Hall Friday morning and afternoon, as will be more fully announced next week. The Festival will take place on Friday evening in the Meionaon.

F. M. HOLLAND,
Assistant Secretary.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE Mormon President Taylor in his "general epistle" says, "If we are sinners, Abraham was also." Very possibly, but Abraham is not at present within the jurisdiction of the United States.—*Springfield Republican*.

RECENT articles in *The Index* by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton have been republished in tract form under the title of *The Christian Church and Women*. Price 5 cents a copy, 50 cents a dozen. For sale at *The Index* office.

IN the death of David B. Morey, of Malden, Mass., liberal thought has lost an earnest and useful friend. He was, years ago, a supporter of the anti-slavery cause, and of the Free Religious Association from its foundation up to the time of his death. He was, in fact, interested in every progressive movement; and he generously contributed to advance whatever he believed true and right.

CORRESPONDENTS of the late Miss Emily J. Leonard, of Meriden, Conn., who have in their possession letters from her will confer a favor by loaning such of them as may be of service in a record of her life, to Miss G. L. Leonard, 65 L Street, North-west, Washington, D.C., who will promptly return them to their owners after copy-

ing the portions of them found useful for a contemplated biography.

AGAIN, last Sunday evening, Col. Ingersoll addressed a vast audience in the Boston Theatre, holding his hearers spell-bound nearly two hours by his wit and eloquence. His subject was "Blasphemy." There can be no stronger proof of Col. Ingersoll's power as an orator than the fact that with the thought the *Investigator* was advocating on its own merits half a century ago, he can every year fill the Boston Theatre with an audience glad to hear him as long as he cares to speak. Here is one passage from the lecture: "To live on the unpaid labor of others is blasphemy. It is blasphemy to build dungeons for the soul, to frighten babes with the threat of hell, to appeal from reason to brute force, from principle to prejudice, from justice to hatred, to answer argument with calumny, to beat wives and children, to persecute for opinion's sake,—in fact, every act which adds to the sum of human misery is blasphemy. What is worship? To do justice, to defend the right, to be strength for the weak, to be a shield for the defenceless, to keep the peace between neighbors and nations, to labor,—all these are worship. To build a home, to fell the forest, to delve in mines for the love of woman,—this is worship. To fill with joy the heart of her who rocks the cradle of her child,—this is worship. It is worship for the husband to watch by the bedside of his sick wife, and kiss her hand in devotion when it is no more dimpled; it is worship for the wife to cling to a husband and lift him from the gutter of degradation, making him by her love once more a man. Bodies are sacred, not books and rituals. Human happiness is sacred, and whoever clouds the sunshine of a heart is a blasphemous. The total of useful human labor,—that is the Bible. All the poems and pictures, the statues and the dramas, the discoveries of science and the inventions of genius, the prattle of babes and the lullabies of mothers, and the words of honest men,—these constitute the real Bible."

THE MELODY.

For *The Index*.

Oh, solemnly and slow
Those deep, bass notes are sounding,
Those deep, bass notes are sounding,
So solemnly and slow;
While harsher chords revealing
Sad dissonance of feeling,

With wail, like miserere, follow the music low.

But list! above the strain,
In clearest, liquid sweetness,
In clearest, liquid sweetness,
Far up above the strain
An angel voice is singing,
A melody is ringing;

On spirit wings our souls to heaven mount with its pure refrain.

How like it is to life!
The solemn music throbbing,
The solemn music throbbing,
How like it is to life!
With chords of sadness thrilling,
With dissonances filling

Our souls with wail of sorrow, with mortal anguish rife.

But catch the strain above,
Sweet strain divine and holy,
Sweet strain divine and holy,
Ah, catch that strain above!
One joy receiving, giving,
Makes all life has in living,
The melody we hear through all, sweet strain of human love!

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 23, 1885.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

A Study of Primitive Christianity.

BY LEWIS G. JANES.

VIII.

THE CHURCH IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

Conflict with Orientalism: The Gnostic Sects.

The first Christian century covers the period in Roman history from the time of Augustus to that of Trajan, including the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Nerva. Many of these reigns were of short duration, and the contact of the early emperors with infant Christianity was slight and unimportant. This period, however, was a notable one in the history of the growing faith. At this time, the conflict began between those tendencies and doctrines which subsequently became recognized as authentically representative of orthodox Christianity and certain opposing ideas and tendencies, mainly of Oriental origin, which threatened at one time to turn the thought and life of Christendom into other, and entirely different channels. The chief of these conflicting tendencies was that known as Gnosticism. "Gnosticism," says Prof. Allen, "is a genuine and legitimate outgrowth of the same general movement of thought which shaped the Christian dogma."* The school of Marcion, and, less evidently, the other Gnostic sects, bore a direct relationship to that form of Hellenized Christianity which arose from the thought and instruction of Paul. Gnosticism was an honest attempt, by professing Christians, to solve the problem of the universe in accordance with an intellectual system, the materials of which it drew mainly from the dualistic Orientalism of Persia, and to a lesser degree, perhaps, from the philosophies of India and Egypt. It is not our purpose to present here any detailed account of the various Gnostic sects. A brief description of the general

principles upon which their philosophy was founded is, however, necessary to a correct understanding of the attitude of primitive Christianity toward the Eastern philosophical systems and of the natural development of Christian dogma.

The complete dualistic separation of God—the Supreme Light and only perfect being—from the material universe was assumed as the philosophical basis of the Gnostic systems. To span this apparently impassable gulf and account for the creation of the world and the orderly government of the universe, the Gnostics had recourse to the Oriental theory of creation by emanation. From the Supreme Mind emanated a series of *Æons*, or "Eternals," the highest order of which proceeded directly from Deity himself; while the inferior orders were related logically and genetically to man and the material universe. These *æons* were conceived as male and female, united in marriage, and thus transmitting by generation the creative force from God to matter and to man. In the system of Valentinus, Depth, or the Abyss, and Silence, or Thought, begat *Nous*, or Mind, and *Alethea*, or Truth. These in turn begat *Logos*, or Reason, and *Zoe*, or Life; and these gave birth to Man and *Ecclesia*, the Church or Ideal Society. The world in its present state, they argued, must have had a beginning. Time and circumstance must have had a beginning also. Before them existed only the Infinite,—not indeed an infinite void, but an infinite *Pleroma*, or fulness, represented by the *Æons*. Man, by reason of his alliance with matter, was fallen from the high estate of a spiritual being. The Gnostic conception of the fall of man was, therefore, not ethical, but philosophical or metaphysical. Mind was degraded by contact with matter; and salvation, through the influence of the *Æon*, Christ, was regarded as the means of dissolving this temporary copartnership, of liberating the pure mind from its material associations.

Gnosticism, in its leading schools, was the complete antithesis of Judaism; and Yahweh, the God of the Jews, even became the Gnostic *demiourgos*, the creator and ruler of the evil material universe, the antagonist of the Supreme Mind, the true and only Deity. The man Jesus was wholly absorbed in the ideal Christ: his bodily appearance was a mere phantom; and the Christ, no longer regarded as a person, was represented as a universal cosmic principle rather than a principle of moral regeneration. Many of the Gnostic teachers were undoubtedly the intellectual superiors of their orthodox opponents, but in the character of their strength lay also the source and explanation of their weakness. The final downfall of Gnosticism as a part of the Christian system was a logical necessity. It broke the historical continuity of Christian development in separating itself entirely from Judaism, and severed also the logical continuity in subordinating the ethical element, supreme in the teaching of Jesus, to a mystical and metaphysical philosophy which was foreign to his thought. In the second century, we find orthodox Christianity crystallizing its primitive dogmatic tendencies free from the metaphysical philosophy of Gnosticism, and "equally removed," says Dean Milman, "from its unmingled and unsullied original, the Judæo-Christianity of Palestine, of which the Ebionites appear to have been the last representatives."*

Judæo-Christianity: The Ebionites.

We have already had occasion to speak of the Ebionites as the recipients of the earliest Judæo-Christian tradition. We would err greatly, however, if we were to suppose that they adhered strictly to all the forms of ancient Judaism, or maintained its doctrine unalloyed and uncon-

taminated. Pharisaic Judaism and, still more, such sects as the Essenes had already assimilated much from Oriental sources; and Jewish Christianity resembled these later sects much more closely than the primitive faith of the Hebrews. From Oriental sources had come the later Messianic doctrines and the current millenarianism of the time,—the rite of baptism, and probably whatever is most noteworthy in the ascetic tendencies which some of the Jewish sects exhibited in common with many of the followers of Jesus. The Persian dualism had entered deeply into the doctrines of the Nazarenes and Ebionitic Christians. They regarded the present world as the kingdom of Satan,—as wholly corrupt and given over to the powers of evil. Out of this conception grew their characteristic doctrine of the blessedness of poverty. Those who enjoyed the wealth and luxuries of the present world, it was believed, would be deprived thereof in the kingdom of the future.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Christian Church of the apostles removed in a body to the Batanea, near the Jordan River, where they continued their organization, and numbered among themselves the descendants of the family of Jesus. It is related that, during the reign of Domitian, the emperor, being informed of the existence of a family descended from the ancient Hebrew kings,—according to the then established tradition of the royal lineage of Jesus,—ordered them to be brought before him; but, on beholding their hands hardened with toil and their general appearance of poverty, he ceased to regard them as possible rivals, or insurrectionists against his authority, and permitted them to return unmolested to their homes.

The Ebionites, like the Essenes, were very abstemious in their habits, living, according to Epiphanius, entirely on a vegetarian diet. Clement of Alexandria confirms this tradition, and declares that the Apostle Matthew and James, the brother of Jesus, ate no meat. The Ebionites practised circumcision, and kept the Jewish Sabbath, the feasts of the new moon, and the passover. They celebrated the eucharist with unleavened bread, and with water instead of wine. They attached great importance to the doctrine of angels, which the Jews had derived from the Persian angelology, and closely connected Christ with this order of supernatural beings. The community at Batanea continued to use the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, in common with the inhabitants of the region in which they dwelt. They made use of a primitive Gospel written in that language, which has been identified as the Gospel of the Hebrews. It contained no reference to the miraculous birth of Jesus, but directly affirmed his manhood, commencing with the assertion, as from the mouths of the apostles, "There was a man named Jesus, about thirty years old, who hath chosen us out."* The earliest generations of the Nazarenes, or Ebionitic Christians, wholly rejected the dogma of Christ's divinity. During the third and fourth centuries, however, some of their number appear to have assigned to him a unique and supernatural character, approaching the conception of a divine being.

The Legend of Simon Magus.

Among the earliest and most noteworthy Ebionitic documents are the pseudo-Clementine Homilies. Herein we have an account of the alleged contest between the Apostle Peter and one Simon Magus, or Simon the magician, who is represented as a sorcerer and teacher of false doctrines, who travelled through Europe and Asia Minor, claim-

* *Christian History*. By Joseph Henry Allen. For an account of Gnosticism, see also Baur, *History of the Church in the First Three Christian Centuries*; Milman, *History of Christianity*, etc.

* *History of Christianity*.

* See the compilation of extant fragments of this Gospel by Dr. Nicholson.

ing to be a Christian teacher, assuming to work miracles in the name of Christ, and even seeking confirmation as an apostle at the hands of Peter and John. The Acts of the Apostles also mentions Simon Magus; and there is no doubt that this legend obtained general recognition among the Christians of the early part of the second century, though no mention of Simon is made in the secular history of the period, and his identity as an historical personage is more than problematical.

From the general character of the descriptions found in the Homilies and elsewhere, the rational investigator can hardly fail to be convinced with Baur* and other liberal scholars that Simon Magus is no other than an Ebionitic caricature of the Apostle Paul. Peter is made to pass over almost the exact route of Paul in his authentic journeyings in following Simon around to extirpate the seeds of heresy and dissension which he had sown among the churches. There is no historical evidence, however, that Peter ever went into Europe at all; and the entire story of the Homilies must be regarded in the light of a semi-historical romance. Beausobre terms Simon Magus "the hero of the romance of heresy"; and Dean Milman says of the Homilies, "That in their present form they are a kind of religious romance few will doubt."†

According to the story, Simon was accompanied in his wanderings by a beautiful but frail woman named Helena, who is doubtless nothing else than the personification of the Hellenic philosophy and influence so noticeable in the writings of Paul, and so demoralizing to the primitive doctrine of Jesus, according to the views of the Ebionites. In the following address to Simon, recorded in the Homilies, the allusion to Paul is plain and unmistakable: "Even though our Jesus appeared to thee in a vision, made himself known to thee, and talked with thee, he was wroth with thee as an adversary, and therefore spoke to thee through visions and dreams, or it may be through outward revelations; but can any man be commissioned to the office of teacher by a vision? And, if thou sayest it is possible, why did the teacher go about constantly for a whole year with men who were not dreaming, but awake? And how can we believe that he revealed himself to thee? How can he have appeared to thee, who hast opinions contrary to his doctrines? If thou really didst become an apostle by his appearing to thee and instructing thee for one hour, then expound his sayings, preach his doctrines, love his apostles, and dispute not with me who was with him! For thou hast striven against me as an adversary, against me, the strong rock, the foundation of the church!" How significant is this language in connection with the notable fact that Paul quotes but once the words of Jesus, and in connection also with his boast that he withstood Peter at Antioch "to his very face"!

Simon Magus is everywhere represented as a man of ecstatic, visionary experiences,—an admitted characteristic of Paul. He is said to have been born in Samaria; and Epiphanius testifies to the existence of a similar traditional belief among the Ebionites in regard to Paul. The doctrines of Simon, as represented in the Homilies, are exaggerations, and often misrepresentations, of the Oriental and philosophical teachings of Paul. Simon is said to have called himself the first æon or emanation from the Deity,—a Gnostic conception, which is applied, not to Paul, but to Christ, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,—at the

time when the Homilies were written, probably attributed to Paul. Simon is also represented as a believer in angels and demoniacal influences, and as making it his avowed object to emancipate mankind from these evil powers. Paul's dualism is exaggerated; and the Oriental doctrine of the evil nature of the material universe, found in the Pauline Epistles, is greatly intensified.

The conception of Simon Magus as an historical character once having gained a foothold among the traditions of the early Christians, many curious legends grew up concerning him; and his true character as identified with Paul was ultimately forgotten. To this day, he is usually deemed by orthodox theologians to be an historical personage; and some regard him as one of the founders of Gnosticism. There can be little doubt, however, that the theory of Baur presents the true explanation of the romance of the Homilies. Against the original "Simon Pure," in the person of Simon Peter, the writer set up this opposing picture of the false Simon, or Simon the magician, who, in his character of an attempted purchaser of apostolic honors, becomes the originator of the ecclesiastical crime of simony. This is doubtless a slanderous accusation against Paul; and its only apparent historical foundation appears to be discovered in a circumstance every way honorable to him,—the fact that he raised and contributed money to the struggling church of Peter and the so-called "pillar" apostles at Jerusalem.*

Nero and the Earliest Christian Persecutions.

The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation, written probably about 68 A.D., shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem and soon after the death of the Emperor Nero, is also a document of strong Judæo-Christian tendencies. Some of its obscure references to the circumstances of the period have doubtless been correctly interpreted by Renan and other critics of the liberal school. At the time of Nero occurred the most notable of the early persecutions of the Christians; though violent opposition to the new doctrine, regarded as a phase of Judaism, had already commenced during the reign of his predecessor, Claudius. At this time, dissensions had arisen in the Jewish colony at Rome; and, regarding the Christians as merely an insignificant sect of the Jews, Claudius had punished them all together with indiscriminate severity. The Jews were generally looked upon as atheists and contemners of the popular religion; and the Christians thus experienced the truth of the homely proverb, "Give a dog a bad name, and then hang him."

The character of Nero, as preserved to us in history, is a most remarkable and detestable one. He was the traditional æsthete of his period. A scholar, proficient in both the Greek and Latin languages, a writer of poetry, and critic of no mean pretensions, he accepted the debased philosophy of the Epicureans, and gave to their conception of happiness as the ideal end of existence a purely selfish and sensuous interpretation. "In the strictly modern sense of culture," says Renan, "as distinguished from original philosophical speculation or scientific research, he was the most widely and exquisitely cultivated man that ever enjoyed an autocrat's opportunities for self-gratification."† In his later life, he was given over to the most unexampled exhibitions of luxury, mingled with cruelty and the grossest sensuality. While he lived, he was greatly admired, even by many among the cultivated classes. In accordance with the custom of the period, he received divine honors as an incarnate deity. "He was

called Zeus, the liberator," says Tiele, "and even the saviour of the world."* Expiring, it is said, with a sentence of Homer on his lips, he left a name execrated by all succeeding generations.

The great fire at Rome in the year 64 A.D., which some of his contemporaries attributed to the act or command of Nero himself, was by him charged upon the Christians. Their identification with the hated Jews, the false interpretation of their publicly proclaimed doctrine of the speedy destruction of the world by fire, their isolation and avoidance of the public games and the popular worship of the gods, prepared the populace to believe the slander, and to rejoice in the acts of persecution which followed its promulgation. The refinements of cruelty resorted to by Nero at this time were previously unknown in communities claiming to be civilized, and are only equalled in history by the subsequent annals of the Christian inquisition. Some of the victims were crucified; others, clad in the skins of wild beasts, were torn in pieces by ferocious dogs in the presence of the populace; others, enveloped in sheets dipped in tar, oil, or resin, and bound to upright poles, served as torches to illuminate the scenes of these horrid festivities. These executions often took place in the imperial gardens; and Nero, in the garb and attitude of a gladiator, rode to and fro in the midst of the carnival of horrors, courting and receiving the popular applause. Mythological dramas, involving the death or torture of some hero, were represented not only "to the life," but even to the death of their actor-victims. "At the close of the performance," says Renan, "Mercury, with a red-hot iron rod, touched every corpse to see if it would stir; and masked lackeys, simulating Pluto or Orcus, dragged the dead out by their feet, smashing with mallets everything that betrayed signs of life." Not only Christians, but many other convicts and prisoners, were among the victims of this infamous emperor.

The Doctrine of the Antichrist.

Nero died by suicide at the private villa of Phaon, one of his courtiers. His corpse was not exposed to public recognition. It was even believed by some that the body of another was substituted for that of the emperor at the burial. The idea soon became prevalent that he still lived, had fled to Persia or the East, and would presently return at the head of a Parthian army, and resume his imperial sway. Such a conception easily took possession of the terrified objects of his persecution. To the Christians, he naturally and inevitably became the ideal opponent of Jesus,—the antichrist,—the incarnation of all that was sensuous and evil as opposed to the incarnation of all that was spiritual and good. The idea of the antichrist was a creation of Judaism during the period of the growth of the Messianic doctrine. Some writers even trace it back to the prophet Ezekiel. The incarnate representative of evil was identified with the person of Antiochus Epiphanes during the Maccabæan period, and is the "man of sin" of the Pauline Epistles.

The name "antichrist" is found in the New Testament only in the Epistles of John. The Apocalypse, however, is the book which especially presents Nero in this character. "If the Gospel is the book of Jesus," says Renan, "the Revelation is the book of Nero." In the description of the Apocalyptic visions, the name "Babylon" is evidently substituted for Rome; the beast with seven heads that rose out of the sea is the Roman Empire from Augustus to Otho; the fifth head is Nero, the fifth Emperor, "wounded unto death." He was the one "who was, and is not, and is to

* *History of the Church in the First Three Christian Centuries.* By Ferdinand Christian Baur.

† *History of Christianity*, vol. II.

* Romans xv., 25-28.

† *The Antichrist.* By Ernest Renan.

* *History of Religion.* By Prof. Tiele, of the University of Leyden.

be." He was the El Mahdi of that period,—the leader of the hosts of sin, whose return and temporary triumph would be the precursor of the advent of the heavenly kingdom. In the simple and superstitious expectation of the early Christians, he would soon reappear to inaugurate that interval of woe, calamity, and misfortune which, in the prophetic language of the gospel tradition, was to be the herald of the return of Jesus to reign over the saints upon the regenerated earth. "Thanks to the Apocalypse," says Renan, "Nero has for Christianity the importance of a second founder. His odious visage has become inseparable from the face of Jesus. Huger grown from age to age, the monster, sprung from the nightmare of the year 64, has become a fearful incubus on the Christian conscience, the sombre giant of the evening of the world. To this day, in Armenia the name of the Antichrist is Neron. In the seventeenth century, a folio of five hundred and fifty pages was composed upon his birth and education, his vices and his wishes, his perfumes and his women, his teachings, his miracles and his junketings." There is no doubt, however, that Nero was much more to Christianity than the new faith was to him. By him, it was little noticed, save at the moment when it served as the convenient means of turning from himself the odium of the populace, aroused by the incendiary conflagration at Rome. The Apostolic Period, on the whole, was favorable to the growth of Christianity, which found in its own insignificance and obscurity the essential conditions of its early development.

Other Characteristics of Christian Thought in this Age.

In such an atmosphere of strange and fantastic ideas, we discover the Christians of the Apostolic Age. Surely, if there is much in their ways of thought and life, in their doctrine of human brotherhood and their generally pure morality, to give encouragement for the future, there was also much, upon a superficial view, to justify the denunciation of the new sect by Tacitus as "an execrable superstition." Clement of Rome, the venerated Father of the Church, writing at the close of the first century, relates the mythical story of the phoenix as a well-known fact of natural history, and uses it as an argument for the resurrection. Tertullian, a century later, was equally credulous. The writer of the Epistle of Barnabas asserts that the hyena is male and female on alternate years. Belief in demons and demoniacal possession was a universal Christian delusion. The sun, moon, and stars were deemed to be living creatures. The lofty ethics and noble example of Jesus were already becoming obscured by puerile dogma, superstition, and ritualism. The triumph of Christianity, with these ideas predominant, seemed likely to extinguish the better elements in the primitive gospel tradition. The supernatural Christ—the incarnate Deity—was beginning to usurp the position of the Man of Nazareth in the minds of his followers. The subsequent history of the evolution of the Roman hierarchy and of its secular triumph did much to justify the original gospel teaching of the blessedness of poverty and the unrighteousness of the mammon of this world. Yet, beneath all this incubus of puerile supernaturalism, the toiling poor in the Christian communities, little caring for disputes about dogma or subtle questions concerning the relation of the Son to the Father, held fast to the conception of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and clung to the hope, born of the gospel promises, that the day of their trial and suffering would soon pass away, and that the time would speedily come when all men should dwell as equals in the kingdom of the heavenly Father.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A DARK SEANCE.

Editors of *The Index*:—

When the great naturalist A. R. Wallace announced himself as a convert to Spiritualism and issued his book on *Modern Miracles*, it caused a great many students of science to investigate spiritualistic phenomena, because it seemed that a man like Wallace, author of *The Malay Archipelago* and other valuable works, could scarcely have been duped on such subjects as "table rapping," "trance mediums," etc.; but a careful perusal of Mr. Wallace's book on the subject proves that a scientific thinker in the domain of natural history may be a very poor thinker, and a very illogical one, outside his own particular sphere.

For some years, I have sought every opportunity to investigate the matter, but with poor success: either the "conditions were not favorable" or the particular medium I patronized was "a fraud,"—a fact which was generally announced after I had discovered it for myself.

When Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker was announced to speak on the subject in this city a few evenings ago, her name seemed a guarantee of good faith. So I formed one of an audience of some eighty people who were gathered in a pleasant parlor to hear what she had to say concerning the spirit world. I confess to feeling shocked at hearing a gray-haired, strong-faced woman like Mrs. Hooker using the same terms and discussing the same phenomena that had become associated in my mind with trickery and small, pitiful ways of raising money among questionable people, but I listened patiently to all that was said. During the evening, Mrs. Hooker introduced one of Boston's leading mediums with many good words of commendation, which words, I find, are indorsed by almost all Spiritualists in this city, and are heartily echoed by the spiritualistic press throughout the country.

This woman spoke fluently, and seemed to have the full confidence of the audience as well as of Mrs. Hooker. So I sought an introduction, and was invited to a seance at her house, an invitation which I gladly accepted; for I desired to see the best and truest side of Spiritualism, and here at last was an opportunity.

At the appointed time, I found myself in a "circle" with some twenty others, in a well-furnished house, in one of the pleasantest parts of the city.

The room in which we sat was small, the circle of twenty chairs almost filling it. The doors and windows were secured, and black cloth was tacked over them, "so that no accomplices could enter"; and the air, in consequence, was not of the best. My fellow-seekers were mostly old people. Bald heads predominated, and the sexes were nearly equally divided. The lady medium sat in the centre, with a guitar and a small music-box within reach, which were the only visible signs of what was to follow. The gas was put out, and nothing was heard save a gentle snapping of the medium's fingers; and we sat in quiet darkness, holding each other's hands, "so as to complete the circle." I felt the medium's hand touch my knee with a quick, passing tap, and I thought that was a peculiar way of beginning the business; but I was startled to hear a little fat woman who sat next to me ejaculate, "I felt a spirit hand touch me!" and soon I found that this was the idea that prevailed all round. I reached my hand out a little way, and soon the medium's fingers touched mine. There was no mistake in that, and I tried to get hold of her hand; but she evidently felt I was a sceptic, and I never got a good chance afterward.

In a little while, she spoke out, and said, "I see two fair children standing beside you." As it was pitch dark, it was rather difficult to tell exactly who was addressed; but a man's quaking voice asked, "Beside me?" "Yes," she replied; and thereupon told the poor man that those two sweet spirits were his children, that they were looking at him with yearning eyes, and evidently longed to speak to him. Then she asked if it were true that he had two children in the other world. He answered, "Yes"; and the little fat woman beside me gasped, "Isn't it wonderful?" The next message came to a man who was informed that four sweet children were standing beside him. He apologetically remarked that there were "only three who had gone." "No," said the medium, "there are four; but one is very young, it

never was named. You didn't know it: it blossomed on the other side." So the man gladly accepted the extra spirit child, and there was joy over the medium's wonderful power.

One woman was informed that she had "five mothers" in the better land! On expressing her mystification, she was told that one was her own mother, one was her step-mother, another was her husband's mother, and, as he had been married twice before, there were his two mothers-in-law! I presume the laws of motherhood in the spirit world are only spiritually discerned. When the medium made a guess that was altogether wrong, and there was no possibility of making it right, a whisper would be heard in the midst of the black darkness saying, "No, not him"; and some sharp-eared listener said to the medium, "The spirits are whispering to you!" And then the medium heard them (!), and the guessing began again. All this time the spirit hands continued the tapping on people's knees, but always on the side of the circle nearest the medium; for the ladies on the opposite side of the circle kept saying, "Don't forget us." "Come this way, won't you?" etc. At times there was an odor of flowers, as though a scented handkerchief had been drawn from the medium's pocket; and, to my surprise, this was counted as a breath of heaven, a gust of celestial air borne in on earthly senses by the spiritual visitors.

I had never received a message from the spirit world, because the mediums had not known my name, and I failed to recognize the "Amelias" and "Mary Anns" who came with messages occasionally; but I was resolved on knowing every spirit that came this time. So, when I received a tap on the knee and an intimation that there was a spirit standing beside me, I was ready. The medium said: "There is a spirit standing beside you: she is calling you by name. She is saying 'Paul' or 'Peter' or some name that begins with P." "It's Peter," I said. "Yes, Peter Annet, I think." "Yes, that's I." "She is looking yearningly at you [most visitants seem to be women, and they all "yearn"!]. Her name is Nellie or Millie or some name like that?" I thought of a fair maiden down in Jersey, whose name is Ella, but who is of material form, dwelling contentedly this side the flood. So I said, "Is it Ella?" "Yes, that's the name!" And then there was a mournful cadence in the medium's voice as she told me how Ella yearned; for it seemed as if Ella were my deceased wife or mother, the relationship was not quite clear. Yet it ought to have been very affecting when the spirit voice whispered, "Dear Peter," and the medium said, "She stands looking at you with great, yearning eyes; she reaches out her arms; she wants to kiss you!" and I murmured softly, "Let her," but she didn't. Ella came several times during the evening, I was assured; and once there came a spirit whisper out from the darkness, calling softly, "Uncle Peter! Uncle Peter!" and I said, "Hello!" upon which the little angels whispered, "We're all here." And I said, "I'm so glad"; for as no children in earth or heaven had ever called me "Uncle Peter" before, and I had never enjoyed the glorious privilege of uncleship, I felt that I had a right to feel glad at being uncle to several angels! About this time, the guitar began to play; and the aimless thrumming was accepted as heavenly music. As the sweet (?) strains ceased, the instrument touched my feet as it fell from the medium's hand. So I laid hold of the guitar, and held it securely between my legs, resolving that the spirits would have some trouble in producing more music. It was not long before a "spirit hand" came tapping round my neighborhood in search of the guitar; but, as the instrument could not be found, the spirits dispensed with music during the rest of the sitting, to the great disappointment of the circle.

One tall man, with a dark complexion, sitting two seats from me, evidently received the "gift of tongues" and spoke in a language that nobody in this world could understand; but, as he mixed his foreign tongue with ungrammatical English, the medium professed to know what he said. He said nothing worth hearing, so the loss was not great. When the light was turned up, I noticed that he had a most peculiar head, with the smallest amount of forehead I ever saw so large a man have; and then, too, he was called "Doctor," which made things clear to me, for I suspect he was an "Indian doctor,"—a class that is far too numerous in this city. This dreadful meeting was carried on for over two hours, till the air seemed poisonous; and the results of the lack of oxygen were

put down as "spiritual influences," and they were certainly well calculated to enable nervous men and delicate women to see visions.

There was a ludicrous side to the entire affair, which I enjoyed; but there was also a pathetic one, which was touching in the extreme. One poor, sickly lady, with gray hair and a sweet face deeply marked with life's sorrows, wearing a black dress that told part of the story which was so visible in her gentle face, was placed next to me, when a change was made during the evening; for there were three men who sat together, and the medium had failed to keep the three faces distinctly in her mind, thus causing the spirits to send them confused messages. And, as no amount of shrewd guessing or spiritual "bulldozing" could give them satisfactory "tests," the gas was lighted and she had a good look at them, then changed us all round a little.

In this change, the sweet-faced woman became my neighbor; and the way her feelings were played on was one of the saddest things I've seen in Boston. The medium evidently knew her, as she was a near neighbor, who had offered to give up her seat to a stranger for the evening, as she "could come in any time"; but she was too good a subject to be allowed to go out, and so she was kept with a cruel purpose. The medium said to her, "I see four little spirits, dear, sweet, little spirits, standing beside you; and they are calling 'mamma.'" The sickly woman trembled like a leaf, and whispered, "I had only two." "Yes," said the medium, "only two are your very own: the others were adopted, and they call you 'mamma' in the spirit life." "Yes, that's right," said the sweet-faced one: "I adopted two little orphans who died." And the poor woman wept like a child as she thought of her loss; but just as she seemed to be going off into hysterics there came a terrible pull and a jerking at her shawl,—a light, gossamer thing it was,—that startled her, and a "spirit voice" whispered, "We want to give you mesmerism: we want to strengthen you, you're weak." And the little fat woman on the other side whispered, "Oh, how good!"

Again from out the darkness came a whisper, acting like a witch's charm upon the fainting woman, "Mamma, mamma, don't mourn for us: we're better off." And the poor, gray-haired sufferer replied through her tears, "I'm so glad, my darlings." And there was so much of motherly pathos in her voice I could have wept with her and for her, poor, weak, broken-hearted dupe.

There was a great deal of such miserable chicanery, playing on the hearts of widows and sorrowing parents; but none appealed to me so strongly as this woman, for she seemed to be a gentle woman, one with fine sentiments and a pure heart. But almost all the rest were "of the earth, earthy," as ready to laugh at ghostly jokes as to weep over ghostly sorrows; and almost the only feeling one could have for such people was that they had paid their money to be humbugged, and they got all they paid for.

I was heartily glad when the cruel farce was over; and I shook the dust from my feet as I left the door, feeling that once more my hopes had been blighted, and that Spiritualism remained to me, as of old, a stupendous swindle. And I wondered, too, if Isabella Beecher Hooker knew what sort of a woman she had commended to the kindly consideration of a Boston audience. The name of the medium is Maud Lord.

PETER ANNET.

DR. HOLMES AS A RELIGIOUS REFORMER.

Editors of *The Index* :—

An article by the senior editor in a late number of *The Index*, referring to the biography of Emerson by Oliver Wendell Holmes, contains some criticism of the biographer which, to an admirer of the author of the "Breakfast-table" series, seems to lack that spirit of candor and judicial fairness which usually characterizes the writings of Mr. Potter.

The present writer has not read the biography in question, and is of course not prepared to enter upon a discussion of its merits or defects. It is in what Mr. Potter says of the biographer, not in what he says of the book, that we find evidence of an apparent want of appreciation of the author's character and work, and statements from which many persons, who are familiar with the works of Dr. Holmes, will be compelled to dissent.

In the article referred to, Mr. Potter says: "Dr.

Holmes has so many virtues that he can afford to have it said that he has never shown himself specially interested in social and religious reform. In religious views, he has progressed with the years as a Unitarian, but always as a Unitarian. He has never seen the need of any larger freedom than that denomination has allowed, never felt any constraining impulse of conscience to break over its—in Boston—eminently respectable bounds. So with regard to social and political questions, Dr. Holmes has always had a safe and reputable regard for the metes and measures of public opinion that may chance at any time to exist." This seems very much like charging Dr. Holmes with being a mere time-server, albeit a person of many (unmentioned) virtues. To use the language in which Mr. Potter, in the same article, speaks of a statement of Dr. Holmes, we might say (with a change of the name), "From anyone but a man of [Mr. Potter's] genial amiability, we should call these slurring sentences."

Is it true that Dr. Holmes has never shown himself specially interested in social and religious reform? Has he shown that regard for existing public opinion with which he is charged? We judge of the motives and opinions of men by their works. There exists no better evidence of the interest of an individual in any class of questions than may be found in his published utterances. If Dr. Holmes has always written with especial regard for existing public opinion, he is guilty of wilful misrepresentation, as well as of moral cowardice. We quote what he himself says of his earlier works and their reception by the public: "It amuses me to look back on some of the attacks they called forth. Opinions, which do not excite the faintest show of temper at this time from those who do not accept them, were treated as if they were the utterances of a nihilist incendiary. It required the exercise of some forbearance not to recriminate. . . . The chief trouble in offering such papers as these to the readers of to-day is that their heresies have become so familiar among intelligent people that they have too commonplace an aspect. All the light-houses and landmarks of belief bear so differently from the way in which they presented themselves when these papers were written that it is hard to recognize that we and our fellow-passengers are still in the same old vessel, sailing the same unfathomable sea, and bound to the same as yet unseen harbor."*

If Dr. Holmes' religious views have always been those of a Unitarian; if he "has never seen the need of any larger freedom than that denomination has allowed," we fear that a recent statement by Mr. Potter of what Unitarians assert, as a denomination, needs revision.† As regards true independence of thought and outspoken fearless expression of opinion on religious subjects, we shall be pleased to have Mr. Potter refer us to passages which he deems more pointed than the following extracts from the works of Dr. Holmes. We quote from *The Professor* :—

How grateful would it be to make perpetual peace with these pleading saints and their confessors by the simple act that silences all complainings! Sleep, sleep, sleep! says the Arch-Enchantress of them all, and pours her dark and potent anodyne, distilled over the fires that consumed her foes, its large, round drops changing, as we look, into the beads of her convert's rosary! Silence! the pride of reason! cries another, whose whole life is spent in reasoning down reason. . . . But does it not occur to you that one may love truth as he sees it, and his race as he views it, better than even the sympathy and approbation of many good men whom he honors,—better than sleeping to the sound of the Miserere or listening to the repetition of an effete Confession of Faith?

The three learned professions have but recently emerged from a state of quasi barbarism. None of them like too well to be told of it, but it must be sounded in their ears whenever they put on airs. . . . When the Reverend Mr. Calvin and his associates burned my distinguished scientific brother,—he was burned with green fagots, which made it rather slow and painful,—it appears to me they were in a state of religious barbarism. . . . If a man hangs my ancient female relatives for sorcery, as they did in this neighborhood a little while ago, or burns my instructor for not believing as he does, I care no more for his religious edicts than I should for those of any other barbarian. . . . What if we are even now in a state of semi-barbarism?

We talk about our free institutions: they are nothing but a coarse outside machinery to secure the freedom of individual thought. . . . The very end and aim of our institutions is just this: that what we may think what we like, and say what we think. Think what we like! said the divinity

* Preface to revised edition of *The Professor*, 1882.

† See an article in *The Index* of Feb. 19, 1885, entitled "Which is the Honest Creed?"

student, think what we like! What, against all human and divine authority?

Against all human versions of its own or any other authority. At our own peril always, if we do not like the right, but not at the risk of being hanged and quartered for political heresy, or broiled on green fagots for ecclesiastical treason.

The active mind of the century is tending more and more to the two poles, Rome and reason, the sovereign church or the free soul, authority or personality, *God in us* or *God in our masters*; and, though a man may by accident stand half way between these two points, he must look one way or the other.

The papers from which the foregoing extracts are taken were written at a time when free thought on religious subjects was far less popular and "respectable" than it is to-day. It will hardly be claimed that they were written with especial reference to "the metes and measures of public opinion" that then existed. It is only fair to presume that the language quoted from *The Professor* represented the real sentiments and opinions of the author. If so, does it not indicate an interest on his part in religious reform?

Has the expression of such views, in books which have been widely read, had no influence in promoting the cause of religious freedom?

Just what is meant by the statement that in religious views Dr. Holmes has progressed with the years only as a Unitarian, we do not know. His later writings are certainly not less outspoken than those above mentioned. We quote from *The Poet at the Breakfast-table* :—

Do you recognize the fact that we are living in a new time? Knowledge—it excites prejudices to call it science—is advancing as irresistibly, as majestically, as remorselessly as the ocean moves in upon the shore. The courtiers of King Canute (I am not afraid of the old comparison), represented by the traditional beliefs of the period, move his chair back an inch at a time, but not until his feet are pretty damp, not to say wet. The rock on which he sat securely awhile ago is completely under water. And now people are walking up and down the beach, and judging for themselves how far inland the chair of King Canute is likely to be moved, while they and their children are looking on, at the rate in which it is edging backward. And it is quite too late to go into hysterics about it. The shore, solid, substantial, a great deal more than eighteen hundred years old, is natural humanity. The beach which the ocean of knowledge—you may call it science, if you like—is flowing over is theological humanity. . . . To study nature without fear is possible, but without reproach impossible. . . . Those superstitions which would have strangled in their cradles the young sciences, now adolescent and able to take care of themselves, no longer daring to attack these, are watching with hostile aspect the rapid growth of the comparatively new science of MAN. . . . We must study man as we have studied stars and rocks. We need not go, we are told, to our sacred books for astronomy or geology or other scientific knowledge. Do not stop there! Pull Canute's chair back fifty rods at once! and do not wait until he is wet to the knees! Say now bravely, as you will have to say sooner or later, that we need not go to any ancient records for our anthropology. Do we not all *hope*, at least, that the doctrine of man's being a blighted abortion, a miserable disappointment to his Creator, and hostile and hateful to him from his birth, may give way to the belief that he is the latest terrestrial manifestation of an ever upward-striving movement of divine power? If there lives a man who does not *want* to disbelieve the popular notions about the condition and destiny of the bulk of his race, I should like to have him look me in the face, and tell me so. . . .

If, for the fall of man, science comes to substitute the rise of man, it means the utter disintegration of all the spiritual pessimisms which have been like a spasm in the heart and a cramp in the intellect of men for so many centuries. . . . What is the secret of the profound interest which "Darwinism" has excited in the minds and hearts of more persons than dare to confess their doubts and hopes? It is because it restores Nature to its place as a true divine manifestation. It is that it removes the traditional curse from that helpless infant lying in its mother's arms. It is that it lifts from the shoulders of man the responsibility for the fact of death. It is that, if it is true, woman can no longer be taunted with having brought down on herself the pangs which make her sex a martyrdom. If development upward is the general law of the race, if we have grown, by natural evolution, out of the cave-man, and even less human forms of life, we have everything to hope from the future. That the question can be discussed without offence shows that we are entering upon a new era, a revival greater than that of letters, the Revival of Humanity.

It seems to be urged against Dr. Holmes that he has been in some sense a conservative, as regards social and political questions. If this be true, it does

not follow that his course has been influenced by selfish considerations; nor does it necessarily follow that his views were incorrect. There are radical theorists who hail every proposed change of an existing order of things as a reform measure of unquestionable excellence and undoubted utility. No matter how sweeping the change, they see no obstacles, they recognize no danger of new and unforeseen troubles. There are others who ever fear to attack time-honored evils, or who seem to rest in the assurance that whatever is right. Is there not often a middle course, which may be wisely and honestly maintained? For example, Mr. Potter himself occupies what many would consider a middle ground in religious controversy. Is he less honest, or is his work and influence necessarily less valuable than that of Mr. Ingersoll, because he does not see fit to call Moses a liar or Jehovah a murderer, or because he does not denounce the influence and work of the Christian churches as an unmixed evil? Moral cowardice and shuffling evasion of duty are contemptible; but many honest and earnest men are in some degree conservative, and it does not follow because an individual entertains conservative opinions regarding proposed social or political changes that his course is influenced by any undue regard for existing public opinion.

H. H. CURTIS.

MERRILL, WIS.

[It was certainly the very farthest from our intent to disparage Dr. Holmes' genius or the many good services he has rendered to mankind; nor does our article seem to us open to such a criticism. We simply stated two facts,—that Dr. Holmes was never allied with the Abolitionists, as Mr. Emerson was, and never suffered ostracism from the Unitarians, as Mr. Emerson did. These facts were stated as the probable reason why Dr. Holmes had given such inadequate treatment to these two important points in Emerson's career. The excellent quotations above given would be regarded as very wicked by Orthodox, but would not make such a man as Dr. Holmes much of a heretic among Unitarians in latter years. They proudly claim Emerson now.—W. J. P.]

BOOK NOTICES.

EDUCATIONAL ART CLASSICS: PESTALOZZI'S LEONARD AND GERTRUDE. Translated and abridged by Eva Channing. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1885.

The name of Pestalozzi is dear to every lover of education, and yet to many he is only known by the influence he has exerted through others. Miss Channing has done us a great service in bringing one of his most characteristic works before us in a form which we can readily comprehend and heartily enjoy. How great an amount of labor was required to secure this result only one acquainted with the original book can estimate. The style is diffuse to extreme tediousness; but the translator has skillfully abridged it, and given a connected narrative, which preserves the sweetness and simplicity of the German story without its wearisome reiteration. The picture of the little village is full of interest. We have the young lord,—*Jungke*, as the Germans call him,—who is determined to be a good providence to his people, and who administers justice with the wit and wisdom of a Solomon. We have all varieties of human nature depicted with delicate touches of humor. The peasants are like all people who have been oppressed, full at once of subserviency and of cunning, enthusiastic for their landlord while striving to outwit him at every turn. The popular assembly convened to decide upon the division of the common offers an amusing spectacle. When the tricks of the peasants are in danger of exposure, "one man discovered he had forgotten his handkerchief, a second that his tobacco had been left behind; while a third found it imperatively necessary to speak with his wife a minute, and a fourth remembered he had left something out, which might be stolen; one even had the nose-bleed,—in short, a large number of peasants started at once on the homeward road. But the watchman ordered them back, counselling them to borrow tobacco and handkerchiefs from their neighbors, and to stanch the nose-bleed this time at the fountain under the linden tree."

The dialogue is very fresh and lively; and, while the whole atmosphere of the book is thoroughly German, the translator has not introduced German idioms into her language, but has successfully rendered the peculiar

thought of the book by corresponding English words, so that the style is as purely English as if it were an original book. It is less pedagogic than we had expected, giving rather the spirit of a true education than its methods. It is a little saddening to find that these ideas which Arner successfully exemplified in the little village after a few months' trial, and which the Duke's communion found so practicable that they recommended the introduction of the same principles into general government, should have made so little progress in a hundred years that they are now advocated and opposed as new departures and original methods, when presented by Quincy superintendents or kindergarten teachers. Nothing seems really behind our age but the public shame and punishment inflicted on the dishonest bailiff, who has been the chief instrument of evil in town by enticing the men to idleness and intemperance. But the greatest charm of the book is the character of the mother, who is an original creation, full of independent thought and spirit, tender, loving, and unselfish, but original in her methods of teaching, wise and witty in her conversation, and without sentimentalism or anything of the spirit of patient Grissel. We heartily commend the book as sweet, wholesome, instructive, delightful reading to all who love to study human nature and who desire its improvement.

E. D. C.

THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE WAR FOR THE UNION, being the Fifth Volume of the Works of William H. Seward. Edited by George E. Baker. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884. pp. 626.

In this volume is presented a diplomatic view of the War of the Rebellion. It covers a period of our country's history second to none in importance. It may fairly be said that Lincoln and Seward were as necessary to the preservation of the Union as were Washington and Hamilton to its formation. The work is not merely a biography. It recites comprehensively and concisely the great events of which Mr. Seward might have said, "All of which I saw, and part of which I was." The diary or notes of the war in this work are made chiefly from Mr. Seward's despatches, and have been selected with a view of giving an idea of the distinguished statesman's philosophy, as well as a history of the diplomatic relations of the country during the war. The Trent affair, the officious interference of France and England by recognition and mediation, the rebel cruisers, the Alabama claims, the invasion of Mexico by France, and questions of international law are fully presented and fairly discussed. The portion of the volume under the head of "Occasional Speeches and Miscellaneous Papers," of a more domestic character, are extremely interesting, and are not more remarkable for their familiar style and evidences of breadth and versatility of mind than for the wise and patriotic counsel they contain. The volume bears ample testimony to the ability and fidelity of one of America's greatest statesmen. The editor has acquitted himself of his task with excellent judgment and painstaking care, deserving high commendation.

B. F. U.

REPLY TO REV. L. A. LAMBERT'S "NOTES ON INGERSOLL." By B. W. Lacy. By invitation of Rev. Father Lambert. Philadelphia: Keystone Publishing Company, 323 Walnut Street. pp. 184.

Some time ago, a little work appeared from the pen of Father Lambert in reply to some of the lectures and writings of Col. Ingersoll. The work was rather lively and witty, and it called forth many favorable notices from the religious and secular press. The author challenged anybody and everybody to expend their might on his shield and helmet in the following language: "Of course, we do not expect him [Ingersoll] to reply to us, and for several reasons: first, he won't want to; second, he can't; third, he can pretend not to notice an obscure country pastor. Very well, then let some of his disciples or admirers try to rehabilitate his smirched character. We hold ourselves responsible to him and to all the glib little whiffets of his shallow school." Mr. Lacy has taken up the gauntlet, and given the reverend controversialist a pretty thorough overhauling, and exposed the logical weakness of much of his criticism, as well as the bad spirit exhibited toward Ingersoll and other free thinkers. A reply to a reply to Ingersoll by a third party is not likely to have an interest for many thinkers, but Mr. Lacy has done his work in a creditable manner.

B. F. U.

IN *Mind* for April is an essay by Dr. Edmund Montgomery on "Space and Touch," in which some curious facts in relation to our cognitions of space are brought to light, and some of the widely accepted theories of psychological inquirers are completely exploded. Dr. Montgomery, whose recent interesting and profound essays in *The Index* have been appreciated by many readers, and who enjoys a wide and well-earned reputation for his valuable scientific researches into the microscopic beginnings of animal life, some account of which was published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for 1878, has been an extensive contributor to this able quarterly, and his papers have been among the most valuable and important of its contributions. The other essays are "Hallucinations," by E. Gurney; "Prof. Sidgwick's Utilitarianism," by H. Rashdall. "Discussion of Experimental Psychology," by Prof. G. Stanley Hall; "Feelings of Relation," by Richard Hodgson, reviewing Prof. William James' article in a previous number. "F. H. Bradley on Fact and Inference," by B. Bosanquet. Among the critical notices are one of T. Fowler on "Progressive Morality," by Prof. H. Sidgwick, and one on Rosmini's theory of the "Origin of Ideas," by J. Burns-Gibson. The other critical notices are of foreign works by W. R. Sarly, T. Whittaker, S. Alexander, and by the editor. The notices of new books are very full. Published by Williams & Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

THE *North American Review* for May opens with a discussion of the question, "Has Christianity benefited Woman?" by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Bishop J. L. Spaulding. President J. L. Pickard writes on "Why Crime is Increasing," and David Dudley Field on "Industrial Co-operation"; while Prof. Andrew F. West, of Princeton, contributes an article of great clearness and strength on "What is Academic Freedom?" James Payn, the English novelist, discusses "Success in Fiction," and T. F. Thielson Dyer "Superstition in English Life." A poem by Robert Buchanan on "The New Buddha" will attract attention. The new department of comments continues to be readable.

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* for July, 1884, contains "A View of the Philosophy of Descartes," by E. H. Rhodes; "A Popular Statement of Idealism," by William M. Salter; "Kant's Critique of Judgment," by T. B. Veblen; "Hegel's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," translated by F. L. Seldon; "Bradley's Principles of Logic," by S. W. Dyde; "A Study of the Iliad," by Denton J. Snider; "Rosmini's Innate Ideas, a Priori Ideas, and Subject-object Ideas," by Condé B. Pallen. "Notes and Discussions." New York: D. Appleton & Co.

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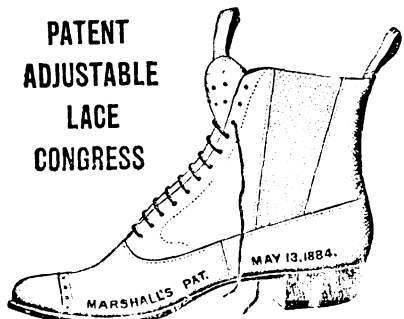
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

GLADSTONE is doing all that can be honorably done to prevent an Anglo-Russian conflict, which, however, seems to be inevitable.

THE Jews in Vienna have been greatly excited over the discovery that a beautiful young daughter of their faith, named Rachel Stielitz, has been forced into the cloister. The girl disappeared about two years ago, and no trace could be detected. Her parents mourned her as dead; but they have just received a letter from her, saying that she is in a nunnery, and will soon have to take the veil. She begs to be delivered from this captivity, and it is hoped that the police will insist on her release. Truly, the Church of Rome is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

A CIRCULAR published in England says: "The Church ordains that on each Sunday the priest standing at the north side of the Holy Communion table, shall say, 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labor, and do that thou hast to do, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God'; and, then, that the people then present shall respond thereto, 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.' The hairs of the men of this day stand on end at Mr. Bradlaugh reading an oath, which he honestly believes does not contain anything that is injurious; but their hairs lie smoothly on their heads while they each Sunday utter the response, 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts' to do that which even they do not desire, and which unquestionably they have determined that they will not do. Is honesty blasphemy? Is falsehood faith?"

THE Free Congregational Society of Florence (whose desk we occupied last Sunday) has, from

its foundation, attached great importance to the education of the young. Its Sunday-school, under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Spencer, is in a flourishing condition. On last Sunday, a very stormy day, the attendance at the Sunday-school was about seventy. The Executive Committee of the society, in their annual report for the year ending April 6, 1885, say: "One leading object of our society has ever been, and, in our judgment, should always be kept in view, that of developing or improving the intellectual capacity of the children and youth in our society; and, indeed, all of the older members of the society find here an opportunity to keep their minds from rusting and their intellectual faculties burnished. Hence, the opportunity is offered for much volunteer work; and we believe it will be conceded by all that have participated in this volunteer work that they have been substantially benefited by it."

SAYS the Boston correspondent of the Springfield Republican: "The notion apparently has gone abroad that the 'faith cure' folly has affected Boston literary folk generally, because a few more or less prominent writers have been quoted as devoted to it. This is not the fact; though it is true that many quite cultivated people, who would be presumed to be superior to such a shadowy and unsubstantial doctrine, have been giving it countenance during the past season, and that it is still a well-sustained Boston 'craze.' Possibly, Miss Alcott's recently published letter giving the result of her own quite thorough experiments and experiences with it, showing that 'the theory which claimed to cure cancer could not help a headache,' may check the 'craze.' But it is a question. More likely, it will have its run, as 'crazes' in Boston generally do, until the novelty is worn off. It is confined largely to women; and, as this winter it has been quite fashionable in some quarters, its run naturally has been brisk."

THE *Christian Register* is rather non-committal on the question whether attendance on prayers at Harvard should be compulsory. It thinks "there is much to be said on both sides," but that there is another question "of far more importance": "it is whether the college is to become wholly secularized or whether it is to recognize religion, as it recognizes ethics, as an educative force." By religion, the *Register* evidently means Christianity, with omissions enough to make it rather colorless in its teachings. "The place of preacher," it says, "to the University, which was left vacant by the resignation of Dr. Peabody, has not been filled. Had Dr. Phillips Brooks accepted the call to this office, it would have been a happy day for the college. But, since his declination, no effort seems to have been made to fill the office." This the *Register* deeply regrets. It would, no doubt, much prefer that attendance at the prayers should be voluntary; but it does not seem to see the wrong of compelling students to attend prayers and other religious services against their will.

At a séance in the West recently, a sceptic present ejected aniline into the face of the ghost when it appeared. A light was struck, and the

coloring fluid was found on the medium, Mott by name, a fellow who had been clearly exposed before. But the *Banner of Light* does not think the result of this little experiment proves that the ghost and the medium were one and the same person. It says: "Sceptics may imagine that they have really exposed him by 'squirting' aniline upon the spirit-forms, and consequently finding the same on the body of the medium; yet this fact proves nothing in the light of the knowledge which practical experience in such matters has demonstrated, not only to us, but others who have given the subject close attention." Our contemporary's hypothesis in regard to the aniline coloring fluid found upon the medium is "simply that it was an electrical transfer, and nothing else. We fully agree with our Philadelphia contemporary, *Mind and Matter*, which says, 'The doubt about the case prevented a consideration in that connection of the demonstrated fact that marks left upon the dress or person of a spirit-form had been found upon the medium, when the marked spirit-form was seen to vanish as it was absorbed by the medium from whose organism it had emanated.'" Comment is unnecessary.

HON. HENRY B. STANTON, at the solicitation of friends, has embodied some of the more prominent experiences of his busy life in a good-sized pamphlet of seventy-four pages, which he entitles *Random Recollections*. Only a limited number of copies have been published, of which none are for sale, being intended merely for private circulation among the author's friends. This unique pamphlet, written by Mr. Stanton in his eightieth year and in six weeks' time, gives in a lively style, in a succession of vigorous pen-pictures, a mental panorama of the differing phases of the march of progress in this country during the last three-fourths of a century. During the whole of his life, Mr. Stanton has been identified with most of the reformatory movements which one after the other, or simultaneously, have appealed to the sense of justice and sympathetic sensibilities of earnest, true-hearted men and women; and he has thus been brought in contact with and formed the acquaintance of very many distinguished workers for humanity, as well as of some others distinguished for their opposition to progressive thought. John Quincy Adams, Clay, Webster, Choate, Story, Gen. La Fayette, Daniel O'Connell, Lord Brougham, Lyman Beecher, Greeley, and many other prominent characters figure in these *Recollections*, which are enlivened by interesting anecdotes illustrative of the prominent peculiarities of many of them. Mr. Stanton made his first anti-slavery speech in 1832, and in 1834 attended the anniversary of the American Anti-slavery Society in New York City, where, he remarks, he encountered "the first of my two hundred mobs." One of the most interesting events of his eventful life he notes as follows: "Before sailing for Europe, I was united in marriage, on May 1, 1840, with Elizabeth Cady, of Johnston, daughter of Daniel Cady, then one of the leaders of the New York Bar."

A STATE RELIGION.

The *Christian Statesman*, as the readers of *The Index* well know, is a journal devoted to securing an amendment to the national Constitution which shall make that document recognize the Christian religion, and the Christian religion in the Orthodox interpretation of it. Yet even the *Statesman* sees the light when there is a different kind of sectarian raid upon the State. In speaking of the so-called "Freedom of Worship" Bill, which is before the New York Legislature, and the object of which is to permit Roman Catholic religious services, including mass, in the State reformatory institutions, the *Statesman* says: "This is another step toward the establishment of the Romish Church in the United States. No other Church ever asked such privileges."

But that journal is altogether too self-depreciatory. It is itself asking for a higher privilege every week; namely, to have its own creed incorporated in the organic law of the land, and then to have all national legislation and customs directed in conformity therewith. The Catholics in New York are only asking that members of their own Church, who may be shut up in penitentiaries or in State reform schools, may be visited by Catholic priests with the right (where not interfering with necessary discipline) to institute their special forms of worship. But the *Statesman* is asking that the national Constitution, which is for all the people in the nation, whatever their religious views, and which any citizen elected to national office may be called upon to take oath to support, shall be indoctrinated with Protestant evangelical beliefs, and that the government shall make itself an evangelist for maintaining those beliefs.

Nor is the *Statesman* quite exact in saying that "no other Church ever asked such privileges." At least, whether formally asking or not, other Churches have taken such privileges. In a recent article on this "Freedom of Worship" Bill, we showed that in the very institution for which the Catholics specially desire the bill—the Randall's Island House of Refuge—an Orthodox Protestant form of worship is regularly conducted. And most likely, considering that a large proportion of the children sent there are Catholics, it was this fact that stirred the Catholic Church to labor for this new law. If the State had taken the just ground that it had nothing to do with providing worship in State prisons more than elsewhere, and had not permitted to the Protestant Churches "such privileges," the Catholics, probably, would have never asked for them. Moreover, the Protestants have obtained similar privileges of instituting their peculiar forms of worship in the public schools in most of the States, in the legislatures, and in the national Congress. The *Statesman* would, doubtless, be shocked, should the Catholics ask for and secure the "privilege" of having mass celebrated in the Capitol at Washington for the benefit of Catholic Congressmen. Yet why should not such a "privilege" be instituted by law as much as the present custom of Protestant prayers in the Capitol by Congressional chaplains paid from the national treasury?

It is evident that, as soon as the State goes into the business of setting up religion, it makes a great deal of difference to people whose religion is set up. The *Christian Statesman* never would be satisfied to have Catholicism made a part of the organic law of the land and Catholic priests officiating in the various religious offices of the nation. Yet who knows what may happen, if that Church goes on increasing in numbers and power? If the *Christian Statesman* should get its amended con-

stitution and its stricter religious laws, it might set the Catholics an example they would not be slow to imitate, and put machinery into their hands they would be quick to use, should the power come to them. The only safe course, as well as the only just course, is for the State to give to no sect or church or creed any special "privileges."

Quite curiously, in the same column in which the *Christian Statesman* deprecates the advance of the Romish Church toward "establishment in the United States," it has another paragraph in which it inculcates the idea that the nation as a nation must have a religion. Replying to some very just remarks of our neighbor, the *Investigator*, on excluding the Bible as a book of worship from the public schools, it says:—

The writer of these quotations makes a very common mistake. He imagines that, if a government would leave its citizens free in the matter of religion, it must have no religion itself. Because the atheist has been left free not to worship, he insists that the nation is not free to worship or to acknowledge God. Having the liberty of irreligion, he denies to the nation the liberty of religion. Having secured exemption from possible pains and penalties on account of his own atheism, this atheistic zealot claims the right to veto the expression of any religious sentiment, or the observance of any religious institution, on the part of the people as a whole. The nation must have no God to pray to, and must never pray. Could anything reveal more clearly the fanatical intolerance of atheism?

The writer of the above quotation appears to make the mistake of conceiving of a nation as something apart from its citizens or people. The atheist is as much a part of the nation as the theist, the Jew as much a part of it as the Christian. And as the atheist is free not to worship, so the theist, the Christian, the Jew, are just as free to worship, and to worship each in his own way. But why should the Jew or Christian or theist insist on doing double worship, first in their private capacity as themselves, and then as the nation? The atheist does not claim to represent the nation in his non-worship: why should any kind of theist claim to represent it in his worship? How can "the people as a whole" worship, when they do not all believe in worship, and even those believing in worship do not agree together in the kind of worship? Has not the atheist, after all, as much right to say that his part of the nation shall not pray as the theist has to say that his part shall pray? If the theist says no to this question, then on which side is the "fanatical intolerance"? This idea of "a nation" apart from the people constituting it is a pure fiction. And there is no such thing as a nation having religion any farther than the people have religion individually. Is there, then, any better way to get religion into a nation's character and institutions than, allowing freedom to all ways of thinking, for the different sects and churches to go to work with zeal to make as many people as possible religious in their characters and lives?

WM. J. POTTER.

"BEACON LIGHTS OF HISTORY."

Dr. John Lord gave a series of historical lectures some years ago, which he published in book form under the above title. The fifth volume, recently issued, is devoted to representative women, as sovereigns, politicians, authors, saints, and women in society, as friends and lovers.

His philosophy on the controlling forces in the formation of character, and the influence of religious faith on women under Paganism and Christianity, is as contradictory as pitiable, when we

consider the large audiences of women who flocked to hear him, and the still larger number probably now reading his crude deductions from the facts of history.

He occupies the well-worn ground that there is no security for woman's happiness or morality but in her steadfast faith in the Christian religion. Contrasting the lives of women under different religions, he gives their comparative goodness and happiness, attributing whatever they are and all that they enjoy to their religious faith, and not to the form of civilization in which they chance to be born and educated. Those without Christianity he describes as victims of their impulses and passions, immoral, gloomy, desolate, having no knowledge of God or hope of immortality. Yet all races of mankind, in all ages, have had their ideas of a Supreme Being and a future state, and in their way had a fair share of happiness. True, they worshipped some hideous graven images made of wood and stone; but their deformities were gradually toned down, and a more refined type in silver and gold took their places. These were succeeded by still higher ideals in pictures, until, in a purer civilization and greater individual development, no one man's God satisfied his neighbors. Then we ceased to represent the great over-soul, the unknown, the invisible, in any tangible form whatever.

But the old ideals are still recognized according to the moral and intellectual status of the believer. The ignorant and irrational still worship a cruel, jealous, angry God, who creates generation after generation merely to drag out in poverty and wretchedness a miserable existence here, and to endure everlasting misery hereafter. A moral monstrosity! quite as revolting to the cultivated mind as were the hideous graven images of the past to those who had an eye for beauty.

While some of the noblest, purest women, who exemplified all the cardinal virtues in their daily life and conversation, lived before the advent of Christianity, Dr. Lord makes his selection of those who may best represent his theory. The follies and vices of all women under Paganism he attributes to their religion; their virtues, to nature grandly asserting herself above the creeds and customs of the times. The virtues of those under Christianity he attributes to their religion; their follies and vices to nature, warring against their struggles for holiness. Think of Dame Nature, in all her grandeur and immutability, playing bo-peep in this way with the daughters of Eve, holding them steadfast in the most exalted virtues in spite of the dogmas and superstitions of a debasing faith before the Christian era; and, then, helping to plunge them into a deeper slough of despond immediately after!

Again, we are told that those who believe the dogmas of the Christian religion will have peace and happiness under all life's trials and tribulations, and a joyful hope of eternal bliss in the future. But the doctor loses sight of his philosophy—so pleasing to Orthodox ears and so well calculated to sell his books—when he comes to his illustrations.

In the chapter on St. Theresa, his representative devout Christian, he describes one of the most melancholy saints in the calendar, who spent twenty years of her life in tears and groans about her own soul, crucified her strongest natural affections, and passed the sunset of her life in solitude and charity. Nothing could be more gloomy than the lives of most of the saintly women that comprise so large a share of church literature. Having taxed our sympathies to the utmost limit with the sufferings of his happy St. Theresa, he attributes the sadness of George Eliot's life—aris-

ing from so many social complications—to her change of faith from Christianity to Rationalism, when, in fact, the happiest part of her life was after she emerged from the superstitions in which she had been educated, and analyzed the dogmas of her old faith by the light of reason.

Poor St. Theresa! what reason had she to suppose that she would be happier in the next sphere than this? The Orthodox "God is immutable, unchangeable, in wisdom, power, and glory"; he has governed us here by direct fiat, we are told, and made the vast majority of us miserable. What proof have we that the whole basis of government will be changed in the next sphere? We shall be subject to the same laws, the same principles of justice, the same Supreme Ruler of the universe, who is eternal, and "knows no variable-ness or shadow of turning." The accepted revelation gives us no hope of a change of dynasty or discipline. It promises rewards and punishments for belief and disbelief in certain doctrines of faith there as here. Hence, for all we know, St. Theresa is still weeping and groaning over the final destiny of her soul. Her faith and fears made her miserable here: why not in the next stage of action, if our future life is an eternal progression? Harriet Martineau said "the happiest day of her life was when she gave up the charge of her soul." It would be the dawn of a brighter day for most women, if they could be relieved from all anxiety about their souls and a future state, devote themselves to building up strong bodies, sound morality, and a just government for all. We have subordinated this world with all its high duties to an unknown future long enough. If all the thought, the feeling, the intense interest expended in vain speculations and preparations for the next sphere of action had been devoted to this life, we might ere this have realized our Paradise on earth.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

MORMONISM IN A NEW LIGHT.

V.

The Book of Mormon.

The Mormon Bible, as it is called, is nothing more nor less than a supplement to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, supplying certain missing links of prophecy, history, and God's providence, from the stand-point of the believer, and not of the sceptic. Because the Book of Mormon is inferior in some respects to the Bible, people conclude it cannot be of God, forgetting the fact that the one is a completed work, the other a work just begun; the one is wrought into its present form by centuries on centuries of labor, and the other the product of a single generation; the one is a bible made, the other a bible in the making.

The Book of Mormon is accepted less for its own sake than for the sake of the prophet, as he is accepted less for his own sake than his gospel's sake. Yet the same arguments used against the Book of Mormon will apply with about the same force to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; and, at the same time, its faults have been exaggerated greatly. Few of its critics have even so much as read it, and those who have read it have done so with their minds full of prejudices and false ideas concerning the book and Mormonism itself. They have found in it no "revelation"; but it was obnoxious to the charge of "plagiarism," "cant phrases," and "heresy," and as being "an outrage against God's wisdom and glory." The means by which the Book of Mormon is said to have been translated, the Urim and Thummim,

is sneered and laughed at by persons who believe God commanded Moses to command Joshua to "stand before Eleazer the priest, who shall ask counsel for him, after the judgment of Urim before the Lord." (Numbers xxvii., 21.) "And the Tishathah said unto them that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim." (Ezra ii., 63.) The orthodox Jews believe the uses of the Urim and Thummim are to be restored. Christian commentators think they were the means or conditions of receiving responses to questions asked of the Lord. Where is the difference between these stones in the breastplate of the priest and the stones in the rims of the bow used by Joseph Smith? Where is the difference in the screen used by him and the curtain before which the priest presented himself that parted the more holy place from the holy place?

The question is not so much whether the Book of Mormon is true as whether its translator believed himself inspired of God. And the facts, I think, all go to show that he did believe himself inspired of God. The question as to the quality of this inspiration is also important,—the question being not whether it was God who really spoke through Joseph Smith, but was it that "power which makes for righteousness." All "inspired" writings are a blending of history and tradition, of faith and reason; and the tradition shapes the history, and the faith the reason. The Book of Mormon, like other sacred histories, is fortunate in having to do with the past, thus far impenetrable to the researches of the learned, ancient America, about which so little is known that the story of Mormon cannot be disproven, the few facts known tending, the Mormons claim, to corroborate it. A deft use has been made of that imprint to the first edition of the Book of Mormon,—*"Joseph Smith, Author and Proprietor."* And this first edition is supposed to have many peculiar features not found in later editions. This is not so. The changes have been wonderfully few, and these wholly of a grammatical kind. Possibly, these rumored peculiarities it was that made Macaulay charge the English minister at Washington with the task of procuring for him, if possible, a copy of this first edition. Whether Edward Bulwer, her Majesty's representative, succeeded on this errand, I do not know. It will be but just to quote from the title-page of the first edition the following: "Be it remembered, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, A.D. 1829, Joseph Smith, Jun., of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims in the following words, to wit: 'The Book of Mormon, written by the hand of Mormon upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi, . . . written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and revelation,'" etc. The use of the imprint quoted above was in compliance with "An Act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies." This sounds prosaic enough, but it must be remembered ancient prophets had no such difficulties to contend with. There is, in these days, besides a law of God, a law of the land; and this imprint in the Book of Mormon no more proves that Joseph Smith was its author than the absence of such imprint in the productions of inspired writers of olden time proves they were not of human origin.

"Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God. Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick; and

they shall be one in my hand." So prophecies Ezekiel. The Book of Mormon is the record of the tribe of Joseph. For Isaiah, too, said, "Thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground; and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust." The golden plates were a voice "speaking out of the ground." But the prophecy is still more specific. "The vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed." And were not "the words of the book" delivered "to one that is learned," in the person of Prof. Anthon; and were they not to him "a sealed book"? "And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he said, I am not learned." This is Joseph Smith's answer to the angel, when commanded to read or translate the book.

The Book of Mormon reports three migrations from Asia to America, the first being immediately after the Dispersion, the last in the reign of Zedekiah, 600 B.C. They are called Jeredites, Lamanites, and Nephites, from their respective leaders. They founded civilizations, beginning in Central and South America, that perished from their own corruptions. Jesus visited this continent after his ascension. The gospel was preached, but its triumph was imperfect and fluctuating. Dissensions led to merciless, even exterminating, wars. The last great battle was fought between the Lamanites and Nephites on the site between the spots now called Manchester and Palmyra, N.Y. The Nephites were slain nearly to a man. Shiz fell in the last encounter before the sword of Coriantume. These huge mounds that meet the eye to-day are formed of the heaps of the slain,—the sepulchres of a nation and a race,—

"Whence and why art thou, mysterious mound?
Are questions that man asks, and asks in vain;
For o'er thy destinies a night profound,
All rayless and echoless, doth reign."

But Mormon, one of the last of the Nephites, passed the records of these people into the hands of Moroni, his son, by whom they were finished, "being written in the characters which are called among us the reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us according to our manner of speech." "Condemn me not because of mine imperfections, but rather give thanks unto God that he hath made manifest unto you our imperfections, that ye may learn to be more wise than we have been." "I am the same who hideth up this record unto the Lord. None can have the power to bring it to light, save it be given him of God; for God will that it shall be done with an eye simple to his glory." The record is addressed "to the Lamanites, also to the Jew and Gentile."

The New Jerusalem is to be built up on this land. And, at the same time, the Jews are to return and rebuild Jerusalem. But America is Zion. "It is a choice land, saith God, unto me, above all other lands." "And it shall be a land of liberty unto the Gentiles; and there shall be no kings on this land." "And I will fortify this land against all other nations, and he that fighteth against Zion shall perish, saith God; for he that raiseth up a king against me shall perish, for I, the Lord, king of heaven, will be their king." "Behold, hath the Lord commanded that any should not partake of his goodness? Behold, I say unto you, Nay; but all men are privileged, the one like unto the other, and none are forbidden. He commandeth that there shall be no priestcrafts; for, behold, priestcrafts are that men preach, and set

themselves up for a light unto the world. Behold, the Lord hath forbidden this thing: wherefore, the Lord hath given a commandment that all men should have charity, which charity is love. But the laborer in Zion shall labor for Zion; for, if they labor for money, they shall perish. And, again, the Lord commandeth that men should not murder, that they should not steal, that they should not envy, that they should not have malice, that they should not contend one with another, that they should not commit whoredoms, for whoso doeth these things shall perish; for none of these iniquities come of the Lord, for he doeth that which is good among the children of men. And he inviteth all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none, black and white, bond and free, male and female, and he remembereth the heathen, and all are alike unto God." "But, behold, in the last days, . . . they preach unto themselves their own wisdom and their own learning, that they may get gain and grind upon the face of the poor; and there are many churches built up, which cause envyings and strife and malice; and there are also secret combinations, even as in old times, according to the combinations of the devil, who is the foundation of all these things, yea, of murder and of works of darkness." "But, behold, in the last days all the nations of the Gentiles and of the Jews will be drunken with iniquity and all manner of abominations; and, when that day shall come, they shall be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and with earthquake, and with a great noise, and with storm and with tempest, and with the flame of devouring fire. And all the nations that fight against Zion, and that distress her, shall be as a dream of a night vision." Thus speaks the prophet Nephi, in the second book of the Book of Mormon.

The American Indians are the descendants of the Lamanites, an Israelitish remnant. In the fulness of time, which is now at hand, they are to be restored to their birthright, and to become "a pure and delightsome people." A Mormon hymn sends up this petition:—

"Great Spirit, listen to the red man's wall,
Thou hast the power to help him in his woe:
Thy mighty arm was never known to fail;
Great Chieftain, save him from the pale-faced foe."

Nor is this mere sentiment. The Indians are being baptized by the score. Hundreds and thousands have already heard and rejoiced in the glad tidings, and entered into the covenants of a new life, casting aside their filthy habits and blood-thirstiness, and practising the arts of cleanliness and of peace, and helping to build up the waste places of their fathers.

T. W. CURTIS.

THE CONCEPTION OF LIFE.

III.

The question which confronts us at this stage of our investigation is by what means and in what manner does the ethical power establish its sway over the forces of nature.

All living beings, conscious or unconscious, seek for happiness; and "happiness is the daughter of beauty." The modes of the beautiful are the objects of our desire: only beauty can call up hope in the sentient being, and sway it by the anticipation of possession. The power to possess beauty is the fulfilment of desire; the fulfilment of desire is liberty; and liberty is life.

All ugliness, be it that of material or that of dynamic form, engenders pain in the sentient beholder; and all pain, however slight, is a symptom of disease, the vanguard of death. The ugly is

generally not anticipated, for its home is not in the future. When it does come upon us, it

"Gildes forth among the shadows, cast
Upon the present by the past,"—

a power of darkness and fear.

And as we hate this power of darkness and evil, ugliness, pain, and disease, as we love beauty and happiness and their servant truth, so are we found worthy to enter the innermost shrine of the temple of morality.

As the first initiative to action of the ethical forces proceeds from the beautiful, it is prophetically mirrored in our emotions as desire. All our efforts for the attainment of this beautiful, the object of desire, whether those of conscious will or of unconscious impulse, consist in the trained action of only those disciplined natural forces which, by their subjection to our purposes and ideals, acknowledge themselves the sworn allies of the ethical power.

It must, however, be clearly understood that, although all our desires may be truly said to be excited by some mode of the beautiful, it is by no means necessary that this excitement should be directly effected by our love for or sympathy with the beautiful itself. Equally well may this desire be excited by the antipathy and hate which we bear to its opposite ethical pole,—the ugly.

In the former case, desire is due to a correspondence subsisting between the wave-proportions and recurrences proper to the beautiful itself, and like or similar ("homoeiomorphous" or "homoeiorhythmic") wave-proportions and recurrences proper to the emotional phases of the sentient being. Desire thus depends upon the prophetic sense of commensurability; happiness, upon the actual commensurating contact between certain modes or aspects of motion pertaining to the emotional life of the sentient being, and similar modes or aspects of motion pertaining to that being's environment.

In the latter case,—that of the excitement of desire for the beautiful and good through our antipathy to the ugly and evil,—we have, apparently, to deal with the non-correspondence which must necessarily exist between the wave-disproportions and non-recurrences proper to ugliness and the utterly unlike or dissimilar wave-proportions and recurrences eventuating in the emotional phase of the sentient being, a phenomenon of ethical contrast-effect.

And, thus, we perceive in the direct birth of desire, arising out of the sympathy between us and the beautiful, there is manifested a *law of ethical or morphocratic induction*; in the indirect awakening of the same desire through the antipathy between ourselves and the ugly, a *law of ethical or morphocratic polarization*.

While it would hardly be practicable in the brief compass of this essay to give a clear and definite account of the exact relation which the æsthetic and ethical phases of life bear to the beautiful, yet, to avoid all possibilities of misconception, it should be here stated that the terms "beauty" and the "beautiful" are here nowhere used with a narrow restriction to the designation of regularity of external superficial form alone. Not the rhythm and proportion of a series of harmonic curves in space only, but the orderly procession of musical waves beating in melodious surf upon the shores of sense as well; the play of color which lights the smile or illumines the frown of the landscape, the rhyme of conduct in the life of the sincere teacher, the honorable man of action, and the tender, loving woman,—are all equally but varied modes of the beautiful.

By anticipating and hoping for the objects of

our desire, we definitely locate their existence in the future. I am aware that it is a common habit to regard the actual existence of these objects as of doubtful reality, or rather as a mere contingency not to be thought of for a moment as of the same order of certainty with the facts of the past.

But the truth remains, we do anticipate; and, when the object of our prophetic vision has been realized by the magic touch of the present, have we not received a most tangible proof of the correctness of this our "memory of the future"? It is true the most vivid of our anticipations are often doomed to disappointment; our powers to mingle with the forms of a yet unborn age are most limited; we cannot see clearly, nor penetrate far beyond the veil which separates our present from the what-shall-be. But can we do so in the other direction? Could we make the experiment with the past, how many of our memories now believed to be "as surety sure" would unveil themselves images of delusion and deceit? Could we retrace our steps as well as we advance them, we would fall upon history, and justice and truth would erase from her most authentic records many a word, sentence, and page. The faculties of memory and prophetic vision are the same. Both are often right, frequently at fault. But, in the latter case, proof and disproof of reliability continually arise before us as the future springs into the being of the present. The character and faithfulness of the memory are little questioned, only because these proofs and disproofs of the present are ever wanting.

All human misery—sin and pain, nay, death itself—is indissolubly linked with the immediate unattainability of our desires. Could we under all circumstances and always attain these, we should be—"even as the gods"—morally responsible for all we know to be, omnipotent, and absolutely free. And, as the realization of these objects of desire, dwelling in the time-halls of the yet unborn years, is our inalienable birthright, we must unceasingly strive for their possession. The evil power which ever opposes itself to their attainment is that of the unsubdued natural forces, the enslaving causes, which continually arise from the past. We, the human race, bound by our line of descent to a base animal ancestry, can attain to full moral dignity only in so far as we avow ourselves

"With arms, unyielding valiant borne,
The champions of the future's morn!"

CHARLES FROEBEL.

THE NEEDED STIMULUS IN EDUCATION.

The golden key to unlock the treasure vaults in which are concealed the mysterious riches that, when found, so richly repay all the toil of search, is simply the wish to find out things, the spirit of curiosity. This wish, always so strong, such an active element in all children, is not sufficiently recognized in their training. Instead of being encouraged and rightly directed, it is oftener frowned upon, and every effort made to prevent its growth. It is thought to be the spirit of mischief, and as such must be eliminated by restraint and punishment from the child's nature. Thus forbidden to use this pure instinct given him for his growth and the acquisition of knowledge of nature which, in after years, would prove a talisman against corrupt influences, he will often secretly fill his mind with the poisonous food found in dangerously exciting novels and vicious companions. "Curiosity should be early awakened and judiciously fostered." With this for its controlling force, the inquiring child will become the intel-

ligent man or woman, whatever may be its future station. Institutions of learning can only lend their aid; and without them even, as one often sees, the noblest workers in life, either in art, science, philosophy, or in the no less royal kingdom of home, are found.

In thus encouraging the spirit of curiosity, we shall find the natural bias of the child's mind, and be able to give him the special training suited to his bent; for, as Emerson says, "Capacity undeveloped is only an organized day-dream with a skin on it." "Our works," says Carlyle, "are the mirror in which the spirit first sees its natural lineaments." "Know thyself is an impossible precept till it is translated into this partially possible one, Know what thou canst work at."

What a vast amount of happiness there would be in the world, if every one could find and work in the business most adapted to taste and ability! What superior, almost perfect productions in all departments of life we should witness! "No round pegs in square holes, then"; and the result so apparent now everywhere, of failure in happiness and success. One writer has truly said, "Life is a delight just in degree as it is consecrated to action, or the conscious volitional exercise of our noblest qualities." Work is the wooing by which happiness is won. Industrial education, just beginning to be recognized as a necessary accompaniment to all intellectual training, will be one of the most potent instruments in revolutionizing and reforming society. It is necessary to cultivate imagination; for the child must imagine there is something hidden, or he will not use his faculties to gratify his curiosity, and try to find out.

How dreary would all lives be without the possession of this blessed faculty, and the stimulus it affords to all its best and highest feelings! Not curiosity alone has impelled the students of science and art, or the discoverers of new continents, to such self-denying, heroic exertions; but imagination has been the food on which curiosity has fed, and which has been the nutriment by which the spirit of investigation has grown, and which has been to the hunger of that spirit as meat and wine to hungry and thirsty physical bodies. Grindon says: "The body must be taken into the playhouse of nature, and the mind be inspired through the imagination, upon which curiosity itself depends. A child's imagination can hardly be too much encouraged, provided it be always guided to some resting-place, where it can repose awhile, and then in due time be led onward again, but always with an interval." Let us imagine ourselves for a moment in a small ante-chamber, with doors leading from it to innumerable rooms, into which we long to enter and feast on the rich treasures which we imagine they contain; but the janitor forbids our even attempting to unlock the doors, and answers every entreaty with, You cannot enter: it is not for you to know what is contained in these rooms; it is forbidden fruit.

Such I imagine must be the unformulated thought of the little child who has just begun to understand that all around him are so many, many things which he wants to find out about, and cannot be made to perceive why he is denied the search,—why, when he tries with all his innocent child powers to reach the inside, and find out the mystery, he is told, That is very wrong, and you must be punished, if you do it. How much better to direct his attention to some other object of curiosity, to encourage him to observe everything, the little blades of grass, the flowers, even the weeds and pebbles about his path, to tell him that even the watch, with its tick, tick, tick, and its ever-moving wheels, he can learn all about when he is older! The parent or teacher who can inspire

the child with that divine stimulus which will impel him to search untiringly for knowledge and for truth without prejudice or fear is alone the true educator.

R. F. BAXTER.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Memorial Building, Boston, Mass., as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45 o'clock, business session for the hearing of reports, election of officers, etc.

Friday morning, May 29, at 10.30 o'clock, address by the President, followed by addresses from Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, of Ottawa, Can., and Rev. M. J. Savage of Boston, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" After these addresses, the subject will be open for speeches, not exceeding ten minutes each, from the floor.

Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Rev. R. Heber Newton will address the meeting on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." During the afternoon session there will also be opportunity for ten-minute speeches from the floor.

The annual festival will be held in the Meinaon, Tremont Temple, Friday evening, commencing at 6.30 o'clock. R. Heber Newton, W. D. Le Sueur, Wm. J. Gill, H. W. Holland, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary Eastman, and W. J. Potter will be among the speakers.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

"The Philosophy and Ethics of Naturalism" will be the subject of an address, by B. F. Underwood, before the Secular Society at Paine Hall next Sunday, at 2.45 P.M.

Mrs. IMOGENE C. FALES will address the Boston Society for Ethical Culture in the parlors of the Parker Memorial at 3.30 P.M., Sunday, May 3, on "The Divine Law of Co-operation."

ANY one of our subscribers can obtain a copy free of the *Pansy*, a most attractive magazine for children and young people, by sending a postal card requesting it, and giving full name and address to D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, Mass.

THE essay by Mr. Potter, read last Saturday evening before the Liberal Union Club of this city, on the "National Unitarian Conference and Mental Liberty," will be printed in full in *The Index* next week. The brief reports in the Boston daily press give an incorrect idea of the address in some important particulars.

TO A "medium" of this city, named Bliss, whose latest scheme is presented in a pamphlet he is circulating, the *Investigator* replies as follows:—

"J. A. B., Boston.—We have received a copy of your pamphlet, in which you say, in your notice of the "Developing Circle Extension Fund," that you "plead for the spirit friends that seek the means to return from spirit life." We were not before aware that spirits had to pay anything to return; but, if they do, we can put you in the way of sending them \$1,500, if you can perform in your "developing circle" a genuine, "materialization" that will satisfy two sceptics who offer the above large sum to see the "phenomenon." As you profess to be a medium, this information may be interesting; for we understand that the sceptics will be ready at short notice.

SAYS the Boston *Herald*: "When we get Gen. Grant's religious views reported by Newman, they are decidedly Newmannic. Take that remark yesterday, reporting Gen. Grant as saying (on Sunday), 'This is the Lord's day, and it would

seem like mockery for me to be out riding when so many people are praying for me.' That is Newman. Gen. Grant might have said, 'I guess I'd better stay in Sunday,'—meaning that some people would consider it improper for him to be riding on that day. Parson Newman says that a few words from a reticent man mean much. He is a liberal interpreter, and makes the most of the few words which drop from those firm lips."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston *Transcript* writes: "I heard a good story about the well-known wit, Joseph H. Choate, to-day, with which this somewhat rambling letter may be brought to an end. Mr. Choate was sitting in his law office, when a young man—very well known in society, who is always extremely well dressed, takes great pride in his family connections, and has a pretty high opinion of himself generally—entered, and introduced himself something as follows: 'I am Mr. J. Van Rensselaer Jones.' 'Ah!' replied Mr. Choate, 'take a chair.' 'Yes,' continued the young man, bent upon impressing his importance upon the lawyer, 'I am—er—the son-in-law, you know, of Governor Smith.' 'Indeed!' rejoined Choate: 'take two chairs!'"

For *The Index*.

THE STAR OF THE LION.

The stars of twilight, one by one,
Come out above the sunken sun,
At first with faint and timid beams
Amid the daylight's fading gleams.
Anon, as sunset's splendors die,
Distinct they lure the pensive eye,
And gem the dusking western sky
Like pearls on storm-strewn beach, that lie.

With face turned sunward, body spread
O'er half the azure fields o'erhead,
The constellated Lion grim
See couchant in those star-depths dim.
And, lo! his chiefest orb to-night,
Basilikos,* flames clear and bright.

Mark well that lamp of summer even,—
Star more renowned illumines not heaven.
In history's primeval days,
Ere David, Job, or Homer sung,
Ere Rome 'mid woods of Latium sprung,
It drew the Babylonian's gaze
For signs of fate when scanning space.

Chaldean sages watched the glow
Of Regulus thus long ago;
Thus far, 'mid mists of backward time,
Observed it from their towers sublime.
'Twas Regulus, the kingly star
Which ruled Chaldaea's calendar,
And Greek Hipparchos taught aright
The movement of the hosts of night.
Here, through our New World's twilight gray,
It beams with undiminished ray,
On us as brightly shining down
As on Assyrian monarch's crown.

And when our lips have long been dumb,
And a far future shall have come,
And dull oblivion made its prey
The fames and grandeurs of to-day,
And all now breathing melted be
In bosom of eternity,
The Lion's regal star will shed
Its radiance still through evening's red,
And still shine on with changeless ray
O'er earth's mutations and decay,
And bring as now to sleepless eyes
The peace of its far tranquil skies.

B. W. BALL.

*The principal star in the constellation of the Lion was called Basilikos, or the Little King, by the Greek astronomers. It is known to modern astronomers as Regulus, which is a Latin word of the same significance. The Arabs, too, called it the Royal Star.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 30, 1885.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

What Religious Education Shall Liberals Give their Children? *

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Do not suppose that I have come prepared to answer the question I propound. I am in search of light; and, in giving expression to my own doubts and surmises, it may be that your suggestive comments will help illumine "what in me is dark."

We are living at a period that seems to mark the ebb tide of religious belief. The historical and analytical researches of the last generation regarding the Scriptures have resulted in overturning or reconstructing many faiths which were supposed to be based on the solid rock of divine revelation. The great discoveries of mole-eyed science, groping among the atoms from which to deduce the natural laws, have revealed facts in those older scriptures written in the earth's formation, destructive to the Bible history which our parents and many of us, in earlier life, accepted as the groundwork of truth. A great unsettling of belief has followed. Our feet find under them the shifting sand of Sahara. In place of the Gibraltar whose firm support was our refuge and our strength. Doubt and denial are in the air. Instead of furtive questionings of the future life, open and emphatic negations of the soul's existence are popular. Where twenty-five years ago the Orthodoxy of Boston prayed that God would put a hook in Theodore Parker's jaws, Parker's heterodoxy is now orthodox, and Col. Ingersoll can fill Boston Theatre with thousands of enthusiastic auditors at a dollar per head, to hear his ridicule of the same God to whom Park Street Church addressed its infamous petition.

Many of us who are not yet converted to the new gospel, although compelled to relinquish much of the old and doomed to see beliefs that were sacred pass into the realm of fable, still cling to the hope of immortality and the immanence of the divine in the human soul. The prophets of

the new dispensation are scarcely less confident than their evangelical predecessors, and from narrow bases are not too modest to fulminate their dogmas or attempt to build up their little systems from ill-digested facts. Iconoclastic as the advance of free thought has been, one must rejoice at the wider liberty which it implies. The dethronement of the literal devil and the abolition of the bottomless pit much more than offset the loss of the imaginary heaven with its pavement of shining gold, or the transformation of the second person of the trinity from the Godhead into the ranks of glorified humanity. We are emancipated from haunting fears, although certain hopes of bliss are consequently weakened.

When I think of my agony of mind, when a child, connected with death and the burning torment, I am most thankful that my children will pass through no such horror. By this I do not mean to imply that such suffering came from home instruction,—far from it,—but the current theology of the time was so stamped upon youthful minds that playmates terrified each other with Calvinistic threats. Yet Orthodoxy, with all its sins, had some shining virtues. It had grit and self-denial at bottom, and an earnestness in matters of morality that we are in danger of losing in our broader theology. New England could ill afford to part with many of its qualities that are of Puritan inheritance.

The result of the wide-spread change of views regarding the authority of the Scriptures has been a laxity in church-going. The great majority of the community are not regular attendants, and religious societies languish. How to fill the pews and the treasury is the problem of all denominations, and smartness in the pulpit which can draw crowds and raise church debts commands a higher premium than piety. Excepting among the Catholics, the mere veneration of the Church is on the wane. In discussing the value of church organization, stress is more often laid on social and business advantages than on the salvation of human souls. I knew a thrifty tradesman in a neighboring town, whose first inquiry on settling there was, "Which is the most popular society?" and it resulted in his hiring a prominent pew in the Unitarian church. It was to the benefit of his temporal condition, whatever influence it exerted on his everlasting welfare.

There are various reasons why thinking men, earnestly desiring to leave the world better than they found it, are not attracted by the Sunday sermon. With their example of non-attendance, the children are naturally absent from the Sunday-schools, and religious instruction by the parents is neglected.

Let us consider why the churches cease to attract. Generalizations are tempting, but unsafe; and what I have to say must bear the impress of individual experience.

The anti-slavery movement started with ardent members of the Church. It ended with its leaders assailing the Church as the chief bulwark of slavery. It revolutionized the theological ideas of abolitionists, who were insensibly forced to re-examine their ground of belief in the light of conscience and reason as opposed to tradition. They belonged (to quote Conway) to "the fraternity of those who, amid a world that weighs eternal verities in their relation to gold and fashion, steadily say, 'Unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!'" To their children, the clerical garb and the formalism of public worship had few attractions, educated as they were in the only really religious movement of the day, vital with faith and courage. If one had lived in the days of the apostles, in the burning times of the Refor-

mation, or among the early Quakers, he could have fellowshiped no loftier souls or witnessed a braver martyr spirit. After companionship with men and women eager only for truth and counting no suffering for principle a sacrifice, how uninspiring did the conventional pulpit seem! With the children of abolitionists, therefore, church attendance and the Jewish Sabbath were naturally disregarded. Sunday was a favorite day for anti-slavery meetings, to the scandal of the churchgoers in the country towns. Nor were they placated by the oft-repeated claim of the itinerant speakers that, if Jesus were to appear in that community as a stranger, he would avoid the churches, and find himself at home only in the plain hall where the down-trodden and oppressed were remembered. I shall never forget Mr. Phillips' pungent allusion at Abington to "this God-forsaken town, with four Orthodox churches and no anti-slavery society." Theology brought out its texts to strengthen the slave's chain, to oppress woman, to make the Sabbath a prison for the poor. The time-serving nature of the popular churches, thus revealed by the touchstone of slavery, did not change with its abolition. The ministers, after the accomplished fact, discovered that, as "God had turned abolitionist," to use Dr. Putnam's phrase, it was no disgrace for them to throw up their caps, and appropriate the honor for the Church. Antagonizing bitterly every important reform in history, the Church claims each when successful, and enrolls among its saints the martyrs that it put to death. But slavery is gone. Has the nature of the Church therefore changed? Test it with the reforms of to-day. It is, with noble exceptions, still prostrate across the path of progress. How can we expect it to be otherwise? By its constitution, it must represent the sentiment of the community. The pews direct, the preacher obeys. If a minister wishes to see how long it will take to preach himself out of his pulpit, let him deal faithfully with the sins of his own people. It is the denunciation of other people's sins that they are tolerant of.

Why do I not go to church regularly? I ask myself that question in thinking of my children and my duty to them. I should go,—in fact, I could not stay away,—if the ministers near me dealt with matters of immediate concern to me. I listen composedly to the exposition of Jesus' beautiful character, of wickedness that was rampant over eighteen hundred years ago, interpretations of Scripture that have no interest for me with my disbelief of their authority, of glowing periods praising the abstract virtues; and I go away hungering. I am anxious to know what the preacher thinks of Boston in the year 1885, of the great social and national questions of the time, of the duties his hearers are neglecting, of the way to make virtue easy and vice hard in this city of the Puritans. Every day, life gives us new problems to solve, dangers to face, obligations to perform. What is the pulpit for, if not to help us in our perplexity by honest speech? When Mr. Parker preached his "Lessons for the Day," Music Hall was too small for the congregation. The people thirst for the word. Given a preacher vitalized with humanity, and empty pews are unknown. "The common people heard him gladly" was affirmed of the unconventional preacher of Judea.

I hesitate to force my children to go to Sunday-school, because of the dogmas taught, even among the Unitarians. Rather than bias their immature minds, I would let them wait till old enough to construct their own theology. We know so little of the great mystery that surrounds us here, and of the laws which guide our footsteps, that to

* An address delivered before the Liberal Union Club, February 28, 1885.

serious minds the flippant assumptions of theology seem profane. I never hear a prayer addressed to the unknown Author of creation, which concludes with "We ask this in the name of Jesus Christ," without feeling it to be incongruous. It is a wonder that so many ministers, who disbelieve the Christian myth, still use this irreverent formalism. What would be thought of one who should pray through Socrates? As illustrative of theological impressions on youthful minds, the story recently told me by a friend is to the point. He was walking with his little boy at night, and talking of the stars. On being told that God made them, the little fellow asked with astonishment: "Is God alive? I thought the Jews killed him." And many a child of larger growth has put the humble carpenter's son in the place of the supreme Power.

Now, my children lose something by my abstinence from church. The noble, uplifting hymns, whether theological or not, that have been the inspiration and the joy of generations, and stirred the soul to sacrifice and labor, do not thrill them, although martyrs and saints have been sustained by their sentiment and melody. They lose also familiarity with the Bible, which, interpreted aright, is, after all, "the book of books" for the inspiration and comfort of humanity. Nor am I sure that their religious nature and their veneration do not suffer. I cannot doubt that these attributes were given us for an elevating purpose, or that their exercise uplifts and strengthens us in trials. We can echo the prayer of Tennyson:—

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell."

The non-church-going children of abolitionists were reared in the atmosphere of faith in great ideals. In these changed times, our children cannot so easily catch the "vision splendid" that on our "way attended." What can we give them in place of what we take away? Supposing we say to them, Because we cannot see God, and do not believe he ever manifested himself in recorded miracle, and cannot affirm to ourselves that he is personal, therefore worship only humanity. Such instruction may stimulate fellow-feeling and benevolence, and persuade one to labor for the physical amelioration of his kind; but it does not satisfy the longings of what we have been used to call the soul. The most perfect comfort of the body is compatible with anguish of mind; and how often we feel like

"An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry,"

and only obtain relief when we rest on the invisible and mysterious influences that surround us, define them as we may!

The worship of humanity! I can understand such terms as the dignity, the grandeur of humanity, but its worship never. What is humanity but the aggregate of human beings, of which I am one; and, as each knows his own weakness and dependence, how is it possible to worship one's self without degradation instead of exaltation? For the finite to attempt to measure and judge the infinite, call it by what name you choose, Nature, Fate, or God, and to assert itself as the supreme, is pitiable. Can I point my children to the lives of eminent unbelievers as examples? Yes, unbelievers of the current theology, unbelievers of the false gods of religion and fashion that society sets up, unbelievers even like Harriet Martineau and John Stuart Mill, who yet, in spite of intellectual disbelief, discerned with clearness the moral laws, if they could not discern the lawgiver,—unbelievers only in name. The current theology is always at war with reform, but the reformers who move the world are those who believe greatly. It is the

men and women of faith who illuminate history. Weak in themselves, they become invincible, panoplied in the divine spirit. The familiar quotation of "one with God is a majority" comprehends the fact.

But unbelievers in the materialistic sense, those who are impatient at the mention of another world, and claim to know that death ends all, I do not hold up to my children as helpers. The mournful inculcation of the Rubáiyát is not stimulating to man's highest faculties:—

"Waste not your hour, nor in the vain pursuit
Of This and That endeavor and dispute;
Better be jocund with the fruitful grape
Than sadden after none, or bitter, fruit."

I apply the same reasoning to such minds as to religious dogmatists. Be modest, my good man. What you assert as final will still be the subject of discussion and doubt, of hope and despondency twenty centuries hence, as it was twenty centuries ago. The same problem that perplexed Socrates and Plato and Cicero before the Christian scheme had made its million of converts will still burden human minds, and the Sphinx will still sit "at the gate of life with the old question on her awful lips." So I am not disheartened when the scientist brings me a hopeless message from animals or rocks. Wisdom has its limits; and, while I quarrel with no man's conclusions for himself, I rebel at having them imposed on me, just as I resist the tenets of Orthodox theology. The world is full of doubting Thomases, and the privilege to be happy on negations or to enjoy poor health is one I shall not meddle with. Each one to his taste. I like other company.

To deny the divine spirit because we cannot see it satisfies some minds, but with equal reason might we deny the existence of electricity, because no one ever saw it or even knows what it is. I went to hear Ingersoll recently, and did not regret the absence of my children. Wit and palpable hits and justifiable ridicule of foolish dogmas and eloquent passages abounded; but flippancy and *ad captandum* appeals and the turgid artificial, rhetoric of the peroration made the whole performance depressing. I contrasted the effects on one's feelings, on coming out, with the inspiration that men felt in leaving Emerson's Divinity School address, or one of Mr. Parker's exceptional sermons; an anti-slavery speech of Mr. Phillips, or on rising from reading Whittier's "Eternal Goodness," where the topics treated search the profoundest depths of human nature and stimulate the highest sentiments. One who has felt the touch of the master cannot thrill when the pretender fingers the keys. More than all else that troubles me in the ethical education of my children is the animalism that is encouraged by materialistic thought. It would pain me little to have them embrace Calvinism with conscience, compared with entertaining liberal ideas and lax morals. The wine cup and its associations and the degradation of the tobacco habit I dread for them more than the fear of hell; and, if I can teach them to make character, and not abstract belief, determine their friendships, I shall not worry about their intellectual speculations.

It may be that age brings back the outgrown beliefs of childhood, and that at last, tired of the activity of promulgating advanced ideas, we seek to find rest in the comfortable pew which we had abandoned. I trust, however, that, while retrospect, softened by the mist of memory, wears a glory we did not realize as we passed, our faces will continue to front the sunrise and our steps to climb.

No lives can be repeated, and conditions are as evanescent as the clouds. We cannot reproduce

for our little ones the religious fervor of the great struggle of the century. From some other source must their torches catch their glow. Satisfied with the spiritual education acquired under exceptional circumstances, are we not in danger of taking it for granted that they may be saved vicariously? It is because our lives have carried us beyond dependence on the Sunday service that our children find themselves outside the influences that affect their playmates who are in the Sunday-schools. What can we give them better than the churchmen teach? I live in the hope that some "rugged Luther of these latter days" may call their higher nature to an awakening, and bind them to the saving service of a great cause.

Whether the reflux wave of spirit that is to cover the muddy flat of materialism shall show its snowy crest to our expectant eyes, who can foretell? I hold to the belief that it is on its way, destined to float the stranded ships of faith upon its swelling bosoms. "May such things be!"

For The Index.

GEORGE ELIOT'S LIFE.

BY R. E. WHITMAN, U.S. ARMY.

Mr. Cross has done a real service to his generation in his reverential devotion to the memory of this grandest of women. He has lifted with delicate hand the curtain that shuts the studio of the artist from the cosy rooms that constitute the home. We all loved her art so truly it was no impertinent curiosity which made us long for a nearer view of the woman,—the arm-chair, the soft firelight, the homely soil out of which could come such verdure, that could grow and ripen such fruitage. In this act of graceful kindness, he has kept himself only so much in view as seems necessary to call attention to more prominent and characteristic features in the picture. He knew her tastes, and did not forget them.

Of biographers, she says, "Is it not odious that, as soon as a man is dead, his desk is raked, and every insignificant memorandum, which he never meant for the public, is printed for the gossiping amusement of people too idle to reread his books?"

"He gave the people of his best.
His best he gave, his worst he kept."

But there is a certain set, not a small one, who are titillated by the worst, and indifferent to the best. I think this fashion is a disgrace to us all. It is something like the uncovering of the dead Byron's club-foot."

Mr. Cross' book will never be read by the idle lovers of gossip. Whoever do read it will go back to her books with a keener interest, and will, to a certain extent, see them in a new light. The wonderfully furnished head they knew; but the warm, true, deeply religious heart-pulses under it, the motive force, they now, for the first time, clearly appreciate.

Intellectually, the book is of great value, showing as it does the completeness of her education, her wonderful range of study, the complete genesis of her books, as well as the development of mind, character, and opinion, even unto the end. The frail body wavered, failed, and died: the woman grew broader, deeper, and sweeter, until the moment of final separation of soul and body. Emerson says: "We have never come to the true and best benefits of any genius so long as we believe him an original force. In the moment when he ceases to help us as a cause, he begins to help us as an effect; then he appears as an exponent of a vaster mind and will. The opaque self becomes transparent with the light of a First Cause."

George Eliot said of herself, "In all the best part of her writing there was a 'not herself' that took possession of her; and that she felt her own personality to be merely the instrument through which this spirit, as it were, was acting." If this story of her life has any force that will live, it is the clear shining of this great eternal light through her for us. The Jew refused to believe any good thing could come out of Nazareth. Sectarianism still questions the possibility of good coming from a life unshackled by creed, and doubts the existence of a simple religion, with charity

as broad as that taught by Christ or Gautama in the absence of a well-defined theology. In living her life, George Eliot did not hesitate at the unexpected consequences of her own development. She dared to be a law unto herself, as in some things all real character must be. Each human soul is a new creation, a new combination, such as no generation gone before could have produced. Human law, always imperfect, "waxes old as a garment"; and we are asked to reverence it because of its antiquity, not to love it for its present fitness for our needs. Any law has outlived its usefulness when it no longer yields to the human necessities of the "now."

Mr. Cross' book is brought into strong relief by the sombre background of Mr. Froude's Carlyle. There are many striking points of similarity of these great lights in the literature of this century: both born of artisan fathers, both of second wives; the fathers in both cases of strong frames, inflexible honesty, and remarkable for a strong common sense; the mothers, alike, devoted, industrious, and affectionate. They were both marked from childhood with the stamp of intellectual superiority: both omnivorous readers; both from early age strongly under the domination of evangelical belief; both subject to the pangs of dyspepsia, the brain busy in either absorption or creation to the neglect of working the mill to grind the corn of life; both thorough haters of sham, lovers of real work; both with the earnestness that comes from an early contact with the actualities of common life; both ambitious to do something for their kind; both seekers after truth for its own sake,—Carlyle, in his impetuosity, "I seek not Heaven, I fear not Hell. I crave the truth alone whithersoever it may lead. Truth, though the heavens crush me for following her. No falsehood, though a celestial lubberland were the price of apostasy"; George Eliot in her quieter way, "My only desire is to know the truth; my only fear, to cling to error"; both self-reliant in matters of intellectual conviction; both brave enough to walk by the light with which the Creator had endowed them, alike finding their true Christian earnestness after they had renounced the authority of dogma; both teachers, whom money could not induce to write, unless in accordance with their own convictions of duty to themselves and their race.

The grand difference in their development was simple, though broad and deep as the sea. The stern Scot snorted his contempt at the idea of seeking earthly happiness. The gentler English woman early declared the seeking of happiness to be a duty, no less than a human necessity. She found it, and thankfully accepted it. Carlyle sees the world and humanity in the cold electric glare of pure intellect. His lights and shadows are intense. He deals only in the superlative, and invents new words to intensify his invective. He works like a very Vulcan forging his thunderbolts for the demolition of the walls of sham, and never knows that a soul by his side is starving for want of human affection. George Eliot looks out from the ruddy glow of domestic firelight. The lights and shadows meet and mingle in its kindly flickering: the lines are never well defined,—the light might so easily be shadow and the dark place made light by a slight change in the arrangement of things.

She says: "Happiness means all sorts of love and good feelings, and that is the best result that can ever come out of science." "My own experience and development deepen every day my conviction that our moral progress may be measured by the degree in which we sympathize with individual suffering and individual joy."

The capacity for love in the human heart is like the inherent force in the horseshoe magnet: it craves a keeper, something of the opposite or negative quality that it may hold to itself, gathering strength by the apparent expenditure of force. Not finding it, it grows weaker in the silent reaching out after distant and various objects, until, finally, its useless life seems to expire. The giving is more important than the receiving. George Eliot gave in rich abundance,—a wife to him who could claim no wife; a mother to his boys, devoting hours to correspondence with them after her minutes had become golden; redeeming one man from the desert of despair, and through that, hoping and striving to do her share toward the redemption of the race.

In one of her early letters after her union with Mr. Lewes, she says: "If I live five years longer, the positive result of my existence on the side of truth and

goodness will outweigh the small negative good that would have consisted in my not doing anything to shock others; and I can conceive of no consequences that will make me repent the past. Do not misunderstand me, and suppose I think myself heroic or great in any way. Far enough from that! Faulty, miserably faulty I am,—but, least of all, faulty where others most blame." In 1857, after three years of her "dual life," as she loves to call it, she says: "My life has deepened unspeakably during the last year. I feel a greater capacity for moral and intellectual enjoyment, a more acute sense of my deficiencies in the past, a more solemn desire to be faithful to coming duties than I remember at any former period of my life. And my happiness has deepened, too: the blessedness of a perfect love and union grows daily."

There are many who will be able to see in the following a spiritual flight as far beyond creed as creed is beyond fetishism. "As for the forms and ceremonies, I feel no regret that any should turn to them for comfort, if they can find comfort in them. But I have faith in the working out of higher possibilities than the Catholic or any other Church has presented. And those who have the strength to wait and endure are bound to accept no formula which their whole souls, their intellect as well as their emotions, do not embrace with entire reverence. The highest 'calling and election' is to do without opium, and to live through all our pain with conscious, clear-eyed endurance." Again: "My books have for their main bearing a conclusion, without which I could not have cared to write any representation of human life; namely, that the fellowship between man and man, which has been the principle of development social and moral, is not dependent on conception of what is not man! And the idea of God, so far as it has been a high spiritual influence, is the ideal of a goodness entirely human (*i.e.*, an exaltation of the human)." "Will you not agree with me that there is one comprehensive church whose fellowship consists in the desire to purify and ennoble human life, and where the best members of all narrower churches may call themselves brother and sister in spite of their differences?" "I believe that a religion, too, has to be modified,—'developed,' according to the dominant phrase,—and that a religion more perfect than any yet prevalent must express less care for personal consolation and a more deeply awing sense of responsibility to man, springing from sympathy with that which of all things is most certainly known to us, the difficulty of human life."

Always true to the light within her, she says: "If I could be seduced by such offers, I might have written three poor novels in one year, and made my fortune. Happily, I have no need to exert myself to say, 'Avant thee, Satan!' Satan, in the form of bad writing and good pay, is not seductive to me." Again: "I shall go on writing from my inward promptings,—writing what I love and believe, what I feel to be true and good, if I can only render it worthily, 'as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be' with those who are to produce any art that will lastingly touch the generations of men." "I can write no word that is not prompted from within." "My function is the rousing of the nobler emotions, which make mankind desire the social right. . . . It is one thing to feel keenly for one's fellow-beings; another to say, This step, and this alone, will be the best to take for the removal of particular calamities." "Oh that we were all of one mind, and that mind good,—pity and fairness, two little words, which carried out would embrace the utmost delicacies of the moral life!"

An indefatigable student, seeking light from all sources, exploring all fields of argument because she believed

"Not God himself can make man's best
Without best men to help him,"

again she prays,—

"Give me no light, great Heaven, but such as turns
To energy of human fellowship;
No powers, save the growing heritage
That makes a completer manhood."

For the effect of this broad religion upon herself, it has been freely stated and widely believed that it led her to a condition of settled melancholy. In a letter to an intimate friend four years before her death, she says: "It is remarkable to me that I have entirely lost my *personal* melancholy. I often, of course, have melancholy thoughts about the destinies of my fellow-

creatures; but I am never in that mood of sadness which used to be my frequent visitant, even in the midst of external happiness. And this, notwithstanding a very vivid sense that life is declining and death close at hand."

Her interest never flagged to the very end in

"The dire strife of poor Humanity's afflicted will,
Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny."

"We cannot be utterly blind to the results of duty, since that cannot be duty which is not already judged to be for human good. To say the contrary is to say that mankind have reached no inductions as to what is for their good or evil." "The art which leaves the soul in despair is lamming to the soul, and is denounced by the healthy sentiment of an active community."

We can barely better sum up her attitude toward existing religious systems than by the following extract: "All the great religions of the world, historically considered, are rightly the objects of deep reverence and sympathy,—they are the record of spiritual struggles which are types of our own. This is to me pre-eminently true of Hebrewism and Christianity, on which my own youth was nourished. And in this sense I have no antagonism toward any religious belief, but a strong outflow of sympathy. Every community met to worship the highest Good (which is understood to be expressed by God) carries me along in its main current; and, if there were not reasons against my following such an inclination, I should go to church or chapel constantly, for the sake of the delightful emotions of fellowship which come over me in religious assemblies." No one can doubt the deeply religious feeling and motive underlying all her acts and opinions. As to her attitude in relation to the destinies of the race, she claims to have invented the word "meliorist," which seems to be the only refuge for a candid, thoughtful, sympathetic mind,—as, logically, pessimism ends in either brutal indifference or insanity, optimism in a weak ignoring of all but pleasant facts; an airy relinquishment of all personal responsibility for suffering; a childish hope that somehow things are better than they seem, or, at any rate, that they will come out all right, while we comfort ourselves with our *eau sucrée*.

The point in the life of this representative woman round which circle universal interest and inquiry is her union with Mr. Lewes. We may well be content to let their bright, happy, nobly useful lives plead for justification, if any is needed. The fact is that two natures necessary to each other found the law of the land and the Church inexorably blocking the path that led them toward happiness and peace with "Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." This thunderbolt, which is hurled mercilessly at the head of him who dares ask for divorce, may in the future find its proper place in the catalogue of ghostly aphorisms. When the conveniences of fashion, respectabilities of custom, religion, and law stand in the way of the union of two natures which seem to demand each other, each needing what the other is better for giving, it would seem there was a real putting asunder of what the God of nature had joined together by his fundamental laws, while cutting the chain forged by inconsiderate haste, ignorance, and the agency of a licensed marriage legalizer, which binds either one or two human beings to the corpse of dead hope and self-respect, is but the "loosing the bonds of the captive, and letting the oppressed go free."

Humanity never moves in masses toward a better civilization, a purer ideal of religion, or more humane laws. Argument grows on what it feeds. Neither can humanity be driven toward higher ground by the terrors of the law. An Indian chief once said to me: "Why should I forsake my way of life, and live like the white man? You need not say because I must, for I'd rather die here and now than to be afraid; but show me how your life is better?" The cold axioms of social science are alike vanity. "If you are ill, the first of all duties is to be well." If you are unhappy, seek happiness as a right. The grandest mind is useless, when shrouded in gloom and darkness.

No manufactured smile of patient endurance can force its way to responsive sympathy, only to pity. Morally as well as physically, the great army of men must be led, not driven, to its duty, to its legitimate happiness. Endurance is only a virtue when there is neither help nor cure. It is a question of some importance in regard to law-making as to how far the law-maker is influenced by an intelligent regard for

the future well-being of society and how far by the social effect upon himself of the published record of his vote, in cases where the law under consideration has no present nor prospective interest to himself. It is to be hoped the day will come when men will hesitate at taking the responsibility of law-makers upon themselves, instead of, as now, wearing their election as feathers of personal distinction.

Human laws so far as regarded lands and property, were speedily and very generally modified after the overthrow of the feudal system. The baron and the bishop were alike compelled to yield their broad lands to the ownership of the many, but those laws which had been framed for the conservation of morals yielded the ground slowly. They are still under the influence of conservative, dogmatic feudalism. We call ourselves republicans, but the republicanism of conscience is not yet come. The feudalism of the Church is long-lived, because so many are willing to be serfs, and glory in the iron ring of servitude.

When men will stand on their feet in God's great republic, and take his message as it comes direct from him to their consciences, when they have the courage to love their neighbor as themselves, irrespective of creed,—“this brother whom they have seen,” and take that for sufficient evidence that they “love the Father whom they have not seen,”—then will feudalism in religion pass away, her strongholds be converted into hospitals for the poor and disheartened, for whom Death is the only physician. Law will then emerge from the fatal shadow which has so long darkened it, and men will at last know that the only possible advance for humanity is along the line in the direction of its own instinctive tendencies. We may deepen the channel through which the river of human life is to flow, we can cut off many a reedy, stagnant, miasmatic inlet, make clean the banks; but we can never change the direction of its flow until we can by some cunningly devised law compel the iron filings to restrain themselves from rushing to the embrace of the magnet. Then also we can call the roof which shelters two discordant souls a home! Both religion and law must be the servitors of humanity, not the taskmasters.

A nobler, broader religion will come to the waiting thousands who refuse to believe this world has no higher significance than a “mourners' bench” whereon to spend their allotted time, repenting for the sins of Adam, the indulgence of the practical selfishness of learning a formula by which to save their own souls; who contend that this world is at least a respectable ante-chamber to the audience hall of the great King, and that they should comport themselves as gentlemen. To this great, ever-increasing number of the waiting and hoping, the Great First Cause, the “not me,” seems to speak by the life no less than by the voice of George Eliot.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN., March 10, 1885.

For The Index.

ETHICAL CULTURE.*

BY MRS. CLARA M. BISBEE.

This meeting is called with the single purpose of arousing fresh interest in Ethical Culture, under the auspices of free thought. That the attitude of this society before the world (and before the city of Boston particularly) may be understood, let me for exactness define, in writing, our platform. First of all, we are Free Religious. We believe in the all-important reality which may be conceived and named in as many ways as there are individuals among us. God, Nature, or the Unknown, is recognized by us in common, through a silence broken only by soft strains of music. The words of no human being are competent to express the communion of the finite with the infinite. But, because of our necessary regard for this reality, we are led to the study of its every possible manifestation. Nature's process, by which the higher or more complex is constantly evolved from the lower and simpler, forces upon us a knowledge (more or less) of the conditions of happiness. All along, we trace the strife (consciously or unconsciously) for a better order of things, for the largest possible happiness of the race, which indeed constitutes morality. At last, we arrive at a period when consolidated experience amounts to moral intuition, when the human intellect sees far enough to set aside the near for a

* Anniversary address before the Society for Ethical Culture on the occasion of their removal to Parker Memorial parlors, April 5, 1885.

more remote good, egoistic for egoistic and altruistic pleasures,—in short, to demand from the inductions of the past something like a formulated moral code. So increasing knowledge becomes the requisite of all people, that all may reach sooner the ideal or happy state. Each human being may become actively a factor toward this end. But, looking over the world (and at home most truly, too), we find incompetency to realize the highest good already seen. Hence, motives must be discussed; and the one only intrinsic motive to good conduct—namely, the desire for race-happiness—must replace all others. The work here to be done for the world is perhaps even greater than the inciting to knowledge. This society, then, becomes a “Society for Ethical Culture.” It takes this title, because, while recognizing the reality on which morality is based, it finds the main work of life to be moral training.

As to its methods. One peculiarity is “association without formal organization.” The nucleus of this society began its work in Dorchester in 1881; and the leader has, from the first, believed it possible for a community to exist joined only through the bonds of a pure friendship. If Utopian, yet this is the aim; and, from a moral stand-point, it succeeds.

There are two ways of improving character: the one by changing external environments to something better, as sampled by the distinguished Felix Adler, of New York; the other, by quickening the inner life of the individual, as illustrated by this society. And friendship here between members of whatever rank in intellect or worldly condition, age, color, or sex, is such as only the sincere can know or the reverent liberal appreciate. Our young are educated from three years, upwards, on the principle of the kindergarten. Independent thought and noble endeavor are the end. The little ones are versed in what are termed the “flowers of the heart,” these having correspondence, through color, with garden blossoms. The children, too, make record through the week of character growth attained. Older pupils choose from the wide world of thought their topics for conversation, seeking in turn to solve the problems of life or to improve by study of some rare life.

One word as to the call for a society like our own in the midst of the liberal churches of Boston. It holds a unique place, because no other society that we know is absolutely free! The leader here is one of the association, each member of which gladly offers his best gift. The leader simply gives impetus to a movement shared by all. The leader is in no sense representative of the society's thought (except as to freedom and ethical culture in general); and the leader here, as in no other society in Boston, is true to the society only so long as she is true to her highest. If her view of the universe, of the origin and destiny of man, should change to-morrow, being true to herself, she would retain her place, as others would hold theirs in like transition. This, I claim, is practical free religion; and I prophesy that the church of the future will be in small communities like ours (say of fifty members), who, through the stimulus of “personal friendship and reverent free thought,” will draw themselves into accord with the highest. As to support of a society like this, financially, I would say that on principle each does his best; and some monthly payment of money (or its equivalent in work) is considered the very alphabet of morals with us. Yet payments are adjusted to ability. The leader here needs support for herself and her children. The only conflict ever with her is how to make a limited vitality do the work at once of leader and mother, while outside the society she earns her livelihood. At present, her income here is twelve dollars per month. Still, the hope forever allures that fifty memberships at ten dollars per year, or one hundred at five dollars, will be secured, and so a longer lease of life be granted.

That this society does not attempt extensive reforms in the environments of the poor, ignorant, and wicked outside, is not because the seed of such remains unsown: it is because the time for blossom and fructification is not yet come. Make interiors right, and exteriors will adjust themselves! Who shall describe that ever-widening circle whose centre we may be for good? Thus deeply impressed as I am with the need of individual ethical culture, and by means of reverent free thought, I invite our friends to-day to give their kindest, strongest words for our support, and in behalf of the world at large who feel unconsciously for a work like ours.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CLERICAL PERVERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

Editors of The Index:—

I said, in *The Index* of April 9, that candor is not to be expected from an orthodox clergyman in regard to matters wherein church creed and church custom have dictated what he shall say. Reading in the *New York Observer* of the same date an editorial article illustrating this fact, I think it well to call attention to it.

The reverend editor of the *Observer* quotes approvingly the following resolution passed by the General Conference of the [Orthodox] Congregational Churches of Connecticut at its last annual meeting:—

“Resolved, That the obligation of the divine law concerning the sacred observance of the Sabbath, as well as the needs of humanity, demand of the railroad corporations of the country the curtailment of all freight and passenger traffic on the Lord's Day, save that which can be proved to be absolutely necessary.”

The reference above to “the divine law” means the fourth commandment of the Hebrew decalogue. This command specifies the seventh day of the week, Saturday, as the divinely appointed day for Sabbatical rest, and specifies the six preceding days as the ones divinely appointed for work. The Jews, to whom this command was originally given, still observe this Saturday Sabbath. The Presbyterian editor of the *Observer* has never once in his life observed it, neither have the Orthodox Congregational ministers of Connecticut; yet both these try to make their readers believe that this same commandment allows work on Saturday, and forbids it on Sunday! They pretend to hold this as law abiding, and to obey it, while they systematically violate both parts of it, and teach others to do so; and they falsely claim Scripture warrant for representing devout attendance on their Sunday ceremonies as a duty, and work or recreation on Sunday as a sin.

Whether these men, and the class to which they belong, intend to speak falsely in this matter is a debatable question. What is certain is that their claims in regard to it contradict the book which they pretend to quote as a perfect and sufficient rule of life, and that their union in support of those claims, coinciding as it does with their present pecuniary advantage, is a noteworthy and suspicious circumstance.

C. K. W.

EXCUSES FOR DYNAMITE.

Editors of The Index:—

I like *The Index* too well to wish to see its columns closed to the discussion of any honest opinion. There will always be differences of opinion as to what changes may be necessary to progress, and as to what means may be adopted to advocate and bring about such changes. There is a small party—mostly foreigners, it is to be hoped—in the United States, which thinks that the only way to emancipate Ireland is to blow up English non-combatants with dynamite at railway stations and other places of public resort. On the last occasion on which these tactics were resorted to in London, there was a unanimous shout of indignation raised all over the Union. The leading organs of all parties hastened to disavow sympathy with the perpetrators, and demanded such a change in the law as would bring them to punishment. The only exception to this which I have seen, excepting of course the *Irish World*, is, I am sorry to say, to be found in the pages of *The Index*. In the number for the 26th of February, there is an article, if not exactly applauding these villainies, extenuating them,—making all manner of excuses for them, and drawing a parallel between them and the doings of the French in Tonquin and the English in Soudan. The writer speaks about England's crimes in Ireland, and about the murders committed in the name of the law, by which, I suppose, he means the hanging of the Phoenix Park gentry. He says also, “If we can grieve over untimely deaths in London, let us not less sorrow for the thousands hounded to the grave in unhappy Ireland.” When were these thousands hounded to the grave in Ireland? Is he going back three centuries, in order to make out a case? This is a good illustration of the utter ignorance on the part of newspaper writers of Ireland and of Irish affairs. The fact is that the Irishman of the present day does not labor under a single disability or injustice. He is in a far

better position than his fellow-subjects in England and Scotland: he is not taxed to support a State Church as they are, and he has advantages in the matter of land tenure which they have not. True, if we go back far enough, we shall find plenty of oppression and injustice. The Irish never were able to unite for the purpose of resisting the English invader. Ireland forms a marked contrast to Scotland in this respect, a smaller country with fewer people, and not separated by an arm of the sea. The English conquerors parcelled out the lands of Ireland among themselves, just as the Norman conquerors did with the lands of the English Saxons. Lands were originally acquired in something of the same way in all countries which have a history, but nobody except the Irish dream of confiscation for this cause.

I think that the man who can see no difference between the blowing up of railway stations by Irish dynamiters and the English war in the Soudan is to be pitied. The English, rightly or wrongly, consider themselves a sort of police to preserve order among semi-barbarous tribes. They at the present moment maintain order over a large part of the earth's surface. Much can be said on both sides as to their presence just now in Egypt and Soudan, but they make war only on armed men: they do not attack Arab women and children; they do not lay trains under the market places, and blow them up when they are full of people; they do not— But further illustration is useless. One might as well try to convince O'Donovan Rossa or Patrick Ford as try to make any impression on *The Index* contributor.

J. G. WHYTE.

OTTAWA, CAN., March 30, 1885.

HORATIO P. GATCHELL.

Editors of *The Index* :—

This very learned physician died at Asheville, N.C., on the 25th of March last, at the ripe age of seventy-one years. He was born at Hallowell, Me., and educated in Bowdoin College when Longfellow was professor of modern languages. Most of his life was spent in the West and South, and he had been in the vicinity of Asheville several years for his health. In the West, he was honored by all schools of medicine, and held professorships in medical colleges in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Chicago for more than twenty years. Probably but few persons in his native New England were aware of his vast professional and other attainments, and of his rare qualities of personal character. The following just tribute is copied from the *Daily Advance* of Asheville:—

Dr. Gatchell was an example of certain virtues which have always been rare with professional men. He subordinated every material and financial consideration to the science of his profession. It could not be told of him, as some one once remarked to Dr. Akenside, "Doctor, from all you have said, my opinion of the profession is this: our ancients endeavored to make it a science, and failed; our moderns, to make it a trade, and succeeded." It was utterly beyond the character of Dr. Gatchell to seek praise, intrigue for business, or practise any kind of deceit with the public or his patients. He treated sick persons with simple honesty, looking upon them as subjects for his medical skill and experience. The writer of this article has had the good fortune to meet, familiarly, many of the most distinguished men of the medical profession, but hardly one who possessed in a greater degree exact knowledge of the vast range of the science of medicine. His name ought to have stood by the side of the brightest lights in America's brilliant galaxy of talented men. His mistake was, as the world goes, not to have sought popularity and money. But the attainments of this remarkable man extended far beyond the ordinary range of medical science. Probably no specialist in the country was so fully and accurately informed upon the relations of meteorology with health as he. It will always be the sorrow of the scientific world that an exhaustive book upon this question was recently destroyed with the burning of Dr. Gatchell's house. There was hardly a branch of modern science or department of literature with which he was not familiar; and, in all his public discussions in magazines and professional journals as well as in the charm of private talk, he displayed the finest critical judgment.

Prof. Gatchell was of a deeply refined and highly intellectual nature. His mind was as broad as civilization, and his thought as invigorating as the air of the mountains. With the firmest moral principles, he united that variety of mental powers which we call genius. We now speak of him as dead, but the fruits of these powers keep him still among the living. The generous noble fire has gone out, but its impression on mankind is an immortality.

He was attracted, not by State or Church or wealth, but by truth and justice and humanity; and for these alone he devoted himself to science. He was the friend of the young, the help of those in trouble, and to the old a fountain of cheerfulness in life. His memory will be always bright with those who have felt the thrill of his surpassing eloquence or the enchanting delight of his personal acquaintance.

G. W. F.

BOOK NOTICES.

VOLTAIRE'S ROMANCES. Translated from the French. A New Edition. Complete in one volume. New York: Published by Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton Street. 1885. pp. 448. Price in cloth, bevelled boards, \$2.00; in half calf or half morocco, \$4.00.

Mr. Eckler seems to be editor as well as publisher of this excellent collection of some of Voltaire's most charming stories; for he gives in the preface a short sketch of the life of the famous wit, author, and politician, has embellished it with sixty-seven fine illustrations, and has added copious notes to enable the reader of to-day to understand more thoroughly the purport of these romances. He has been discriminating in his selection, declaring in his preface that "the romances and tales in this publication have been selected for their graceful and sprightly wit, as well as genial humor and keen satire; and, further, because they are free from even a suspicion of impropriety. They each teach a lesson of wisdom and morality; they teach courage, fortitude, and resignation; and, what is perhaps of even greater importance, they also tend to free the mind from the baneful errors of priestcraft and superstition." He further remarks: "Their quaintness, piquancy, and simplicity are altogether delightful, giving to them the aroma of attar and the flavor of fine old wine. They have, besides, great power and purpose, their trenchant wit cutting like a Damascus blade deep into the foibles of society." The collection consists of seven long stories and ten shorter sketches. The titles of the lengthier ones are "The White Bull," "Zadig, or Fate," "The Sage and the Atheist," "The Princess of Babylon," "The Man of Forty Crowns," "The Huron, or Pupil of Nature," and "Micromegas." Among the illustrations are three portraits of Voltaire: one, the frontispiece, is from a bust by Houdon, representing him as he appeared in his eighty-third year; a full-length portrait shows him in his seventieth year; and the third, copied from a French edition of his works published in 1746, was taken in his early manhood. The full-length likeness gives a much kindlier expression to his face, while preserving all its marked characteristics, than any other picture of him we have ever seen.

U.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION, MERIDEN, CONN., 1884, Vol. I. Published by the Meriden Scientific Association. pp. 40.

This pamphlet is mainly a catalogue of the phænogamous and vascular cryptogamous plants found growing in Meriden, Conn., compiled and left incomplete by the late Emily J. Leonard, director of the botanical department of the Association, and now "published as a tribute to her worth, and also as a recognition of her services as a botanist." The catalogue contains seven hundred and forty-nine distinct species of plants, and represents "at least five years of the constant labor of one woman, almost wholly unaided." Her discoveries were recognized by eminent botanists. Soon after her death, the Meriden Scientific Association, in a resolution, said, "Our fields and mountains will miss her familiar footsteps, our wild flowers will weep, and Flora herself mourn for her loved disciple." Miss Leonard died at Meriden, July 16, 1884, in her forty-seventh year. Last year, she spoke in this city for the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association and for the Moral Educational Association. The last evening she was in Boston, she attended the Festival of the Free Religious Association. Of this remarkable woman, the little work published as a tribute to her memory says:—

She passed the Harvard examination for women, and was offered a professorship at Vassar College. Miss Leonard was well read in Greek and Latin, also spoke French and German, and had a sufficient knowledge of Italian and Spanish to read in those languages. She assisted Prof. Bocher, of Harvard University, in the preparation of his French grammar, and translated from the French a *History of Political Economy in Europe*, by Jerome Adolphe Blanqui. Miss Leonard also assisted Mr. John J. Lalor

in the preparation of his *Cyclopedia of Political Economy*. Miss Leonard was greatly interested in the subject of political economy, and accumulated a valuable library on the subject. An essay on "Money," read by her at a convention in Cleveland, Ohio, attracted a great deal of attention at the time, as did also a paper on "Political Economy," read at Portland, Me., before the Woman's Congress, in 1882. In 1880, when the Scientific Association was formed, Miss Leonard was one of the earliest and most active members. One of her first papers read before the Association was on the "Definition of Botanical Terms." In February, 1880, she read a paper on "Pollen, and the Means by which it is distributed." In 1882, at the Darwin meeting of the Association, she read a paper on "Darwin's Observations and Experiments." Dec. 11, 1882, she read a paper on "Stomata and their Functions." June 11, 1883, she read a paper on "Dimorphous and Trimorphous Heterostyled Plants." She read at other meetings of the Association papers on the "Nutrition of Plants," "Fertilization of Plants," and in June, 1884, a paper on "Myths and Myth-makers."

U.

HOW SHOULD I PRONOUNCE? Or the Art of Correct Pronunciation. A Manual for Schools, Colleges, and Private Use. By Wm. Henry P. Phyle. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1885. Price \$1.25.

The author, in his preface, says, "There is no book upon this subject, whether popular or profound, that considers the question of pronunciation in its most general sense; no work sufficiently simple and brief, on the one hand, to meet the wants of ordinary people, and yet sufficiently complete and accurate, on the other, to satisfy those of more scholarly attainments." This want he hopes to supply in this work. To "ordinary people," the formidable list of books bearing upon the subject of English pronunciation, which is given in the appendix, will of itself give new ideas of the possibilities of study in the direction of the seemingly simple matter of pronunciation; while the titles of the different chapters of the book give some hint as to the scope taken, as, for instance, "The Physical Nature of Sound," "The Nature and Use of the Vocal Organs," "Articulate Sounds in General," "Alphabetics, or Symbols in General," "The Sounds of the English Language." There are twelve chapters, and each chapter has a long list of subheadings. Only one, however, is devoted to giving the correct pronunciations of a list of over a thousand words often mispronounced.

U.

TOKOLOGY. A Book for Every Woman. By Alice B. Stockham, M.D. Chicago: Sanitary Publishing Co.

Mrs. Stockham was one of the earliest women physicians in this country, and has been in constant practice for nearly thirty years. Her book, which deals mainly with the ailments incident to maternity, their cause and cure, is written in a clear, vigorous, and interesting style. Her remedies are based on sensible hygienic principles, which she carefully explains in direct, easily understood language. Several of the chapters are devoted to advice as to the care of infants, how to avoid and remedy the diseases to which childhood is prone, and the proper dietetics for both mothers and children. The book contains nearly three hundred pages, is printed in good, clear type, and is handsomely bound.

WIT AND WISDOM OF E. BULWER-LYTTON. Compiled by C. L. Bonney. New York: John B. Alden.

This compilation is a little unique, in that it proceeds in a somewhat more methodical fashion than that in which such compilations are usually made. The extracts are taken from twenty-eight of Bulwer's best known works; and the choice bits from each form a section by themselves, preceded by the title of the work they are taken from and a synopsis of the chief characters. So that, in addition to getting what the compiler evidently considers the cream of each story, the reader, unacquainted with Bulwer at first hand, gets also an inkling of the plan and purpose of the book from which they are excerpted. The quotations are numerous, not lengthy, and in good taste.

"ALDEN'S LIBRARY MAGAZINE" for May is a very solid number, enriched with the best thought of the day by leading writers. It gives nearly forty articles, of which we have only space to call attention to St. George Mivart's "Organic Nature's Riddle"; "Egypt and the Soudan," by Sir W. H. Gregory; "Contemporary Socialism," by J. Thorold Rogers; "The Organization of Democracy," by Goldwin Smith; "Cooperation in England," by Thomas Hughes; and "Interviewed by an Emperor," by Archibald Forbes.

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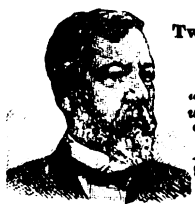
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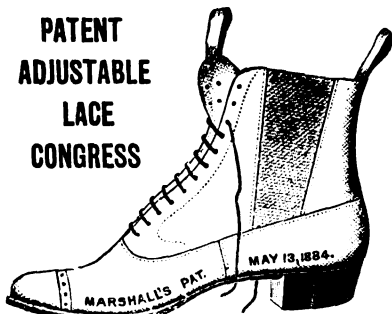
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

A COSTA RICA correspondent of the Boston *Herald* writes: "A Spanish highwayman does not swear at you, and command you to give him your money or your life: he makes a profound bow, places his hand upon his heart, assures you that he is devoutly grateful that you are looking so well, and regrets that he is compelled by pressing necessities to request that you will loan him whatever valuables you have upon your person. Then, thanking you for your promptness and courtesy in sparing him the painful duty of shooting you through the head, he will mount his horse and ride off with a prayer that the Almighty will protect you from the perils of your journey."

SAYS the *Christian Register*: "It is the *Catholic Review* which announces that 'Prof. Harkness, of Boston College, has prepared a manual on book-keeping with a special view to the wants of the Catholic clergy,' adding, 'If its lessons are mastered by every young ecclesiastic, obliged also by the most disagreeable necessities of his position to be a man of the world and of affairs, it will save many a heart-burning.' If there is any place where this commendation of the study of book-keeping will be appreciated, it is in Cincinnati. There is no evidence that the late archbishop was a dishonest man; but, if he had understood and applied a simple method of book-keeping, he might have avoided the pain of burning the pockets and the hearts of his parishioners."

In the Massachusetts Senate, last Monday, Senator Joyner, of Berkshire, speaking in favor of his substitute bill providing for the taxation of churches in excess of a valuation of \$25,000,

claimed that the taxation of churches, as the bill proposed, would tend to discourage the erection of so many costly church edifices, and encourage the building of small chapels and churches. The increase of church property from 1850 to 1860 was, he said, about one hundred per cent., while the increase in church membership was only twenty per cent. The same was true from 1860 to 1870. He mentioned that seven churches, four Unitarian and three Trinitarian, in this city, on the Back Bay, represent \$2,000,000 of property exempt from taxation. It was time, he thought, to call a halt in this vast accumulation of tax-exempted property in the hands of the Church. The substitute bill was refused, 9 to 19; and the adverse report was adopted.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, in the *Drawer*, humorously discusses the "deceased wife's sister" question, which comes annually before the British Parliament for consideration: "The desire," he says, "of the Englishman to marry his deceased wife's sister is one of the most marked phenomena of the times. The deceased wife's sister bill may be said to be his steady occupation. In all his breathing spells from emergencies, he turns to that. When he is not being massacred by the South Africans, or slaying Soudanese, or fighting Afghans, or pacifying the Irish, or being blown up in his Tower, he is attending to the deceased wife's sister bill. He comes back to it out of all victories and all defeats with unwavering pertinacity and courage. It appears to be the passion of his life to marry his deceased wife's sister. We, who live in a land where nobody opposes such an alliance, cannot conceive the attraction it seems to have to Englishmen. And, seeing how universal and strong this desire is in England, we cannot but inquire why the Englishman does not marry the wife's sister in the first place. Why does he go on marrying the wrong one, and then wait for death and the law to help him out?"

DOUGLAS JERROLD is said to have remarked to a friend, who was reading a book in order to review it, "I never do that: I find it prejudices me." His course seems to have been adopted by the literary editor of the *New York Independent* in criticising F. M. Holland's *Rise of Intellectual Liberty*. For instance, the review says: "The attempt to introduce the Knights Templar in the rôle of martyrs of intellectual liberty is a miracle in its way"; and, again, "Mr. Holland might as well say that the last Jew put to the rack, and tortured to force from him the secret of his wealth, was a martyr of intellectual liberty as to write the Templars into this position." What Mr. Holland does say is simply this, "I see no sign of heresy or free thought in these proceedings"; and, again, "The Templars were only imaginary heretics" (p. 211.) His index (p. 455) runs thus: "*Templars*, not heretics, but not innocent of crime." What he actually tries to show is that the real reason the novice was in a few cases asked to deny Christ, spit on the cross, etc., was merely that the Knights wanted to amuse themselves with his scruples or cowardice. The theory is a novel one, but should

not be misrepresented. Similar injustice is shown in charging Mr. Holland with an attempt "to describe Jesus as a rationalist liberal," whereas the *Rise of Intellectual Liberty* says (p. 69), "What independence he showed was as a mystic, not as a rationalist." And so to blame the author for "his guess that Calvin meant to have Servetus burned" is by no means warranted by the passage on page 370. "The attempt of the famous persecutor to have his victim beheaded was useless; and he undoubtedly knew from the beginning that conviction meant death at the stake, as was required by the ancient law, then often enforced against witches." Censure in such a spirit should recommend the book to fair-minded men.

LAST Monday evening, Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker gave the last of a course of lectures in this city on Spiritualism. The discourse was rather discursive, but was marked by evident sincerity, earnestness, independence of thought, and a kindly spirit. She spoke at length of the experiments of Crookes and the investigations of Wallace, and defended mediums in general, and Mrs. Maud Lord—one of whose séances was the subject of a recent letter in *The Index*—in particular. At the close of the lecture, the medium named referred to the article in *The Index* and its author in very caustic language, and said she was glad he was present to hear her opinion of him. At once there was a stir in the audience, and a general looking for the fellow thus castigated. In a moment all eyes were turned toward the innocent writer of this paragraph, who occupied a seat near two ladies, in the rear of the small hall. The spirit guides of the medium had not kept her from falling into a mistake as to the presence of *The Index* correspondent, and we were thought to be the individual who wrote the account of the "dark séance." After the experience of being stared at several minutes by the whole audience, we took an opportunity to remark that we thought the author of the article which had given offence was not present, else he would be likely to be heard from; that our own responsibility was simply that of an editor who expressed his own views, and was willing to allow others to express theirs; that the columns of *The Index* had been and were open to a defence as well as to criticisms of the claims of Spiritualism, etc. These remarks seemed to satisfy the audience: smiles took the place of frowns; the medium said she had been misinformed, and tendered an apology; and Mrs. Hooker, in the kindest tones, intimated that we possessed mediumistic powers, and thought that through the efforts of a dear friend in the spirit world interested in us, and with whom she had communicated, we would at no very distant date be convinced of the truth of Spiritualism. Another medium spoke, stating that she had recently seen Longfellow, the poet, and a spirit who claimed to be, and she had no doubt was, Mohammed. The meeting was, from different points of view, quite interesting. It ended more pleasantly than it would probably, had the writer of the article on "The Dark Séance" been present.

CHRIST'S MISSIONARY NATIONS IN ASIA.

The founder of Christianity is styled the Prince of Peace. He was a man of peace. Persons who have adopted "non-resistant" views have claimed him, and with very good reason, for their authority. By precept and example, he opposed the use of physical force for the accomplishment of his ends. He even taught that physical force is not to be resorted to for resisting physical force. And the Christian Church is fond of reciting concerning him the old words, though they were written without any reference to him: "He was oppressed, and he was afflicted; yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth."

We do not here raise the question whether the teachings and example of Jesus in this respect give the right ethical standard for human society. Certain it is that human society, with slight exceptions, has never followed, and makes no professions to follow, this standard. Though Jesus is the acknowledged head of the Christian Church, there is no Christian nation that makes any pretence of keeping his precepts with regard to peace. The contrast between his teachings and the common Christian practice could not be more forcibly illustrated than by the attitude of the two great nations, England and Russia, in Asia to-day. Here are two of the most powerful Christian nations in the world. In each there is a State Church. The sovereign in each country is, *ex officio*, the Head of the Church in each, Defender of the Christian Faith, and a visible representative of Christ on earth. The Christian people of these two countries have manifested great solicitude for the salvation of the pagan populations of Asia by their conversion to the Christian faith. Yet these two nations are at this time gathering immense armies in Asia, that are liable any day to be precipitated in bloody conflict over a boundary line between countries to which neither of them has the shadow of any natural right. What kind of faith in the religion of Jesus are these powerful national defenders of Christianity exhibiting to the "pagans" of Asia? What a commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount is their zeal to outstrip each other in getting national dominion over Asiatic soil! "The meek shall inherit the earth," said Jesus. Are these leading Christian nations now acting in Asia as if they believed that? Of course, they do not believe it; and no Christian nation has ever acted upon that precept. The scattered preaching missionaries of Christianity in Asia are teaching that Jesus said that "the peacemakers are the children of God," and that "they are blessed who hunger and thirst," not after dominion and power, but "after righteousness"; but the stronger missionaries are these Christian nations themselves, represented in their armies and their diplomats. These tell the story, not of what Jesus taught on Asiatic soil nearly two thousand years ago, but of what is the character of the religion which now bears his name, and is especially defended and supported by the powers of State, in two of the strongest nations of Europe in this present year of the Christian era.

How far Christianity everywhere is from the moral teachings on which Jesus appears to have laid most stress is curiously shown by a little remark made incidentally in an excellent article that recently appeared in the *New York Independent*, on "The Church of Abyssinia." The writer says, "Directly south of the Soudan lives a peculiar people, whose confession and worship is *Christian*, and who have for centuries been *living in deadly hatred* with their Mohammedan neighbors." I have italicized

the words which do not seem to fit together, very well, if the theoretical and Sunday descriptions of Christianity are to be accepted. And yet this writer, who gives a learned account of the history and customs of this Abyssinian branch of the Christian Church, seems to think that it would be a disastrous thing if its existence were to be imperilled, as he thinks it might be, by the success of the Mahdi. "It is the only distinctively Christian nation and people on the African continent," he says; and, therefore, the inference is that the Christian Church everywhere should be interested in preserving the independence of these Abyssinian Christians, even though they "have for centuries been living in deadly hatred" with their neighbors. And, indeed, why not? The Abyssinian Christians are not exceptional among Christian nations on account of this little peculiarity of living in "deadly hatred" with their neighbors. Larger and more civilized Christian nations manifest a good deal of the same peculiarity. England and Russia to-day, both of them intensely Christian, are exhibiting this same trait of the Abyssinian Church, as their armies confront each other across the Afghan mountains in Asia. There is certainly a very "deadly hatred" in the spirit of these two nations toward each other at the present time. France and Germany are not regarding each with very fraternal eyes across the Rhine. Nor is there any strong exhibition of brotherly love between Italy and Austria. Yet these are all Christian countries. The only strange thing about it is that all these nations, including the Abyssinian Christians, should insist that Jesus, the "Prince of Peace," is the founder of their religion, and should read his precepts about meekness and gentleness and forgiveness as if they really believed them, and should affect to think that his honor will suffer and his cause be imperilled, unless they maintain the integrity of what they are pleased to call his Church and extend its domain by extending their own power.

As we look at it, if England and Russia were really Christian nations in the sense of being followers of the precepts of Jesus, they would not be in Asia with their armies at all. And, aside from all regard to their professed zeal for the religion of Jesus, considering the broad interests and ideas of modern civilization and the humanitarian sentiment of this age, it is cause for humiliation and shame that these great nations should be rushing to the arbitrament of the sword in a war, which, if it comes, is likely to imperil the security of all nations, over a dispute about a boundary in the mountains of Afghanistan. If there was ever an international dispute which could be left to the arbitration of a neutral court, this is one. Now is the time for pushing the idea of a permanent international court for settling such quarrels. There may be national disputes which cannot be thus settled. All wars might not be thus prevented. War sometimes comes, as did the Civil War in the United States, as a moral conflict between antagonistic ideas, and as inevitable retribution for previous violation of the laws of justice and right. But all the modern wars in Europe, and the wars that European nations have carried into Asia and Africa, have been wars caused by international rivalry and ambition. An international court or congress of arbitration should have been able to prevent them all. And yet it is Christian nations that have fomented and waged these wars,—nations that have elevated Christianity to the position of a State Church; nations that specially profess to be defenders of the Christian faith; nations in whose churches Jesus is preached and sung and worshipped as the Prince of Peace. We would respectfully call the

attention of the *Christian Statesman* to these facts. That a nation as a nation professes and adopts the Christian religion does not appear to save such nation from committing great injustices and crimes, does not prevent it from waging bloody and needless wars, nor from living for centuries in "deadly hatred" with its neighbors.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, PAST AND PRESENT.

I lately went to the School of Fine Arts, beside the Seine, to hear a lecture from M. Taine, whose name is printed in the regular list of lecturers. The concierge of the institution looked at me with astonishment. "The lecture," he said, "will be delivered by M. the Librarian of the School." "Is M. Taine then ill, or out of town?" "I think not." "When will he lecture?" "Not again, I think." I afterward learned that M. Taine could not now lecture except at risk of a riot. His offence is his arraignment of the Revolution and its leaders in the last century, contained in the last volume of his history. It is indeed a fearful story. He has gone into the long-hidden details, and shows how, when the degraded populace and their leaders sprang into the seats of power, they were drunk with their success. It now seems pretty clear that those revolutionists carried with them the superstition even in which they had been so long drilled: they must have a ritual, though its object is now a painted harlot crowned as "Reason"; they were driven with the same passions as the nobility they dethroned, and made every chateau the scene of indescribable orgies. It was a riot of lust and murder, the rioters now being less orderly and grammatical than those they ousted, and their famished passions free from such partial restraints of decency as those that surround the indulgences of a more nearly satiated aristocracy. M. Taine writes in a time and country which have overlaid these excesses with refined theories, ideals of popular progress, and euphemistic pictures of what "the Revolution" promises to-day; but he compares all this to the splendor and decorations of that ancient Egyptian temple where the candidate for initiation moved from hall to hall until he came to a curtain: that fine curtain being withdrawn disclosed a crocodile. M. Taine withdraws the embroidered curtain hung so ingeniously over the origin of the Revolution, and reveals—a monster! The worst of his offence is that he has not only laid this charge, but proved it.

Was it worth doing? No doubt the revealed monster had swallowed a previous monster much like itself. The Reign of Terror overthrew a reign of regulated rascality. Yet I cannot help feeling that M. Taine has done heroic service to France—nay, to Europe and the world—in reminding them by a salient example that pauperism and ignorance cannot make a school of virtue and wisdom. They must go to school. The suppression of the most brilliant historian in France because he has brought to light undeniable facts unpalatable to the populace is his justification. The love and honor bestowed by the English people on Carlyle for more than thirty years after he had sincerely opposed their enfranchisement is an evidence that the majority of them are fit for enfranchisement; but the enfranchisement of the French masses must still be regarded with misgivings, however welcome as the better alternative to supremacy of the treacherous priesthood and heartless imperialism which have fostered their faults. One need only attend a popular meeting in Paris to perceive that the atheist has hardly learned a better method of promoting his cause than that of priest, and that the "anarchist" is still a despot. The

long reign of priest and despot is represented in the fact that there is not yet, even in the fifteenth year of the Republic, a hall in Paris suitable for a popular assembly. The people have to meet in dancing or music saloons, which may have more effect than one might suppose in giving a carnivalesque character to their proceedings. I attended a meeting in the Vauxhall saloon, summoned to consult for peace, which became a scene of strife for nearly three hours. Whenever one group of the thousands present heard a sentiment from the platform which they did not like, they straightway set up a yell which silenced the speaker completely. As each group practised the same tactics, no speaker was fairly heard at all. Finally, the "anarchist" party, wishing to take entire possession of the meeting, began beating its neighbors over the head or shoulders with canes and umbrellas, and, having so fought their way to the platform, began stating its no-government nostrum for bringing on the millennium. I could not help remembering poor Heine, who said that, although all the arguments of German theologians had failed to convince him of the existence of God, that work was achieved by a few moments' experience of an atheist assembly in Paris. But I supplemented Heine's remark with the reflection that it was plainly the surviving Orthodoxy of these people that made them so intolerant of all opinions except their own. I suppose that the stake and wheel of the Inquisition were evolved from the stick with which primitive man broke his fellow's head when it did not agree with him; and, now that the improved apparatus of uniformity is abolished, wheel and stake relapse into the original cane and umbrella. That is considerably better than the imperial plan of turning them into anti-democratic rifles, but the principle is the same. At this moment, it is impossible to hold an orderly public meeting in Paris for the discussion of any subject whatever. That is the protoplasm out of which all despotisms are evolved under favorable conditions.

Now, I have passed many pleasant summers in France, and known all sorts and conditions of French people, and have found that individually they are generally polite in conversation, able to listen quietly to opinions other than their own, affable, good-natured, and sensible. It is when massed together in parties or groups, collected under some partisan flag, and brought in sight of an opposite company and flag, that they become so fierce and intolerant. I suspect this is a reversion from the man to the soldier, whose business, as Tennyson reminds us, is not to reason why, but only to do and die. The armies of several thousands of years have tramped all over France, recognizing no existing laws or usages where they moved,—each, as Napoleon said, a huge worm crawling on its belly, and devastating districts to supply that belly,—and the old habits and instincts adhere to these undrilled remnants of them after uniform and sword are laid aside. For thousands of years, this people have never been gathered *en masse* except for a dance or a fight; and, as the political meeting is not for a dance, it must be for a fight,—if not with weapons, then with explosive lungs and sharpened tongues. It is this military instinct which imperils the Republic. It is that which tempts the so-called republican government to follow so fatally the footsteps of its imperial predecessor. It is well known that the late war of Napoleon III. against Germany was a dynastic war. The empire had no chance whatever of escaping the wild vengeance of the masses—whose wise leaders it had banished—but by turning them upon an old *vendetta* trail toward the Rhine. It raised the glittering talisman of mili-

tary glory and conquest, covered its pursuers with epaulettes and decorations, and the masses—which *Punch* carefully misprinted "them asses"—at once turned with a rush on the anti-Teutonic trail. The late Ferry government tried the same trick. The Tonquin war was dynastic also. The Republic inherited from the Empire a mutilated territory, an exhausted treasury, a weakened army, but at the same time was expected to shed new lustre on France, and raise her into a commanding position among the nations of Europe. It must outshine the phosphorescent Empire which rotted away. It was impossible. Unable to think of recovering from Germany the lost provinces, powerless to send either men or money to share with England the occupation of Egypt, bowed to the lowest seat in the councils of Europe, the Republic began to hear murmured memories about the splendors of the Empire; and when ministry after ministry had fallen with perilous celerity under the growing eagerness of its parliamentary enemies, encouraged by popular impatience, Ferry resolved to touch once more this vulnerable military vanity of the masses. He prudently selected China, a presumably weak enemy, a distant one, about which all manner of fictions might be told without contradiction; and it is now certain that he meant to prolong the process of worrying China until after the next elections. He would appeal to the military vanity of his countrymen, to their longing to eclipse past defeat with big-typed stories of glory, and then protest against "swapping horses in the middle of a stream." The Chinese proved unwilling to be annoyed so long for Ferry's benefit, and, as we all know, made themselves so disagreeable that the scheme failed. M. Clemenceau, and the small group of anti-military radicals who knew perfectly the game Ferry was playing, had long been prepared to spring on him in the moment of any defeat. That is why they tore him to pieces so ferociously at the first disaster. They could not stem the longing of the people for victory so long as sensational tidings of victory were coming in; but they realized that they would presently have a Republic only in name, that poor Grévy was already a President only in name, and so Ferry has "gone to meet" Ollivier, Jules Simon, and other dead men who still walk the earth.

If another Taine, a century hence, should tell the whole truth about this French Republic, he would have to record that, so fast as the *bourgeoisie* succeeded to the power and resources of the *noblesse*, they displayed a tendency to the same corruptions. M. Brisson inaugurates his premiership with a demand for money to support the piracy of Tonquin by a nation groaning over loss of a Tonquin of their own on the Rhine. How long will France travel in this vicious circle? The military spirit, the childish fondness for soldiering, is but a barbaric form of the ancient communistic sentiment which Socialism plays upon without understanding. Earlier socialists—Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc—had noble, however impracticable, Pisgah-visions of a phalanx of labor, armed with implements of art and utility, drilled into an irresistible engine of transformation, turning chaos to paradise with labors made light by a co-operation securing happiness, plenty, even luxury, for all. The military spirit were as good as it is now bad, could it be directed against the dragons and snakes, the demons of ignorance and superstition, which have become such a giant brood in France during the ages in which the Saints have been slumbering in Palestine or waging war with phantom foes of the Year One.

A true friend of France ought to rejoice that Germany has taken from her Alsace and Lorraine,

—cut off the two fingers without which she can never attack Germany, and which can never grow again. Then a true friend of France should rejoice at every reverse her colonial ambition receives in regions where she has no right to be. If the French can only be driven home and kept there, they may become the leading nation of Europe in affairs and interests which will be of living importance, when their rifles and uniforms will be shown in some museums, like that now travelling about to fairs with ancient instruments of torture. The steady reduction of France from what, in military nomenclature, is called a Great Power to what Shakspeare calls "the blessedness of being little," appears to me absolutely essential to human civilization. That of course cannot be accomplished solely by severance from the Rhine or frustration of colonial ambition. There must be agencies within which can turn such apparent weaknesses to the service of the superior forces from which those weaknesses really result; for the later children of France will glory in that of which their fathers are ashamed,—the passing of the Latin race out of the military epoch.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

WHAT A GERMAN LADY THINKS OF "FREE RELIGION."

Baroness Suttner, one of the correspondents of the *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*, or Magazine of German and Foreign Literature, published at Berlin, has contributed to the number for March 7 the following article, entitled "An American Journal, *The Index*." "In Boston meets an organization which calls itself the Free Religious Association, and announces its objects thus: 'To promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history,—in other words, virtue, brotherhood, and truth.' And these aims are to be reached by means of unrestricted liberty of thought. All traditional authority of special religions and supposed revelations—the Christian not less than the others—is to be subjected to the judgment of scientific criticism and impartial reason; and thus religion is to be set free from the fetters of dogmatism and sectarianism, in order that she may devote her mighty powers to elevating morality and improving the social condition of mankind. . . .

"This association possesses an organ, *The Index*, a weekly journal now in its fifteenth year, whose motto is 'Light, Liberty, Right.' . . . This journal is conducted with such consistency, firmness, and ability as must naturally command the admiration of all kindred thinkers. Modern thought, which yet embryo-like flutters about in the atmosphere of our time and stirs most heads to doubt the old and to long for a new faith, takes in the columns of *The Index* the form of clear, calm, and strong affirmations. Every number contains brilliantly written essays on the problems of social, ethical, and religious science, with controversial articles, whose tone is always moderate, and a general survey of all the movements of free thought. From among the numbers lying before me, I take a few titles as specimens of its contents: 'Modern Civilization and Christianity,' by W. J. Potter; 'Pietism and Morality,' 'Some Free Thinkers from the Old World,' and 'Moral Teachings of Darwinism,' by B. F. Underwood; 'The Unveiling of the Statue of Harriet Martineau,' by Sara A. Underwood; 'Samuel Johnson's *Religion of India*;' 'Natural Genesis'; 'Witchcraft in Boston'; 'The Pioneers of the Women's Rights Movement and their Adversaries'; 'Emerson's Philosophy'; 'An Agnostic's Creed.' Poems: 'Work On,' 'A Priest of Nature,'

'Aspiration.' Book reviews: 'Jesus, his Ideas and Character,' 'Journal of Speculative Philosophy,' 'Bible Myths,' 'The Philosophers of Greece.'

"Thus, the paper is of twofold interest; first, as the organ of a certain society whose endeavors, tendency, and accomplishments it portrays in definite delineations, and then, as a literary phenomenon, exhibiting as such a view of American journalism, the development of style and thought in the New World. Its editors and regular contributors, like Sara A. Underwood, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, F. M. Holland, etc., are widely esteemed authors, whose books are popular among the American readers of Paine, Emerson, Spencer, Darwin, Bain, Tyndall, Buckle, Strauss, Büchner, Lange, and Haeckel.

"Among the characteristics of the picture of the activity of the Boston free thinkers, given in *The Index*, are these: The champions of modern thought have organized there a congregation which regards its convictions as a religion, and surrounds them with a sort of worship, including public declaration of principles, regular gatherings for edification, and all sorts of joyous and solemn celebrations. Harriet Martineau has been honored with a statue, Herbert Spencer with a banquet, and Thomas Paine with a memorial building which might almost be called a temple, and which is the head-quarters of another liberal journal, the *Investigator*, which announces itself as 'devoted to the welfare, improvement, and happiness of men and women here and now in this world, the only world of which there is any positive or demonstrated knowledge.' Preaching is held on the platform of the Free Religious Association, and tracts are distributed; but the sermons announce the glad tidings of evolutionism, and the tracts are such as Frothingham's *Fear of the Living God*, Abbot's *Truths for the Times*, containing his 'Fifty Affirmations' and 'Modern Principles,' Voysey's *Lecture on the Bible*, etc. . . .

"It is also evident that women take an active part in its proceedings, are enrolled among its vice-presidents, speak on its platform, and contribute largely to its literature. The emancipation of woman seems to be one of its articles of faith; and this is simply logical, since all liberalism, freedom of commerce, press, etc., springs as a natural outgrowth from freedom of thought. . . . Thus are inscribed upon the programme of this school of thinkers the equalization of woman, the fraternization of all nations, the removal of protective duties, censorship, and the like, and, above all, the abolition of that evil which most deeply stings their moral sentiment,—the sentiment of love and compassion,—the evil of war. It is an honor to the city of Boston that the humanitarian ideas, which are the offspring of our modern scientific spirit, are there manifested with such remarkable courage and energy. In Europe, I know of no city where free thinkers form so imposing an institution, having its own press, represented by the ablest speakers, and enjoying the widest esteem. Although the growth of these ideas requires a soil as free as America's, it could not be said that they had their birth in America. . . . Still, in the very fact that the thoughts of the greatest sons and daughters of Europe are made the foundation of the sublimest movement in America, we welcome the rapturous assurance that above the national distinctions of thinking minds reigns One Universal Mind, who makes his dwelling-place wherever men search for the truth; . . . and that from the spiritual achievements of all nations shall be 'skimmed a *crème*,' which is to realize Goethe's conception of a 'world-literature.'

"And, as to literary physiognomy, although *The Index* is a special organ, so to speak,—and special

organs, as a rule, make style and diction subservient to their tendency,—its depth of thought, its flight of inspiration, its clearness of diction, stand unequalled, since its task embraces the highest problems of the mind. Those who in their writings approach the highest achievements of their time will ever be the greatest masters of style. During the reign of Louis XIV., the most brilliant literary products were odes to the king and pulpit orations (compare Bossuet, Fénelon, Massillon).

"To-day, the most ideal achievement of the age is not faith, but science; and so we see that those authors who treat scientifically of the world's problems in philosophy, jurisprudence, history, and theology, write with peculiar clearness and eloquence. Who can be more logical than Mill, more poetic than Quinet, more brilliant than Taine, or more convincing than Buckle? When a special organ expresses its object in the words 'Light, Liberty, Right,' it might be expected that the best writers in the land should appear in its columns; and this is actually true of *The Index*. In his article on 'Rationalism in America,' in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1883, Count Goblet d'Alviella says: 'When we look at the essays and addresses which *The Index* publishes weekly, we are surprised, not only at the number and zeal of the evolutionists, but at the means they find of giving religious feeling a new horizon and satisfying its loftiest aspirations. Some of these writings are valuable only as indications of the new movement; but the books and addresses of Abbot, Savage, Potter, etc., contain passages which are as remarkable for power of argument as for elevation of idea and poetry of diction. These are in every respect works to be recommended to those who fear that the progress of science will cause any deterioration of what constitutes the might and grandeur of the human soul.'

"Of course, those who have such fear of progress will not read *The Index* with sympathetic comprehension, but will take offence. Large as is the majority which this class forms, the disciples of progress should not lose courage. If their aims cannot be reached at once, they may find some reward in the strife itself. This is expressed in words in this little poem, which I have noticed in *The Index*, and which may serve as a specimen of its treasures:—

"I've found some wisdom in my quest
That's richly worth retelling:
I've learned that, when one does his best,
There's little harm in failing.
I may not reach what I pursue,
Yet will I keep pursuing;
Nothing is vain that I can do,
Since soul-growth comes of doing."

F. W. OPP.

THE LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT.

One of the strongest arguments against excluding witnesses for disbelief and legalizing frauds committed on Sunday is that government ought not to be carried on for the special benefit of partisans of particular creeds, but for the common good of all the people. The guilt of burning Servetus, massacring the victims of St. Bartholomew, and hanging the Quakers, is all the darker because it was not the proper business of those governments to do anything of the sort. The State exists in order to protect life, not to take it away. So, in waging needless war, government acts like a sheep-dog, who slays the lambs he ought to guard. Another of the primary duties of government is to protect property. The United States do not form an absolute despotism, but a limited partnership. Each citizen retains his right to his private property, with the exception of such part as is needed for the protection of the rest.

When our government exacts money in taxation for ends outside of its proper limits, it deserts its legitimate place of a protector of property, and becomes a robber. Webster's Dictionary tells us that any ruler who imposes burdens which the purposes of government do not require is a tyrant. Protection of life, liberty, and property, is generally recognized as the principal duty of government. It ought to be equally well understood that the State which tries to do more runs great risk of doing less. The levy of taxes for any purpose except defending our liberties and estates is not protecting our property, but taking it away. Of course there are many institutions, like schools, roads, and streets, which are so necessary for the preservation of life, liberty, and property that they ought to be kept up at the public expense. On the question whether this is true of churches, I need not enter here. All who ask for exemptions, privileges, or bounties, are imperatively called upon to prove that such special legislation is compatible with the paramount right of all holders of property to be protected equally. It is particularly necessary to insist on this right, when so many socialistic schemes are being urged upon our Congress and State Legislatures.

Another question to which the light of these principles ought to be applied is our tariff. Even if we admit for argument's sake that our manufactures could not have sprung into existence without it, we may still ask whether the time has not come for ceasing to make this gigantic exception to the plain duty of protecting all property alike. One of the best known of New England mill-owners, Rowland G. Hazard, is making masterly arguments to prove that the American manufactures could do better without special protection. I remember hearing a similar testimony from that enlightened philanthropist, Mr. Samuel Hill, of Florence. A Connecticut maker of hardware, Mr. J. B. Sargent of New Haven, has recently delivered in Boston an address, since published, urging that, "provided the manufacturers were relieved from the tariff on raw materials, they would need no protection." He is obliged, for instance, himself to use a mixture of American iron with Scotch; and the latter is taxed so heavily as to hinder him from exportation. He could compete much more easily with foreigners, if he could get iron as cheaply. What superiority he and other American manufacturers enjoy over European rivals he ascribes to our superior skill and energy. Another maker of hardware was asked, while visiting Germany, if he had found out what wages were paid there. He replied: "No; nor did I want to know. Tariff or no tariff, we can beat them, if they get their work done for nothing."

And I feel all the more sure that our manufacturers have such ability and resources as would enable them to stand alone, without being propped up by the State, because history shows that this great industry had no pauper origin. In 1766, Benjamin Franklin told the British House of Commons, "I don't know a single article imported into the Northern colonies but what they can easily do without or make themselves." The making of hats and of hardware was then carried on so successfully without State aid as to alarm the English manufacturers; and prohibitory Acts of Parliament were passed in consequence. Better and cheaper shovels, scythes, etc., were made here before the Revolutionary War than could be imported from Europe. Massachusetts then owned a vessel for every one hundred inhabitants, and fifty ships of colonial build were sent across the ocean for sale every year. Lynn began exporting boots and shoes to Europe more than two hundred years ago. The whole history of manufactures shows

that they have long been carried on with peculiar success in New England, because it is New England, and not merely because it is now under a high tariff. In fact, the assertion that, if we had no tariff, we could have no manufactures, seems to me worth about as much as the reasoning of the farmer from West Virginia, who wanted to have a bounty on foxes, in order to assist the propagation of the gospel. "You see," he said, "we can't have the gospel, unless we have preachers: we can't get preachers among us, if we don't give them chicken for dinner. And we can't raise any chickens, if there isn't a bounty on foxes."

No one should forget the interest of the workmen. But it ought to be remembered that they are much better off with England's free trade than under Germany's high tariffs. An intelligent machinist has recently sent me a strong argument to prove that the reason they are more prosperous in America than in Europe is that they are not taxed here for the maintenance of State churches, great standing armies, and hereditary aristocracies. The workingman prospers in America, because our government, with exception of the high tariff, is carried on for the equal good of all the governed. The only competition he has to fear is that of emigrants, who come over from Europe and Asia to underbid him. Whatever may be said about the inhumanity of trades-unions and Chinese laws, they give much more efficient protection to labor than could be established by the highest tariff.

I don't want to dogmatize on questions where each side is upheld by enlightened and philanthropic advocates, but I do want to know what right our government has to levy taxes for the special benefit of one class of industries. It is for the supporters of high tariff to show how their position is to be reconciled with the plain duty of the State to protect all property holders alike. The purchasers of nickel-plated ware, for instance, have a right to know why they should all be taxed for the benefit of one man who owns a mine in Pennsylvania. Lovers of art may fairly ask why a duty of thirty per cent. is levied on imported pictures, when, among twelve hundred and forty-three American artists recently consulted, more than nine-tenths wished to have no duty at all. We should do well to consider whether Emerson was not right in saying: "The basis of political economy is non-interference. The only safe rule is found in the self-adjusting metre of demand and supply. Do not legislate. Meddle, and you snap the sinews with your sumptuary laws. Give no bounties, make equal laws, secure life and property, and you need not give alms." (*Conduct of Life*, Essay III., p. 91.)

F. M. HOLLAND.

DEATH.

Whether or not death is the gate of entrance into another state of existence, it is certain that it ends our connection with this mortal life. It goes without saying, in these days of thoroughly awakened reason and common sense, that intelligent people refuse to indulge in futile speculations in regard to death or to adopt the myths, imaginations, and dreams of old barbaric theologies and mythologies. Solemn before all of us stand, veiled in impenetrable shadows, the dark portals of exit from this brief existence; and through those portals we see our friends and comrades vanish, one by one, until we, too, follow them into the gloom and mystery of the unknown and unknowable. Meantime, the human race, being perpetually renewed, knows no diminution and feels no loss in the death of any individual or individual members of it, no matter how illustrious and

highly gifted with genius they may have been. Nature, "the inscrutable and mute," gives no sign of regret or of remembrance of the innumerable billions of human beings whom she has heretofore upborne and nurtured in the past; but, as fresh and vigorous as ever, she is continually welcoming new-comers to her domain of earth, air, and sea, and of mixed good and evil, joy and sorrow, to tread the trite routine of life as if it were something altogether novel and unexperienced before. In view of the brevity and uncertainty of life from day to day, and of the mystery and certainty of death after a few short years, the energy, hopefulness, and activity of the human race at the present time are something wonderful; and this energy and activity are constantly increasing. Why is this? Because we find this life itself, in and of itself, a good thing. Therefore, the generations of to-day are determined to make the most of it, and, in order to do so, are bound to press into their service all the forces of nature, and to reorganize human society, so that all men, even the humblest, may have fair play and a chance to enjoy the good things of the world that now is.

Such is the current mood of mankind in all enlightened quarters. Instead of being paralyzed and stupefied by the prospect of death, we find life all the more *worth living* because it is so short and the prospect beyond it is so dark. We are bent on making the world what it ought to be and what it may be, so that we can make the most of life, and so that each of us may say emphatically, in leaving it, *Vixi*,—"I have lived,"—I have exhausted life of all its significance and enjoyment, and now I am willing to depart into the unknown, and leave my place to be filled by a new-comer. The bill of fare at the table of life is limited; and he who has gone through it, and had a taste of all its dainties and substantial, being assured that, if he remained forever, said bill of fare would always remain the same, is likely to depart satisfied. In order that he may do so, he finds his power of enjoyment gradually declining, so that his relish for existence finally is gone. Nature seems to be jealous of those who have become fully aware of her limitations and narrowness, so that she is glad to be rid of their presence in favor of new guests, who find her good things novelties. The great mass of mankind being still in a state of intellectual childhood and unreason, and being also too poor and ignorant to properly enjoy and appreciate this present life, the old childish tales about heaven and hell and purgatory still continue to be current, because they are necessary for the consolation of the poor, ignorant, and wretched, and the intimidation of the brutal and criminal. Meantime, we very well know that the science of man is yet in its infancy.

It is precisely in *ourselves* that the great mystery is summed up and contained. Infinite time and space are modes and forms of our own being. In our ordinary moods, we know not the unspeakable heights and depths of our own natures. It is in *ourselves* that the universe and nature are revealed. It is in and by and through us that the sensible world with all its wealth of hue and sound and odor exists; and, on the side of our *pure reason*, we are overarched by eternity. The soul-science, or psychology, of the day reveals a grandeur in human nature which the old theologies and mythologies, in their noblest adumbrations of temple architecture, music, sculpture, and painting, and in their grandest dreams of eternal bliss and woe, never conceived. Isaiah, and St. John with his Apocalypse of the New Jerusalem, and Dante and Milton with their heavens and hells and paradises, are of the earth earthy when matched with such great modern thinkers and scientists as Kant and

Humboldt. In the cosmical space of modern science, the wings of Milton's mightiest angels would grow weary. Thus, the knowledge of to-day, while it refrains, under the restraint and discipline of reason, from indulging in childish myths and dogmas about a future state of existence, still assures us of the *possibility* of other states and modes of existence, as much transcending this present mode as greatest transcends least. Now, then, let us be contented with this fact, of which all persons deeply versed in psychology and current reflective thought are aware. The deepest utterance to be found in Herbert Spencer's philosophy is that Intelligence and Will are not the highest forms of being. We have intelligence and will; and yet we find ourselves in a state of mental imbecility in the presence of the problems of existence, which are insoluble by us. Meantime, the generations of to-day are right in their determination to utilize to the utmost the forces of nature and to reconstruct society in the light of our higher nature or reason. As sunset and the gloom of night bring into visibility the innumerable suns and systems of cosmical space, so the darkness of death and the grave may be fraught with as august a revelation of other and higher modes of existence.

B. W. BALL.

MATERIALISM.

Materialism is a word to which so many definitions are given and such various meanings are attached that one can never feel quite certain when it is spoken which of its several connotations the speaker has in mind, until he distinctly states the ideas he associates with it.

A popular conception of materialism is that it is simply disbelief in God and the immortality of the soul. Yet many thinkers who are not materialists, whose philosophy indeed is popularly believed to be, and in some respects certainly is, the antithesis of materialism, accept neither of the doctrines named; while, on the other hand, many who are or have been classed among materialists accept them both. John Locke thought it not unreasonable to hold that God has endowed matter with the capacity to feel and think, and he was and is now sometimes called a materialist. Priestley, with the same belief, avowed himself a materialist. The same is true of Thomas Jefferson.

The author of the article on materialism in Johnson's Cyclopædia says that "nearly every materialistic school has had its Christian advocates endeavoring to reconcile it with the spiritual doctrines of Holy Scriptures." As Mr. John Fiske says, "It might forcibly be argued that the denial of personal immortality has by no means been proved to be an inevitable corollary from the assertion of materialism, although it may be freely admitted to be a probable corollary." Many of the adherents, including leading representatives, of modern spiritualism, declare that "spirit is refined matter," and claim that they are the true materialists, in support of which claim they adduce the testimony of spirits who have "left the form" and return to their friends by "materializations."

Strauss, in *The Old Faith and The New*, goes so far as to say that the difference between materialism and idealism is simply one of terminology, or, to use his own language, is a "mere quarrel about words"; for both, in comparison with the dualistic conception of a creator and a created universe of body and soul, are, he says, monistic systems. One constructs the universe from atoms and atomic forces, the other from ideas and idealistic forces. Each of these modes of conception leads to the other. Both agree in ascribing all the

functions of our being to one and the same cause. In Germany, idealism has been not less atheistic than materialism; and it is not strange, therefore, that Strauss declares that both systems "should reserve their weapons for that other veritable and still formidable foe, dualism, while treating each other with the respect or, at least, the politeness of allies."

But Prof. Haeckel, who is commonly regarded as one of the most materialistic, as he is certainly one of the ablest of living naturalists, objects to materialism as well as to Spiritualism, because he thinks they have dualistic implications. In his *Evolution of Man*, he says: "The real materialistic philosophy asserts that the vital phenomena of motion, like all other phenomena of motion, are effects or products of matter. The other opposite extreme, spiritualistic philosophy, asserts, on the contrary, that matter is the product of motive force, and that all material forms are produced by free forces, entirely independent of the matter itself. Thus, according to the materialistic conception of the universe, matter or substance precedes motion, or active force. According to the spiritualistic conception of the universe, on the contrary, active force, or motion, precedes matter. Both views are dualistic, and we hold them both equally false. It is only necessary to reflect on this for a time from a strictly scientific stand-point, to find that, on a close examination, it is impossible clearly to represent the one without the other."

Prof. Huxley claims that "the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of its molecule," as the properties of water result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules; that all life is probably the result of "the molecular forces of the protoplasm which displays it"; and that thought is "the expression of molecular changes in that matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena." Further, he says that "any one who is acquainted with the history of science will admit that its progress has in all ages meant, and now more than ever means, the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation and the concomitant gradual banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity." This seems to be as strongly materialistic language as can be used, and the views advanced cannot be regarded from the idealistic or spiritualistic stand-point otherwise than as the distinctive teachings of materialism; yet Prof. Huxley is, according to his own declarations, not a materialist, but an idealist.

Prof. Tyndall, in his celebrated Belfast address, referred to the original matter of the world as probably containing the promise and potency of every form and quality of life; yet his statements that matter is essentially transcendental in its nature, and that there is no passage from molecular motion to consciousness, are often quoted to show that he is not a materialist, as he certainly is not, according to some of the current conceptions and definitions of materialism,—for instance, those of Mr. John Fiske, who says that, before one can be "correctly charged with materialism," he should hold that psychical phenomena, such as love and hate, can be interpreted in terms of matter and motion, and who further defines materialism in a way which makes it reject or ignore the principle of relativity, without which certainly no philosophy can claim attention to-day among thinkers.

On the other hand, the author of *A Candid Examination of Theism*, said to be G. J. Romanes, affirms that Mr. Spencer's philosophy, which its author declares is neither materialistic nor spiritualistic, leaves "the essential feature of materialism untouched; namely, that what we

know as Mind is dependent (whether by way of causality or not is immaterial) on highly complex forms of what we know as Matter in association with peculiar distributions of what we know as Force."

These extracts and references are sufficient to indicate that even writers of acknowledged ability use the word "materialism" to describe different views, and that it is too uncertain in its meaning to be of value in philosophical discussion. But, worse still, the word is popularly confounded with what, by a perversion of language, is sometimes called "practical materialism." Materialism, as a system of thought, as taught by Epikuros or by the Roman Lucretius,—who, amid the confusion and turbulence of civil war, we are told, "sought some stay for his inner life, and found it in the philosophy of Epikuros,"—or as taught by modern materialists, is confined to a comparatively small proportion of the people, and is generally a subject of interest only to thoughtful and serious minds. For the worshippers of fashion, for mere pleasure-seekers, for political demagogues, for those whose energies are wholly employed in the scramble for wealth, it can have generally no attraction. Yet the views and conduct of these classes are commonly referred to by the clergy as the materialism of the times.

"Such epithets as 'materialism' and 'atheism,'" says Mr. Fiske, "being extremely unpopular, have long been made to do heavy duty in lieu of argument. In this sort of barbaric warfare, the term 'materialism' is especially convenient by reason of a treacherous ambiguity in its connotations. Certain abstract theorems of metaphysics are correctly described as constituting materialism, and the persons who assert them are correctly called materialists. On the other hand, those persons are popularly called materialists who allow their actions to be guided by the desires of the moment, without reference to any such rule of right living as is termed 'a high ideal of life.' Persons who worship nothing but worldly success, who care for nothing but wealth or fashionable display or personal celebrity or sensual gratification, are thus loosely called materialists. The term can therefore easily be made to serve as a poisoned weapon; and there are theologians who do not scruple to employ it as such against the upholders of philosophic opinions which they do not like, but are unable to refute. A most flagrant instance was recently afforded by a lecturer on Positivism, who, after insinuating that pretty much the whole body of contemporary scientific philosophers are Positivists and that Positivists are but little better than materialists, proceeded to inform his audience that materialists are men who lead licentious lives. It would be hard to find words strong enough to characterize the villany of such misrepresentations as this, could we fairly suppose them to be deliberately intended. They would imply extreme moral turpitude, were it not that they are so obviously the product of extreme slovenliness of thinking joined with culpable carelessness of assertion."

Lang, the learned and impartial author of the *History of Materialism*, says "that the sober earnest which marks the great materialistic system of antiquity is perhaps more suited than an enthusiastic idealism, which only too easily results in its own bewilderment, to keep the soul clear of all that is low and vulgar, and to lend it a lasting effort after worthy objects" (p. 47), and that "in the centuries when the abominations of a Nero, a Caligula, or even of a Heliogabalus, polluted the globe, no philosophy was more neglected, none was more foreign to the spirit of the time, than that of all which demanded the coldest blood, the calmest contemplation, the most sober and purely

prosaic inquiry, the philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus." "The age of Pericles was the blossoming time of the materialistic and sensational philosophy of antiquity: its fruits ripened in the time of Alexandrian learning, in the two centuries before Christ."

These are facts worthy the candid consideration of those who use the word "materialism" as a term of abuse rather than in a descriptive sense. At the same time, the wisdom of employing in philosophical discussion a word which is associated with theories and conceptions widely different, and which, therefore, lacks precise and definite meaning, may fairly be questioned. The loose way it is now used, even by some of our best writers, is certainly without excuse.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Memorial Building, Boston, Mass., as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45 o'clock, business session for the hearing of reports, election of officers, etc.

Friday morning, May 29, at 10.30 o'clock, address by the President, followed by addresses from Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, of Ottawa, Can., and Rev. M. J. Savage of Boston, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" After these addresses, the subject will be open for speeches, not exceeding ten minutes each, from the floor.

Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Rev. R. Heber Newton will address the meeting on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." During the afternoon session there will also be opportunity for ten-minute speeches from the floor.

The annual festival will be held in the Meinaon, Tremont Temple, Friday evening, commencing at 6.30 o'clock. R. Heber Newton, W. D. Le Sueur, Wm. J. Gill, H. W. Holland, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary Eastman, W. J. Potter, B. F. Underwood, J. K. Applebee, and G. N. Hill will be among the speakers.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Sec'y.

For The Index.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

Follow with single aim thine upward way,
Nor stoop earth's dreary monotone to know,
Its sordid undercurrent, dark and low;
But onward, scaling still some height each day,
In majesty serene as morn of May,
Ne'er heeding whispers subtle of thy foe,
Nor fairest praise, with motive base below,
Sing thine own song and chant thy heart's own lay.
Then, to a fellowship with spirits great,
Whose souls in affluence of thought commune,
More regal pomp than purpled livery,
Than jewelled sheen or panoply of state,
Thy soul, in harmony and finer tune,
With kings and queens of realms of thought shall be!

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

For The Index.

THE INSCRUTABLE.

Silence forever in the boundless sky,—
No voice from out its depths of starry light!
Raise your wild voices higher, and more high,
Day answereth not, nor yet the solemn night.
And the grand throbbing sea from age to age
Rolls the same measure on its beaten shore:
Its waves, that sometimes murmur, sometimes rage,
Are inarticulate forever more.
Turn we to men whose ever eager minds
Search past and present for some sure reply,—
One in another, man his idol finds,
One thinketh science solves life's mystery.
Then say, fond heart, where shall you fix your faith?
The faith itself is all that answereth.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 7, 1885.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

The Unitarian National Conference and Mental Liberty.*

BY WM. J. POTTER.

I have been asked to introduce here the discussion of the question, "What Changes are needed in the Constitution and Preamble of the Unitarian National Conference in the interest of the most complete Mental Liberty?" I respond, without consultation with any one, speaking only for myself.

That this question should be discussed here at all needs, perhaps, some explanation. This club is not a part of the Unitarian body. Probably only a small proportion of its membership could be counted as also members of the Unitarian denomination. What interest, therefore, should it have in discussing the terms of organization which the principal representative body of that denomination has seen fit to adopt? Why, indeed, might not such a discussion be deemed almost an impertinence? Because, let me answer, of the peculiar relation which this Liberal Club, which is external to all denominations, bears to the Unitarian movement. Very likely, this club might never have come into existence, had not the Unitarian National Conference framed its Constitution as it did. Had the Conference adopted certain liberal terms of organization that were proposed to it in 1866, those who were most active in forming this club a few years ago might have felt no occasion for any such associated action outside of Unitarianism, but might now be an active and contented part of the Unitarian Club that meets at the Hotel Vendome. In other words, on account of certain theological limitations which were affixed at the outset to the Constitution of the Unitarian National Conference, there was a secession from that body,—not large, but a secession which became quite active in working for religious

Liberalism outside of all denominations. It organized at once, for instance, the Free Religious Association, and more recently this club.

But would it not be more consistent with self-respect for these seceders to go on doing their work in the way that seems to them right, and to leave the Unitarians to fix their constitutions and organizations as they themselves may deem best? Have the seceders been asked to state the terms on which a reconciliation might be effected? Not, probably, in so many words. But the membership of the National Conference itself has not allowed the decision of 1866 to stand as a settlement of the question. Not all members who were dissatisfied with that decision withdrew from the Conference. Many who did not withdraw gave aid and comfort, nevertheless, to the Free Religious Association, became members of it, and believed in its mission. Among Western Unitarians, this dissatisfaction became quite marked, and expressed itself in making the terms of their local organizations more liberal. The question, too, of amending the Constitution of the National Conference, so as to relieve the consciences of the dissatisfied members, has several times come up in that body; and amendments have been adopted with that object in view,—the last as late as the meeting two years ago last fall. Nor, if we may judge from discussions of the matter since, is this regarded as a finality among Unitarians themselves. The Preamble and Constitution, therefore, which were adopted by the Unitarian National Conference at its organization in 1865, and confirmed in 1866, even with the supplementary amendments since made, are not considered by the Unitarian body as a whole as having settled the questions involved. The various attempts at amendment have been reconciliatory overtures to that section of members whose consciences were aggrieved by the original form of the Constitution; and, if we may trust the assurances of many individual members of the Conference,—as I believe we may,—these amendments have also been made with the sincere hope that they would enable those who felt obliged to withdraw from the Conference to return with clear conscience to its fellowship. As that restoration has not been effected to any considerable extent, and as there is still a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed within the Conference itself with the Constitution as it now stands, perhaps the members may like to hear from some of these original seceders (or from those who would now stand with them as excluded) their frankly expressed views of the situation; though I trust not all who are to speak here are of this class. It is with these feelings that I have consented—somewhat reluctantly, I confess, for I have no personal wish to renew an old contest—to introduce this topic as the theme of your consideration here this evening. And I most sincerely hope that the discussion may be such as to help, and not embarrass, any action which may possibly be taken hereafter in the Conference looking toward a more thorough amendment of its Constitution than has yet been attempted. Let us especially bear in mind that it is *principles*, and not *persons*, that are under discussion.

It cannot, I suppose, be assumed that all who are here assembled are acquainted with the Constitution of the Unitarian Conference. Let me quote, therefore, the parts of it that have any bearing on the question to be discussed. They are as follows:—

Constitution.

PREAMBLE.—Whereas the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration, at this time, increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and

possessions to the service of God, and the building up of the kingdom of his Son,—

ARTICLE I.—Therefore the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work.

ART. II.—This National Conference shall be composed of such delegates, elected once in two years, not to exceed three from any church, including its minister, who shall officially be one, as any of our churches may accredit to it by a certificate of their appointment.

ART. III.—The American Unitarian Association, the Western Conference, and such other theological, academic, or humane organizations in our body as the Conference may see fit to invite, shall be entitled to representation by not more than three delegates each.

ART. VII.—The National Conference, until further advised by its experience, adopts the existing organizations of the Unitarian body as the instruments of its power, and confines itself to recommending them to such undertakings and methods as it judges to be in the heart of the Unitarian denomination.

ART. IX.—Reaffirming our allegiance to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and desiring to secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, we invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ.

ART. X.—While we believe that the Preamble and Articles of our Constitution fairly represent the opinions of the majority of our churches, yet we wish distinctly to put on record our declaration that they are no authoritative test of Unitarianism, and are not intended to exclude from our fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our purposes and practical aims.

It may also be added, as a part of the history of the Conference shedding light on the question under discussion, that a different Ninth Article from the one now in the Constitution was adopted in 1868, at the third session of the Conference, which ran as follows:—

ART. IX.—To secure the largest unity of the spirit and the widest practical co-operation, it is hereby understood that all declarations of this Conference, including the Preamble and Constitution, are expressions only of its majority, committing in no degree those who object to them, and dependent wholly for their effect upon the consent they command on their own merits from the churches here represented or belonging within the circle of our fellowship.

This was allowed to stand only two years. It was rescinded in 1870 (the very next session), and the present Ninth Article adopted in its place.

I will take no time for dwelling upon the curious mosaic of incongruous articles which the Constitution as it now is presents. These incongruities are so patent that, irrespective of questions of radicalism or of conservatism, I am sure the wish must be quite prevalent among Unitarians that the Constitution, if possible, might be transformed into a more homogeneous and self-consistent document. For instance, I, for one, am unable to say whether the Constitution as it now reads was intended to invite any but Christians (or those who take the name Christian) to its fellowship or not. Literally, by any just interpretation of words as used in the successive articles, I judge that this could not have been the intention: otherwise, those words,—the only ones in the Constitution which express an invitation to membership,—“We invite to our fellowship all who wish to be followers of Christ,” would not have been allowed to stand. Yet some individuals who voted for the Tenth Article say that they meant thereby to extend fellowship to non-Christians as well as Christians. But, What did the Conference mean? is the question. And, surely, it should be possible to use words which should put such a simple matter as this beyond question.

*Read before the Liberal Union Club, Boston, April 25, 1885.

But, though the variegated character of its several Articles deprives the Constitution of that logical and literary coherency usually expected in such a document, yet this characteristic, historically considered, is a correct and valuable index of the actual state of conflict which has existed, especially for the last twenty years, in the Unitarian body. The denomination is moved by two strong, but contradictory impulses. On the one hand, as traditionally connected with the Christian Church and still one of the sects of Protestant Christendom, it asserts and adheres to the special authority of Jesus as head of the Church. On the other hand, having its birth as a denomination in a new and emphatic assertion of the rights of human reason and the principle of free inquiry, it is inwardly impelled (and still more strongly as the years go on) in the direction of complete mental liberty. The presence and conflicting action of these two impulses have been forcibly illustrated in the history of the Constitution of the National Conference, with its successive amendments and reamendments, as the one or the other of the impulses has gained temporary ascendancy.

It was between these two principles—the authority of Jesus and absolute freedom of thought—that the issue was made at the meeting when the Conference was organized in 1865; and it was these two principles that came again into the closer and more decisive contest at Syracuse, in 1866. On this latter occasion, it was made clearly manifest that it was the fear of appearing to remove Jesus from his place of authority as head of the Church which was the strongest operating motive for adhering to the Constitution as it was. And it is these two principles that are still at issue in the Unitarian body. Around these, all the conflicts centre. It is to be regarded as a contest between conscientious convictions on both sides. There is, doubtless, among Unitarians a strong and conscientious adhesion to the Christian name, to the special and distinctive authority of the Christian religion, and to the belief that Jesus was a being of perfect character, if not perfect knowledge, an example not to be questioned, and the providentially appointed leader for humanity. And there is as little doubt that there is among them a strong and conscientious adhesion to the principle of free inquiry as one of the most sacred rights of man, as announced by Dr. Channing with such absolute emphasis in his address at the dedication of Divinity Hall. The conservatives of the denomination do not allow that there is any antagonism between these two principles, and somehow try to reconcile them in their own consciousness, though I remember seeing no argument successfully leading to that result. The radicals of the denomination affirm a necessary and logical antagonism between the two principles, and maintain that authority, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, can no more attach to Jesus than to the Church or to the Bible, where the principle of rational criticism is allowed full sway.

The conflict between these two principles, though always existing in Unitarianism, was revealed more clearly to the denominational consciousness by the formation of the National Conference. Previous to that time there had been no such general representative body in the denomination,—no organization at all that was authorized to speak for the churches. There had been only associations of individual Unitarians and mass conventions. The individual associations one need not join, if there was anything in their constitutions or proceedings which he did not like, and still he might remain a Unitarian in good standing. At the conventions there was no common statement calling for subscription. But the Na-

tional Conference was formed by regularly accredited delegates representing the Unitarian churches; and it planted itself on a Constitution that became henceforth the voice of the churches, taking part in it by appointed delegates. In effect, it was the same as if the delegates at each meeting of the Conference affixed their names to the Constitution, since it was the organic law by which alone they were empowered to act as constituent parts of the Conference. It became, therefore, a question of serious moment what was said in this Constitution. And when the radical members of the Conference and of the Unitarian denomination saw that in the Preamble, which is a component part of the Constitution, there were expressions affirming the Lordship and Kingship of Jesus, and also his special divine Sonship, they could but turn away in earnest protest, or, if they remained, could only accept the Constitution under which they acted with mental reservations. Henceforth, they could not have mental peace in the Conference. Nor have the successive amendments which have been passed to meet their difficulty brought the needed relief to their consciences. In some cases, the spirit of fellowship, the strong desire not to break old associations, and a disposition generously to trust the future for relief, have overcome conscientious scruples, and temporarily silenced the expression of them; but, nevertheless, the inner protest has remained.

Nor, in my judgment, does it suffice to declare that these theological phrases are only expressions of the view of the majority, and not to be regarded as "an authoritative test of Unitarianism"; that they were not intended as a creed, but are only the natural language to indicate that the Unitarian body is a branch of the Christian Church; that they have a variety of meanings, and may be interpreted in a merely metaphorical sense; and that, especially, they were not used for the purpose of excluding any one from the Conference who wishes to work with it, and has confidence in its practical aims. The facts none the less remain that some persons are excluded by them; that a considerable number of persons, who have been educated in the Unitarian communion or have come to have certain natural affiliations with it, cannot rationally and conscientiously use these phrases as common appellations of Jesus, even in a metaphorical sense; that these persons were, or still are, invited to the Conference as eligible, on equal terms with others, to its membership, but, on entering, find that the majority have inserted in the Constitution theological beliefs which they cannot accept, thereby violating the terms of equality in the fundamental conditions of membership; that, moreover, the tenacious insistence with which these theological phrases have been retained in the Constitution is proof that they may be properly interpreted as defining even the "purposes and practical aims" of the Conference, and as placing upon its "work" certain theological limitations.

For these reasons, the methods hitherto adopted for meeting the protest of the dissentient minority have not reached the root of the trouble. Is there any method that will reach and remove that root? In my opinion, there is none except the method which will sweep away from the Constitution all those theological phrases that have aroused the protest, free the Preamble and Articles from every fragment of dogma which may even have the guise of a creed, recognize the unlimited right of free inquiry, and place the members as regards each other on conditions of perfect equality, the majority no more than the minority expecting to have their theological beliefs expressed in the organic law of the body. This would be going

back to first principles,—doing now what, perhaps, not a few persons, in the light of history, have come to see might have been safely done, as it was the just thing to do, when the Conference was organized. Some of the wisest heads among the older Unitarians, remembering the emphasis which Unitarianism had placed on mental liberty, saw then that this was the fair and just course,—as, notably, Dr. Dewey, whose letters published since his death show him to have thought and said at the time that "no language should have been retained in the Preamble which both parties could not agree to. . . . What they [the young men] asked was reasonable." And again: "The Conference is wrong. If it expects the young men to act with it, it should adopt a platform on which they can conscientiously and comfortably stand." And here let it be said and clearly understood that the minority have never asked or thought of asking that their special theological views should be put into the Constitution in lieu of those of the majority. They would be content—nay, they desire—that the Constitution should be as colorless in respect to beliefs which may be dear to them individually as they ask that it should be in respect to beliefs which the majority may hold dear. All that they ask for is equality, fairness, justice to all. The Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference need not in the least determine the beliefs which any individual member may himself hold or may deem most important to be uttered and urged in his own work.

And now, assuming that the Conference really desires to effect a reconciliation between these divergent minds or parties of which I have been speaking, let us turn to consider the special ways possible for reaching this end. Does some one ask whether the substitute for the Preamble and First Article, which was offered and contended for by the minority at the second session of the Conference, would now satisfy those who then labored for it? That proposed amendment, in brief, included a definition of the object of Christianity as "the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth"; a declaration that "common creeds or statements of faith" are a hindrance to the "perfect freedom of thought, which is at once the right and the duty of every human being"; and the expression of a purpose to make the Conference an "organization for practical Christian work, based rather on unity of spirit than on uniformity of belief." And the name of the Conference was to be changed to "The National Conference of Unitarian and Independent Churches," not, however, apparently, from an objection to the word "Christian" in the present name, but with a view to including some societies not regarded as Unitarian. The proposed substitute used freely the words "Christian" and "Christianity," but sought to define them as synonymous with the aims and spirit of universal religion, and as entirely consistent with the purest freedom of thought. But, since that time, some of us have come to see—brought to the sight, perhaps, in part by the very resistance which this amendment encountered—that "Christian" and "Christianity" cannot properly be thus defined, and we accordingly no longer call ourselves by the Christian name. To my mind, the word "Christian," when used in its primary and proper ecclesiastical sense, carries with it a dogmatic idea which my reason cannot accept, and, when used in a general sense to signify certain high virtues and graces of character, does a real injustice to other religions, under which I observe that these same virtues and graces of character are nurtured. The word "Christian," therefore, to-day seems to me to stand in the way of that large and free religious fellowship and of that progress of

mankind toward practical brotherhood which, to my mind, are the finest features in the religious aspirations and trend of the modern world. Hence, the amendment proposed in 1868, or any equivalent of it, would not satisfy my conscience now; and I presume there are others in the same position with me.

Another proposed remedy is, or might be, to strike off the Preamble, and put nothing in its place, striking off also the supplementary Articles IX. and X., which have been added as commentary on the Preamble; to leave out the conjunctive *therefore* which connects the Preamble with Article I.; to make some changes, perhaps, in the wording of that Article; and thus to put the Conference on a purely "business" basis, expressive merely of a purpose to stimulate the societies thus connected together to more earnest and effective work in behalf of the interests which they have at heart. Unless this proposition contemplates considerable change in the First Article,—making, for instance, some substitution for the word "Christian," which now occurs three times in it, and giving to the Conference a new name in part,—it would be open to the same objection as the amendment just discussed: the Conference would be defined and bounded by the Christian name, and some persons who cannot conscientiously take that name would be debarred from membership, though, as concerns other conditions, they would naturally be included. But let us suppose that these changes are made, and that the amended First Article should read something like this: "The churches and societies, Unitarian and other, here assembled, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the American Conference of Unitarian and other Independent Societies, to the end of energizing and stimulating one another to the largest exertions in behalf of the important interests which they have at heart." In harmony with this amended form, some verbal changes would be required in the subsequent Articles, so that such phrases as "our body" and "our churches," meaning now the "Unitarian body" and "Unitarian churches," might be turned to a less sectarian significance.

This plan, clearly, has certain signal advantages. It avoids the points on which there might arise a difference of opinion,—or a difference in the expression of opinion, which is often a harder thing to get over than a difference of opinion. It contains no dogma, and says nothing about creeds or statements of faith, either for or against. I see not why the most extreme rationalist and radical, if he believes in any such organization at all, could not subscribe to anything that is here expressed. Nor do I see that there is anything here to which the most conservative Unitarian could not subscribe, provided that he is ready for all that that phrase "and other"—"Unitarian and other"—implies; namely, that the Conference is not to be limited by the Christian name and boundary. And that he is ready for this is our present hypothesis. This plan, moreover, does not propose to settle in the Conference any of the questions at issue between the different and conflicting parties. It establishes no principle save that of the equal freedom of all members from any constitutional creed or statements of theology. It leaves all questions as to the meaning of Unitarianism, the meaning and character of Christianity, modes of religious service, the rank of Jesus, the authority of his teachings, etc., to the individual churches; and this is in accord with the idea of the Congregational system of ecclesiastical administration which is held among Unitarians of all shades of belief,—the autonomy of the individual society,—while it gives to all beliefs and opinions an equal

chance to make themselves heard and a fair field for vindicating themselves to the rational judgment of the world. On its face, therefore, this plan seems hospitable, equitable, and just; and, if offered, I see not now why the radicals might not consistently accept it. Under it, as I understand, the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston, the Free Congregational Society of Florence, the Free Religious Society of Providence, and even the Societies for Ethical Culture, should they desire to join the Conference, would be freely welcomed as equal members; and, if the Conference shall thus amend its Constitution, it may be rightly expected that the practical meaning of the amendment will be shown by invitations to these societies to send delegates to the Conference. Indeed, this plan might possibly be open to the charge of liability to too lax a freedom,—a danger, however, which might be guarded against by the Committee on Fellowship being empowered to consider, not the creed, but the character of societies that might ask for admission to the membership of the Conference, just as it now satisfies itself with regard to the good character of ministers seeking to come into the Unitarian ministry from other denominations.

But, whatever might be the advantages of this plan, is there not still a more excellent way? Fair and equitable as it may be, treating all members, parties, and opinions in the Conference (or having any natural relation to it) alike, the plan, it is evident, leaves the Constitution not only as colorless, but as cold as a marble statue. Ought such a document, which might tell a great message to the world, have only the bare formality of a business contract? The individual societies and members, it is true, would animate it with those vital interests which they themselves, at any time, have at heart. But is there nothing which they might say also heartily together and all the time through the Constitution, which is the very basis and bond of their associated action? It would seem as if there must be some such community of thought or feeling or spirit, else would they never have been drawn together at all. The Constitution, according to this plan, would give no light as to what the Unitarian movement means, or toward what it aims, to persons who knew nothing of it already. Such a paper should, if possible, tell to all the world the story of its own meaning, as the Declaration of Independence has told to mankind for the last century the meaning of these United States. Now, I believe that there are certain principles—not theological beliefs, but certain intellectual principles, having a most important bearing upon questions of belief and upon questions of life—which all Unitarian societies and people and all those others, too,—those radicals who are not now of the Unitarian Conference, but might be of it,—profess to hold as fundamental conditions of all belief and all religious organizations, and could say unitedly together. There are two such fundamental principles: first, freedom of thought is an inherent and inalienable right of the human mind; second, uprightness of character is an aim in life that has precedence over all theological creeds. Whatever else Unitarianism may mean to any of its adherents, whatever beliefs and historical antecedents it may signify to any minds, and however important such minds may deem it to hold and urge these beliefs, and however variant may be the theological positions which are to be found in the Unitarian ranks, I think that all Unitarians without exception profess to hold, and have so professed for years, these two principles,—freedom of thought, and character before creed. Though, as some of us may perhaps now be thinking, these principles, professed by the lip, may

have been often violated in act, and however logically inconsistent with these principles may appear to us certain beliefs which some Unitarians may attempt to hold with them, yet I suppose it may be safely said that the Unitarian is not to be found who would not assert and defend these two most important principles. Here, then, are certain things which all Unitarians can say unitedly, and might say strongly and gladly together, and which those "others" who are not, but might be, of their National Conference, could say sincerely and heartily with them. Is it not therefore possible so to insert a statement of these principles into that cold and colorless frame of a constitution outlined above as to give it breath and life? Try it, and see the effect. These principles would give the Constitution a soul. It then might read, as under my prosaic pen, somewhat like this, though perhaps some inspired penman may come and give to the declaration the ring of a new rallying-cry for human progress:—

"The churches and societies, Unitarian and other, here assembled, reserving to themselves the right to hold and proclaim such other religious principles and beliefs as may seem to them individually to be reasonable and true, but agreeing together that Freedom of Thought is a sacred and inalienable right of the human mind, and that True Character is of vastly higher moment than any uniformity of creed, do hereby unite themselves in a common body to be known as the American Conference of Unitarian and other Independent Societies, to the end of energizing and stimulating one another to the largest exertions in behalf of the important interests which they have at heart for the promotion of righteousness and truth."

Brothers of the Unitarian household and fellowship, brothers of the scattered radical army, tenting in the open field, are we not, on that platform, *one*?

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNITARIAN CREEDS.

Editors of The Index:—

I have read with interest your article on "Unitarian Creeds" and Mr. Gannett's letter. As facts and truth can never harm, I will give you also my experience and view.

With several others, I suffer from the vagueness and "paleness" of Unitarian affirmations. They give to our fellowship a "broadness" and "long stretch" which make one feel very, very lonely in it. I speak only for one.

Yet there are good reasons for this. We are a set of men who feel that the "kingdom of heaven is at hand," that it is "within us." But no one among us has had his "hand in it," or brought it clear out; hence all the vagueness. We all feel it there, but do not agree as to just what it is or how it is to be brought about. Yet, in spite of all indefiniteness, this is a strong bond of union. How strong the differences our conflicting beliefs and spirits—it yet, in our loose organization, keeps heartily together—measure! Each one of us probably has his definite views of "the kingdom" and "the way"; but he knows he does not stand in the full truth, but only loves it and believes he sees it. Hence, his fellowship must naturally be with those who love it and believe they see it, even though our views conflict as day and night. The indefiniteness is deplorable, indeed,—but only the fault of the period, not of the men,—and has this kernel of hope and good in it, that it proves the sincerity and the calmness of our men. Unitarianism will never stand for "blind" assertions nor ever be the victim of hypocritical illusions. If in deep, sad earnestness and humility we all toil on our own ways, we must be led unto "all truth."

My view of Unitarianism is this:—

1. It stands for belief in morality and religion of some form. So do "orthodox" churches in and out of Christianity, and so do Free Religious Associations; but

2. It differs from all orthodox churches by making religion a direct and personal matter between myself and God, now and here, without leading me by crooked ways up or down space or time. It stands for religion as the consciousness of ever-binding obligation and all-filling sanctity; or, to express it in good old Bible phraseology, "God made not 'this' covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day."

3. It distinguishes itself from all Free Religious Associations by (perhaps, unconsciously, often) recognizing the truth and obligation in natural historical growths. It does not attempt to begin as if man was created yesterday, but to work on where our fathers left off, recognizing our obligation to our historical and geographical position, forgetting or denying which is, to my mind, the greatest mistake of all Free Religious Associations. It has faith in the divine growths in humanity rather than in human constructions. It stands practically, as against "Free Religion," for evolution, while, as against "orthodox religion," for "freedom." It does cling to natural growth and to historical foundations, only building farther on the "foundation which is laid," instead of trying to uproot it, with you. Thus, we keep within the organic religious growths, have roots, and, therefore, hope of having flowers and fruits.

Here and there, individuals drop off from the Unitarian body into either of the two bordering "abysses," "Free Religion" or "Orthodoxy"; but I think others also will feel that Unitarianism as a thing men did not make, nor can unmake, is the thing thus "limited." And, when we do come down to this, we do enjoy fellowship of spirit, calmly standing on the foundation laid, glorying in the work of the fathers, assimilating "all of good the past has had," yet in gladness communing with God here and now, soul to soul, and turning to the future with a hope that makes our hearts sing.

Thus much for unity, now for our differences. Allow me to give one illustration of these by giving briefly my own personal, cherished faith. I hope *The Index* does not make "free thought" and "anti-Christianity" synonymous; that it will not deny the name of "free thinker" to such as by free, fearless thought have arrived at pure "old" Christianity.

1. I think Mr. Gannett's statement, that our "supreme" idea is "ethics and the great faith it leads to," injurious. My "supreme" idea it certainly is not: it is my "germinal" idea; but it has led to a faith far higher (I hope) than Mr. Gannett's "great faith." That "great faith" I would rather call the yet unopen seed of true religion. Let it grow, and the "supreme" crowning idea will be (has been to me) the "Fatherhood of God." "Faith in the moral order of the universe,"—out of it grew to me faith in the great, good Orderer of the universe, the great "Shepherd," whose eye is on all and each. "Faith in all-ruling righteousness" developed in me into faith in God, my Father, who so loves me that he has given me the spirit of "an only son."

2. In Jesus, I see the type of the "Son of God," up to which, with God's help, I hope also to grow.

3. In the Bible, I see the human, remarkably perfect record of the "ways of God" with a nation which for fifteen centuries, at least, B.C. held the essence of religion, the kernel of all true faith (at first, just that "great faith" of Mr. Gannett's), and out of which at last came Jesus, the revelation of the human spirit as "Son of God," and through him a new spiritual kingdom. Call it natural or supernatural, revelation or evolution, I do not care. The fact is that "out of Zion God hath shined" also on me.

The Bible to me is the record of the evolution of the highest character and religion. Wherefore, I, for my own part, protest against Mr. Gannett's statement that "it is poor logic, poor taste, and faint-heartedness" that makes so many ministers use only the Bible in the pulpit. Sometimes, perhaps; but, sometimes, it is good logic, good taste, and the courage (highly needed) of conviction.

4. I deem it waste of time to discuss of immortality or its hold upon us. I believe in it. "God is my Father, and I shall not die." "I know that my redeemer liveth."

5. I believe in "free thought," but would emphasize "thought." In "free thoughtlessness," or superficial, blind rejection of all but what at first glance seems "reasonable," often misnamed "free thought," I do not believe, but think it "the curse" of our

present time. Where there is earnestness, reverence, and humility, free thought and Christianity will never differ but in words.

6. Finally, I believe in "words" and "names" which concisely and clearly express what we believe, feel, love, will, and try to do. The word "Christian" thus expresses my highest ambition and all my conviction, and all my daily endeavors and aspirations. To believe and feel as Jesus did, to possess his spirit, to "put on Christ," is my aim; though to say it sounds like a rebuke, so far, far ahead is it from the actual. God help me thereunto, and be with us all.

Yours for God and man,

H. TAMBS LYCHE.

SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM.

Editors of The Index:—

One of the saddest articles that has appeared in *The Index* was that one from the pen of William Lloyd Garrison in last week's issue. To me, it was one great moan over the glories that have departed; and the cry of the Israelites in the wilderness came again to my ears, "Why have ye brought us up out of the land of Egypt to perish in this wilderness?" and the voice of Tom Hood comes with it,—and there was always a moan in that to me,—"I'm further off from heaven than when I was a boy."

I sympathize heartily with the writer as he thinks of the old hymn tunes and the holy associations, the pious reverence for God's house, the sacred memories of the long ago; but it strikes me that this is sadly out of harmony with the truth that has come "to light every man that cometh into the world" in our country to-day, for the scientific materialism is not what Mr. Garrison seems to think it is. For it is not "animalism that is encouraged by materialism," but, on the contrary, a sound, scientific education gives us the solid rock on which to build good character; and nineteen centuries of Christian teaching have done but little for the world in which we live in that direction, because the ultimate result of teaching that which is not true is bound to be immoral. And every doctrine must be weighed in the balance of truth to-day, and we are bound to accept every theory on its merits; and we may fearlessly resolve that we will teach our children "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," confident that the ultimate result of so doing will be beneficial and moral.

The scientific materialism of to-day has no "mud flats": its associations are not the "wine cup" and the "tobacco habit." Those may be associated with the iconoclastic ignorance of the fool who "has said in his heart there is no God"; but that materialism which is carrying away the Christian's God on its restless bosom lifts the hearts of men away from the meannesses of earth, and opens unto them books of miracle and shows them wonders far surpassing the crashing walls of Jericho or the divided waters of Jordan,—wonders and glories of which the prophets of old never dreamed. We lose Joshua and his stationary sun, but we find Copernicus and the revolving world. We miss Genesis and the story of creation; but, instead, we have the marvels of Darwinism, of evolution, and the gain is great. John of Patmos has given place to John Tyndall; and the "beast with eyes in its horns" is fading out along with all the old balderdash with which so many generations have been poisoned. And now a true spirit of inquiry is growing up, and the awe and reverence of the rising generation are excited by the wonders of the world in which we live. The telescope and the microscope are taking the place of the pulpit and the "eye of faith"; and, to the world growing up about us, "the heavens declare the glory" of the human mind, the immensity of space, the shortness of life, and the sternness of the law that only the truly good can be happy. For in the world of science there is no evading the law that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." We cannot shift the burden of our sins on to innocent shoulders: "every man shall bear his own burden." And so we see in a scientific materialism the seeds of that good time coming, when

"Man and man the world o'er
Will brothers be for a' that."

And the power and strength of the true scientific materialism may be gathered from the slowness of its growth.

The mushroom springs up in a night, but passes away almost as rapidly. The oak-tree grows slowly,

sinks its roots deeply, but endures through the centuries. So with materialism. Almost three centuries have passed away since Bruno died for a scientific truth; and the scholars of Boston moan, "Past days were better than these." Never! The world never was better than it is to-day, and I heartily indorse an old hymn we sang when I was a boy:—

"We are living, we are dwelling
In a grand, an awful time,
In an age on ages telling
To be living is sublime."

Let us teach our children these things.

PETER ANNET.

FREE TRADE vs. PROTECTION.

Editors of The Index:—

In your issue of April 16, your protectionist contributor replies to my criticisms. It will be seen by reference to my note, published in *The Index* of January 8, that it was not there claimed that, by the introduction of free trade, no industries would be injured, but that the ruinous competition could not be extended, as he suggested, so as to destroy all of the industries of the "unprotected" country; that, on the other hand, losses in one direction would be accompanied by gains in another. This conclusion was based upon the principle which he explicitly recognizes in his second communication (April 16): that, "if you wish to buy, you must sometimes consent to sell to have something to buy with." He rejects, however, the converse proposition that, "if you wish to sell, you must consent to buy," and insists that "we should be able to sell our cotton and corn to Great Britain, even though we made every thread of our cotton and woollen goods, all our hardware and pottery, without buying from any one a single cent's worth of either." Does he mean "without buying from any one a single cent's worth of anything"? What, then, are we to receive for our corn and cotton? Money? Suppose "British gold" to be inexhaustible. What do we want of it? We have an abundance of our own to serve as a medium of exchange. Beyond that point, we should be simply importing it as merchandise. We should be selling corn and cotton, and buying gold. That is, we should be accumulating a large stock of a commodity whose possession is by no means capable of making the largest possible contribution to national prosperity,—a commodity, moreover, which we ourselves produce, and which therefore, according to the beneficent system of protectionism, other nations should be debarred from intruding upon us. Nothing could more happily point Mr. Fiske's reference to the medievalism of the mis-called "protectionist" system than this illustration of the fact that its advocates have not yet outgrown the "mercantile" fallacy that wealth consists exclusively of money. One other point your contributor makes very clear: "A fisherman drops his hook, baited with a worm, among a school of fishes," etc. The fish insists upon selling itself to the angler at the beggarly price of a morsel of bait. Its conduct is nearly identical with that charged against the British manufacturer. It is obvious that such competition would be ruinous to the food-producing enterprises of the fisherman, and that there are therefore needed rigid prohibitory game laws for the protection of—the man.

HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

WHITEWATER, Wis., April, 1885.

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM SEEN IN OHIO.

Editors of The Index:—

The following paragraph recently appeared in one of our country newspapers, and I send it to *The Index* as a specimen of "religious instruction" which is occasionally attempted by the country press:—

The Star of the East that led the good shepherds to the manger in Bethlehem to behold the new-born King of the Jews, nearly nineteen hundred years ago, can now be seen in the eastern sky in the morning from 6 o'clock till 8. It is the brightest at 6.30 now; but, as it will only remain in sight till the 29th inst., it will appear earlier in the night, as time advances. This is its sixth appearance to the inhabitants of this earth since the birth of Christ, appearing only once in every three hundred and fourteen years. This star was unknown before the birth of Christ, no record having ever been made of it by noted astronomers before that date.

The boldness of the writer in bringing this old myth out into the light could hardly be surpassed. The "star" referred to is no doubt the planet Venus,

which was the morning star at the time the paragraph appeared. I know several persons who believed the statements contained in the paragraph, and who actually got up in the early morning to take a look at this wonderful star of Bethlehem.

DAVID O'KEY.

WOODSFIELD, OHIO, April 28, 1885.

TAXING LEGACIES.

Editors of The Index:—

New York, as will be seen by the item below, has proposed a tax which will seem a peculiarly light burden to those that pay it. The only question is whether any similar steps might be taken with advantage in regard to direct inheritance:—

ALBANY, N.Y., April 30.

The legislature has passed a bill imposing a tax of 5 per cent. on all collateral inheritances and bequests of over \$500. It is expected this will bring \$1,000,000 annually into the state treasury.

F. M. H.

THE OLD THEOLOGY VERIFIED.

Editors of The Index:—

How can earnest seekers after truth fail to become confused and even discouraged at the present entanglement of theological beliefs or creeds? All ministers—teachers and leaders of the people—take the Bible for their text-book, and also claim to be prepared for their avocation through the grace of God. But what are we to think when one minister finds that the Bible teaches that the gratification of the senses is not pleasing to God, and another, apparently equally earnest, finds it is pleasing to God; when one understands God to be one person only, and another understands him to be three persons in one; when one teaches eternal punishment, and another universal salvation; when one teaches that Jesus was the Son of God (a part of Infinity), and another that he was both the Son of God and the Son of man (a part of Spirit and a part of matter); when one understands that he was preferred by God and endowed with a superior power by him, and another understands that God is no respecter of persons, and that Jesus was simply a moral man; when one professes to know that the miracles recorded in the Scriptures are true, and another to know that they are allegorical; when one teaches the resurrection of the flesh, and another the destruction of materiality and the resurrection of the soul?

The foregoing beliefs, and many more equally contradictory, constitute the foundation of what is termed Christianity, or Religion. It would certainly appear as though each denomination had a God of their own, else but one can be correct, and the others must have read the Scripture to their own destruction.

The Bible, if it be truth, cannot be contradictory; and, as so many contradictory doctrines are taught from it, it is proof sufficient that either the book is of no value or else that it is not understood aright. Dr. E. J. Arens, in his work entitled *Old Theology for the Healing of the Sick*,—which, by the way, is not in accordance with the so-called Christian science theory,—claims that the Bible is the truth, and is without a contradiction from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of Revelation; that the truth it teaches is a demonstrable truth, which can be as clearly understood and demonstrated as can the principle of mathematics; that its demonstration is the destruction of sin, sickness, and death; and that the demonstration, like that of mathematics, will be in direct ratio to the correct understanding. He furthermore claims that he is able to impart this understanding to others, and that they can, through it, heal the sick. Now, there are many earnest seekers after truth who are not satisfied with theoretical Christianity, which ends where it begins, and which at best is but speculation. No doubt, too, they have all, in their vain attempt to reach the truth, investigated many a humbug, and, it may be, also spent many a dollar thereon.

This writer challenges all, regardless of their creeds or doctrines, to meet him, not in a spirit of controversy, but rather one of investigation; and he feels confident that he can convince them that he has the truth. Of one thing we may be sure; namely, he thinks he is right, for no man likes to be weighed in the balance, at his own request, and found wanting. Would it not be well to give Dr. Arens what he would consider a fair opportunity to expound his theory before a select company of our best minds? True, it may be a humbug; but there is also a chance

that it may not. And can we, who are not bound by creeds, and who are, therefore, free to acknowledge that we have not a satisfactory solution of the problem of life, afford to lose an opportunity of gaining one? Neither need our theologians be afraid, for the very Scripture which they advocate teaches that the elect cannot be deceived; and, indeed, it must be a marvellous charlatanism that can deceive those who have withstood the fire of modern theology to the present time. And, if on the other hand it be truth, let us by all means have it.

B. T. A.

BOOK NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY. For Higher Institutes in Republics, and for Self-Instruction. By Prof. H. M. Cottinger, A.M. Boston: Charles H. Whiting, 32 Bromfield Street.

Prof. Cottinger, in his preface to this work, explains that, in preparing this condensed history, he had two special aims in view,—“to communicate to scholars those events which every well-educated man of our age ought to know, and to aid, with the concurrence of historical facts, in forming their moral character and sense of right. The States and events in which the ideas of right appear most perfectly realized are, therefore, chiefly considered. Both the ancient and modern republics belonged to those States.” In this book of three hundred and thirty-six pages, the facts of history are necessarily much condensed; but the author has facilitated the assimilation of them by the student in several ways: first, by dividing them into ten great periods from the “beginning of historical certainty” to the present time, and subdividing those periods into chapters, and the chapters into sections with appropriate descriptive headings. Foot-notes to each page contain questions pertinent to the chief historical events narrated on the page, and aid the reader to summarize them in order. An exercise at the close of each period described is also given to be written out, “to enable the scholar the better to work up the contents of the history, to grasp more rapidly the events, and to remember more easily the chronological dates.” A condensed chronological table is appended to the work, a chapter is devoted in each period to the history of civilization during that period. Prof. Cottinger, who is the author of several educational works, of which the *Youth's Liberal Guide* is perhaps the best known to our readers, has evidently bestowed much time, study, and conscientious labor on this work, and in its compilation has, he says, consulted the best and most recent authorities on the histories of the countries considered. The work is written in a pleasant narrative style, enlivened by occasional pertinent anecdotes. u.

THE BUNTUNG BALL. A Græco-American Play. A Social Satire. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 10 and 12 Dey Street. 1885. Price, cloth, \$1.50; gilt edge, \$2.00.

A certain phase of New York society life is very crisply caricatured in this rhythmic account of the absurd possibilities involved in a ball given by some newly rich people. The satire is perhaps somewhat overdrawn, and the law of probabilities very much against such a concatenation of circumstances occurring during one evening; but the versification is bright, airy, witty, and skilful in its combination of classical form with modern thought, even when slangily expressed. Independent of the mystery of the authorship of this work,—said to be written “by one of the most brilliant and well-known of living writers,”—it cannot fail to interest readers on its own merits. Its plan is unique, its rhythm varied, and the movement lively. The author's name is for the present withheld; and the publishers offer \$1,000 in cash to the person or persons who correctly guess it, the prize to be awarded and announced in thirty days after the tenth thousand copy is sold from the office of publication. The book is handsomely bound, and contains 154 pages. u.

THE Popular Science Monthly for May is an unusually good number, being full of articles rich in thought and information on living questions of the day. The first paper, “Our Recent Debts to Vivisection,” by William W. Keen, M.D., is a graphic account of the benefits that have been conferred upon humanity during the last quarter of a century by means of experiments on animals. The second article, by Prof. W. K. Brooks, is an answer to the question, “Can Man be modified by Selection?” Dr. Max von Pettenkofer's timely papers on “Cholera”

end in this number. “Religion without Dogma,” by Mr. George Iles, is a vigorous protest against the trammels of theological authority, and for the freedom and enlightenment of the religious sentiments. “Methods of teaching Political Economy,” by Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin, “A Scientific View of the Coal Question,” by G. Gore, and “Training in Ethical Science,” by Mr. H. H. Curtis, deserve the attention of all who are interested in the subject of educational improvement. The present instalment of “The Chemistry of Cookery” is devoted to vegetarianism, which Dr. Williams commends on rather novel grounds. “The Nervous System and Consciousness,” by Prof. W. R. Benedict, illustrated, and “Arctic Exploration and its Object,” by Dr. Franz Boas, are both strong papers; and there is also an article by Prof. Tyndall, describing “Pasteur's Researches in Germ Life.” An article, treating of the antiquity of man, under the title of “A Very Old Master,” followed by a sketch of M. Pierre Berthelot, closes the body of the number. “Illiteracy as a Source of National Danger” and “A Test of Philosophy” are discussed in the “Editor's Table”; while twenty pages of “Literary Notices and Popular Miscellany” give room for a large variety in these departments.

THE Bay State Monthly for April is an exceptionally interesting number. It opens with a biographical sketch of Hon. C. C. Coffin (“Carleton”), which is accompanied by an excellent and life-like portrait of that genial writer. Sketches of Col. John B. Clarke, of the *Manchester Mirror*, and of Denman Thompson are also given, the former with a fine portrait. George H. Wood writes of “National Banks,” George W. Hopps of “The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty vs. Monroe Doctrine.” “Old Dorchester” is the subject of an historical article by Charles M. Barrows; Rev. Anson Titus describes “The Wedding in Ye Days Lang Syne”; and the serial story of colonial life, by Frances C. Sparhawk, grows in interest. A unique feature of the number is an article giving in the French language the very favorable impressions of a Frenchman in regard to Concord, N.H.

THE April number of the Revue de Belgique contains a rather lively account, supposed to be written in 1885, of the conquest of India in 1885 by a Russian army aided by another Sepoy rebellion. Bismarck is imagined as assisting in dismembering the British Empire. Ireland is turned into a German principality, England becomes a republic, Canada joins the United States, but is eventually taken from us by Russia. The twenty-first century will see the Czar enthroned over all Europe, and civilization a second time conquered by barbarism. Other articles speak of the new State on the Congo, possible reforms of criminal jurisprudence in Belgium, and the customs of modern Egypt. Alexandria, with its forest of masts planted on the verge of the desert, is said to look like a bunch of needles sticking out of a yellow pincushion.

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The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*.

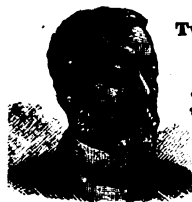
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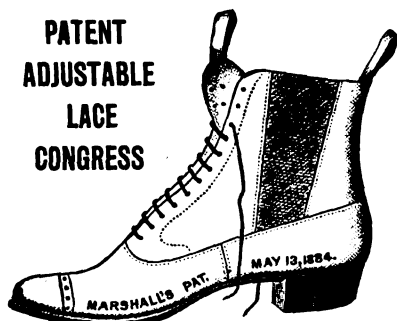
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COL. J. C. BUNDY, editor of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, who has been in this city several days, has had a consultation with the committee of the American Psychical Research Society on "mediumistic phenomena"; and he speaks in terms of praise of the judicial fairness and scientific method and spirit of the several members of the committee. Col. Bundy admits that there is an enormous amount of trickery and fraud practised by mediums; but he is confident that there are also genuine spiritual manifestations, and these he desires to see subjected to scientific scrutiny.

REV. DAVID SWING is reported saying that suffrage in this country should be "limited to men having \$500 worth of property." The *Herald* of this city comments as follows: "A dollar cannot be trusted to vote any more than a man. Some voters who have a large amount of money are the least interested in good government, while many voters whose worldly possessions are little or nothing cast their ballots with the greatest intelligence and conscientiousness. Prof. Swing is reminded that his limitation would have ruled out Ben Franklin in his early days, and disfranchised Gen. Grant when the war broke out. A plutocracy is alien to a republic."

MOTT, a medium, whose performances have during the past dozen years made hundreds of converts to Spiritualism, and who has been tried at Kansas City—where he had been exposed by means of aniline dye—for obtaining money under false pretences, has been discharged by the court, on the ground that the complainants were not deceived by Mott's claims, that they paid their money to expose a humbug, and not for the purpose of seeing spirits. At the same time, the judge says that the complainants "demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt that the defendant was a fraud." The decision was based on a quotation from a previous decision found in American criminal reports, that "the false pre-

tence must be relied on by the party claiming to have been defrauded as true."

REV. PHOTIUS FISKE, for many years a chaplain in the United States Navy, and still on the retired list, is much interested in liberal thought, to the advancement of which he contributes generously. From the *Investigator*, we learn that, at a recent meeting of the directors of the Paine Memorial Corporation, "Mr. Fiske was present, and said that he wished to give the corporation \$1,000, and that he would do this by taking stock for that sum, and making it over to the directors and their successors, to be held by them in trust, that the dividends should be used in carrying on liberal meetings in the Paine Memorial Building." "By this arrangement," says the *Investigator*, "the debt upon the building will be reduced \$1,000, and the directors placed in a position whereby a beginning can be made toward sustaining meetings of a character suitable to the institution founded in honor of Thomas Paine."

A CHINAMAN, in a speech at San Francisco a few days ago, said this country "sends millions of dollars to China to prepare her people for the kingdom of heaven, but refuses them a home in the United States." The reason is evident. The people of this country, of the Pacific coast especially, would rather have Chinamen go to the kingdom of heaven than come to the United States. The Chinaman in San Francisco fails to see that in this country things temporal and things eternal are kept distinct and separate. The former are of practical, the latter of theoretical interest. Not only do we, when we choose, refuse a home to people we are ready to prepare for heavenly mansions, but, not unfrequently, we have those who take charge of spiritual matters carefully labor with individuals, preparing them for their new homes, and then send them thither at the end of a rope. The assurance of their spiritual advisers of their fitness for the kingdom of heaven is accepted with satisfaction, but it does not change our opinion as to their unfitness to remain on earth. When the Chinaman whose words are above quoted has lived in this country a while longer, he will understand these matters.

ACCORDING to the *Pall Mall Budget*, Japan just now presents a singular phase of the Church and State question. A few months ago, it says, the Japanese disestablished and disendowed their ancient faiths; and already there is a movement among the advanced Liberals in the country to adopt Christianity as the State religion on political grounds. A manifesto issued in one of the leading journals of Tokio puts the question in a very naked light. Religion, it says, is one of the garments of a nation; and the prevailing color of that particular garment at present is the hue known as Christianity. Calling the latter for convenience blue, and Buddhism russet-brown, it finds that while the man who shuns the society of his fellows wears the latter, blue is the fashionable color. It would be unprofitable to discuss which is the better of the two: that is of no consequence. Brown may be more sedate and digni-

fied, but the value of a blue coat to the man who wishes to move in polite society must not be lost sight of. Now, Japan does want to move in the polite society of nations, and should, therefore, don the blue coat of Christianity. It is by no means necessary, the writer explains, that the majority of Japanese should become Christians. Far from it: one in every hundred will be sufficient, and all that is necessary is the assumption of a title of a Christian country. The Japanese must change their professed belief, and wear a religious dress uniform with that of the nations with whom they wish to associate. By professed belief, the manifesto candidly adds, is meant what the Japanese profess to believe, apart from the question of what they really believe to be true doctrine. "Assume a religion, if you have it not," is apparently the motto of some of the Liberals in New Japan.

THE *Inter-Ocean*, second in ability to no Chicago daily, in reply to a statement of the Louisville *Courier Journal* that the New York Free Trade Club and the Massachusetts Tariff Reform Association have failed to induce representatives of protection to meet Prof. Sumner, of Yale College, in debate on the tariff, says: "The *Inter-Ocean* does not hold that oral debate is the best or most exhaustive means of correcting errors or removing ignorance concerning the operation of tariffs. But it will take pains to see that no competent free-trader, nor any free-trader whose profession or occupation is such as to cause it to be generally assumed among free-traders that he is competent to discuss the question on the rostrum, is denied an opportunity to do so for want of an antagonist." Prof. V. B. Denslow, tariff editor of the *Inter-Ocean*, debated the tariff question with Prof. Sumner in Cleveland, before four thousand people. As to the merits of the debate, there was, of course, a difference of opinion. Both speakers showed thorough acquaintance with the subject and much skill in argument. Many regarded the debate as a complete protectionist triumph. A renewal of the debate in New Haven was urged by Prof. Sumner's students; but the request, it is stated, was declined. "It is idle and false to say, therefore," the *Inter-Ocean* remarks, "that Prof. Sumner does not know where he can get an antagonist to discuss the tariff question. He knows perfectly well that, if the New York Free Trade Club sends an invitation to the same person who debated with him at Cleveland, it will be accepted." Prof. Denslow debated the tariff question with Prof. Perry, of Williams College, before the Brooklyn Revenue Reform Club; and the debate was admitted by all to be very able and instructive. We suggest that the Massachusetts Tariff Reform Association invite Prof. Denslow and Prof. Sumner to meet in joint debate on the tariff question, in this city, at an early date. Our sympathies are with free trade, but we should like to see presented the strongest arguments that can be urged in favor of the policy of protection, and know of no speaker or writer who can present them more ably and forcibly than Prof. Denslow.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

Again the Free Religious Association gives notice to its members and the public of its annual meeting, and presents its mental bill of fare for Friday of Anniversary Week in Boston. And seldom has it offered a more attractive programme. *The Index* last week, in the Table of Contents, by some misplacement of a switch, got the Secretary's call for the meeting under the head of "Book Notices." But this is not to be taken as a sign that the record of the Association is finished and put into a book or that the canon of its revelations is closed. Doubtless, the ideas it stands for have been making progress in the public mind during the eighteen years since its organization. But, still, it has a distinctive message to the world: it still has something to say in Boston, Anniversary Week, for which no other association or platform gives opportunity. There will be a variety of platforms and societies this year, as heretofore, presenting their claims to public attention,—organizations for denominational purposes, for social and philanthropic objects, for moral reforms; and not a few of these will interest the constituency of the Free Religious Association, and present valid reasons why they should receive the support of all earnestly liberal minds. But, at the close of them all, and as, in a sense, the culmination and crown of all organizations in behalf of human progress, the Free Religious Association offers its platform,—a place where the deepest and most searching problems of religion itself are thoughtfully discussed, where thought is untrammelled, where all questions that concern human welfare are considered from the highest point of view, where representatives of all beliefs and all religions are cordially welcomed, and where an attempt is made to prove that amid diversity of opinions there may be unity of spirit, and that perfect liberty of thought is reconcilable with the most earnest practical endeavors to promote righteousness, brotherhood, and truth.

The programme for the Association's meeting this year well represents the twofold character of the subjects that specially claim its attention,—the problems of thought and the problems of action; while the evening festival expresses the spirit of fellowship which the Association also aims to cultivate. There is, perhaps, no more incisive question concerning the meaning and permanence of religion than that which is to be considered at the morning session,—“Is a Scientific Basis of Religion Possible?” To a large section of people who are compelled to accept science as the criterion in all matters of intellectual belief, it depends on the way in which this question is answered whether they can believe religion to be a permanent possession of mankind or a superstition destined to pass away. The Association is fortunate in having secured two such clear and strong thinkers as Messrs. Savage and Le Sueur to give their views on this subject. Mr. Savage needs no introduction to *Index* readers nor on the Free Religious platform. No writer or speaker is more welcomed anywhere than he. But this, we believe, will be the first time that Mr. Le Sueur has attended a convention of the Free Religious Association. But readers of *The Index* will remember him as several years ago one of the regular contributors to its columns, and one who never wrote without having something good to say, and saying it well. Latterly, he has been a frequent contributor of thoughtful papers to the *Popular Science Monthly*; and, on the theme upon which he is to speak at the annual meeting, he is thoroughly at home. Whether he and Mr. Savage will answer the question in the same way remains to be seen.

For the afternoon meeting, “The Religious Aspect of Socialism” is to be the subject; and the main address upon it is to be by a man whose name and opinions have been under public discussion in this country for the last two years more, perhaps, than those of any other man of the religious world,—Dr. Heber Newton. But, in New York, Dr. Newton is as well known for his special interest in and study of social questions as for his liberal religious views. He comes to the Free Religious platform to speak of these social problems that are pressing to the front of all reform, without any hesitation or timidity, knowing well that his religious views will not thereby be compromised, however much narrow sectarians may criticise him for the step. He has proved himself to have no fear of criticism where matters of conscience are involved. He would have attended the annual convention of the Association two years ago, had he not expected that he might be engaged in an ecclesiastical trial for heresy at that time. Last year, again, he wanted to come, apparently almost as much as we wanted him, but was prevented by an affection of the eyes temporarily disabling him from work. This year nothing is likely to prevent his attendance; and we anticipate that there will be a great desire to hear him, not only in the afternoon address on Socialism, but in the evening, at the Festival, where he is also to be one of the speakers.

For the names of other speakers at the Festival, reference must be made to the Secretary's notice. Some of them are well known on the platform of the Association, others will be new comers there. Other arrangements which the committee are making for the occasion promise that it will be one of unusual interest. Mrs. E. D. Cheney, we understand, is to preside at the tables. This is the first time a woman has taken that position at our meetings; yet what could be more natural and fitting? It is expected that woman will be seen at the head of the table in a private social gathering, and why not in the corresponding place at public festivities? That Mrs. Cheney will bring dignity and grace to the position, all who know her will at once recognize.

It is to be hoped that this annual meeting will bring together a large number of the members and friends of the Free Religious Association. Especially is it desired that distant members may give their presence. It is an opportunity for the renewal of old ties of friendship and the formation of new ones. Let the cause which has our intellectual assent have also our hearts. Remember the two points in Emerson's words closing his address at the first meeting of the Association: “Within this little band that has gathered here to-day should grow friendship. The interests that grow out of a meeting like this should bind us with new strength to the old eternal duties.”

WM. J. POTTER.

HOW WOMEN HAVE “RUSHED” INTO SCEPTICISM.

In an article published in the *Woman's Journal* of February 7, Rev. W. W. Patton, President of the Howard University, defending himself from criticisms passed on a recent sermon of his on “Woman and Scepticism,” stated that one of the chief points of that sermon was to show that, “when women rush into scepticism, they forsake their best friend and defence,—Jesus Christ and his gospel.”

Mrs. Stanton and others have already amply shown that “Jesus Christ and his gospel” have not always proven woman's “best friend and defence”; and my only purpose in this article is to help expose a very common error embodied in the

sentence quoted as to the manner in which disbelief in old theologies comes to thinking women as to thinking men,—a manner the very reverse of “rushing,” which the dictionaries define as “a violent motion, or course.” It is never a pleasant thing to any truth-lover to be forced, at the imperative dictate of conscience, to differ from the conclusions of the majority. Only the knowledge of the well-attested fact that most discoveries in truth have been made by isolated thinkers, and strengthened at first by single converts, makes it possible for such openly to declare those differences. So it would be a very unlikely phase of wilfulness which would cause a sensitive woman of acknowledged intellectual ability, of thorough acquaintance with worldly wisdom and the unprofitableness of the advocacy of unpopular views, to “rush” into openly declared adhesion to heterodox opinions. And yet some women, acknowledged to be among the greatest of their sex, have, through loyalty to truth, made such open declaration of doubt in regard to the theological beliefs which have been unquestioningly accepted by their contemporaries. These are the women the Rev. Mr. Patton accuses of having “rushed” into scepticism. Will their life records bear him out in this accusation?

Among those he is reported to have named in this connection (and, as a preacher of the religion which made her a martyr to free-thought, should have blushed to name) was the beautiful daughter of Theon, of Alexandria, the most learned mathematician of his day, Hypatia, friend of the Bishop Synesius, vindicator of free thought and free speech, who, when Christianity was enjoying its first triumphs, dared to question its dogmas, and to teach in preference the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. This lovely and learned woman, a thinker of such acknowledged ability that men of the highest rank flocked to hear her expositions, could not have “rushed” to any conclusions against even the faith whose disciples did “rush” to put her to a cruel death because of her heretical opinions and teachings.

Madame Roland was a thinker and student from childhood, and, as a child, accepted with ardor the Catholic faith which her beloved mother carefully inculcated as a necessary part of her education. When eleven years old, she was sent, at her own urgent entreaty, to a convent, where for several years she remained as a pupil, and applied her developing intellectual energies to an enthusiastic study of the dogmas of Catholicism. She read with delight the *Lives of the Saints*, and entertained serious thoughts of taking the veil. To this early religious fervor, with its accompanying truth-loving nature, may be ascribed the after course of careful investigation which finally led her into a form of Deism, which is expressed in the invocation she wrote when, in a moment of weakness, she contemplated cheating the cruel guillotine of its prey by committing suicide: “Divinity! Supreme Being! Spirit of the Universe! Great Principle of all I feel great or good or immortal within myself! whose existence I believe in, because I must have emanated from something superior to that by which I am surrounded,—I am about to reunite myself to thy essence!”

Mary Wollstonecraft's earlier correspondence shows clearly that she was of a deeply religious nature, and accepted the teachings of the Protestant faith, into which she was born. Her latest biographer says: “Her belief became broader as she grew older. . . . As the years went on and her knowledge of the world increased, her religion concerned itself more with conduct and less with creed. . . . Her belief, such as it was, was wholly the result of her own desire to solve the problems of existence and of the world beyond the senses.”

Whoever reads the last chapter in her *Rights of Woman* cannot fail to be struck with the thoughtful and even reverent tone of her references to religion, which show that the few theological doctrines she had cast aside had been the subjects of thoughtful study on her part before discarding them from her theistic faith.

Frances Wright, the inscription on whose tombstone sums up the true story of her unselfish life in the words, "I have wedded the cause of human improvement, staked on it my fortune, my reputation, and my life," and of whom Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith wrote that "she was grievously asspersed on every side, and she must have felt to the core her innate worthiness to bear it as she did," is another of those women who are accused of "rushing" into scepticism. As an indication of the method in which such "rushing" would be likely to be done on her part, from a description in her biography of her girlhood, I quote the following: "Surrounded at all times by rare and extensive libraries and commanding whatever masters she desired, she applied herself by turns to various branches of science and to the study of ancient and modern letters and the arts. She was at an early age surprised at the inability of masters to answer her questions, which usually turned upon the nature, origin, and object of the subject submitted to her attention. Being checked on one occasion by a deep and shrewd mathematician, who observed that her questions were dangerous, she replied, 'Can truth be dangerous?'"

Harriet Martineau, whose parents were Unitarians, and her theology, in consequence, of a mild type, was yet deeply interested in religious questions. Even as a child, Milton was a favorite. She studied Hartley, Locke, and Priestley. Her earliest published essay was on "Female Writers of Practical Divinity." Her first book was entitled *Devotional Exercises, consisting of Reflections and Prayers for the Use of Young Persons*. It was after years of careful—yes, and prayerful—study of religion that Harriet Martineau at length made her "rush" into scepticism,—a "rush" which, as she expected, alienated many of the pious friends who chose to accept unquestioningly the current religious views of the day.

At fifteen, "George Sand" was sent to a Parisian convent to finish her education. Here, she became an enthusiastic religious devotee; and it was with difficulty that she was persuaded to give up her expressed determination to take the vows of a novitiate and become a *religieuse*. That her strong intellect in her more mature years led her to unorthodox conclusions was not merely because of her impulsive nature, nor of any tendency to "rush" into error, but rather, as Margaret Fuller says, because "she had a desire for truth, as strong as ever beat in human heart."

The recently published *Life and Letters of George Eliot* reveals distinctly what (in spite of her heterodoxy) every thoughtful reader of her books must feel, that hers was peculiarly and intensely what, for lack of a better phrase, we call a religious nature, which, perhaps, may better be defined as the spirit of aspiration after the highest truth discoverable. In her girlhood, she was an ardent church-woman; and it was only after long struggle and analytic criticism that, at the mandate of conscience, she declared her changed views,—a declaration which, as she feared would be the case, antagonized many whom she dearly loved, and created between them and herself a chasm which her love and longing vainly tried to bridge over.

Frances Power Cobbe, whose whole life-work has been ever in the direction of morality and religion, every page of whose writings glows with devout, reverent theism, is also accounted among

the inconsiderate "rushers" into scepticism. From childhood, her mind was permeated with religious ideas; she was eager to do whatever was required of her by that Unseen Power whom she wished to love as well as worship "in spirit and in truth." Her studies in this direction led her outside of Orthodoxy, but in intellectual fields, whose atmosphere is purely devotional and clearly religious.

Although not mentioned in the Patton sermon, yet certainly included in the list of liberal-minded women whom he thus slurred, belong such names as Margaret Fuller, whose life motto was, "Be to the best thou knowest ever true"; Ernestine L. Rose, the carefully tutored daughter of a learned Polish Rabbi; Lucretia Mott, the gentle-hearted Quakeress, heretic, and liberty-lover, whose motto was, "Truth for authority, and not authority for truth," and whose memory is an inspiration to thousands to-day; Lydia Maria Child, that steadfast pleader in behalf of the weak against the strong, whose cheerful religion, albeit unorthodox, was yet of the most trustful type; and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, whose "rush" into scepticism was not so swift but that she had time to secure and carry with her a whole arsenal of intellectual equipment, sufficient to enable her to defy from her citadel of unfaith the onslaught of either officers or canons of the Church. These, with thousands of other less known, but not less earnest women, who have been forced by the intellectual conflicts of this age to think, to question, and to decide for themselves the query of nearly nineteen centuries, "What think ye of Christ?" and have decided in opposition to the views of the majority, dare, with the strength that comes from earnest conviction, to be true to their conscience, and confess their scepticism while ready to give "a reason for the faith" that still remains after the dissolution of their old creeds and dogmas. Everywhere, to-day, sweet womanly lips are taking up the cry of stout-hearted Martin Luther, "*Hier stehe ich: ich kann nicht anders. Gott helfe mir. Amen.*" with tremulous sound, mayhap, but no less resolutely.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

RADICAL WORK FOR THE YOUNG.*

It is not in a controversial spirit that I approach the subject appointed for the consideration of this afternoon session. I come to it, not as a citizen to look at it in a general way as affecting the State: I come to it in the most personal way,—as a mother into whose hands has been committed the direction of a vigorous, thoughtful child. And, since my thought upon the subject has been invited, I take the liberty to consider what is the work which I would ask of Radicalism for this child.

In the care of his body, I look to those who have studied the laws of health. In the discipline of his mind, I seek the wisdom of those who have investigated the laws of mental development. But it is not enough that he should have a healthy, shapely body; it is not enough that his mind should have been harmoniously developed; for, when these two things, important as they are, shall have been accomplished, there still remains the question, To what end is this strong, symmetrical body, to what end is this disciplined, well-furnished mind? It is the province of Radicalism to answer this question. This problem of life and its significance has been the problem of the race from the beginning of its career,—the problem of all religions, the problem that renews itself with the birth of every child. The first work of Radicalism seems always to have been a negative work,—a protest against the crystallized answer to this problem. At one point in history, Radicalism was

*A paper read at Florence, Mass., before the Free Religious Convention, November, 1881.

a protest against the answer of the Jews; at another point, it was the protest against the answer of the Church of Rome; at another point, it was a protest against the answer of Trinitarian theology; and perhaps we might say that its latest negative work has been a protest against theology itself.

And I would admit that this is a necessary work, as the plough must precede the sowing-time; necessary in dealing with mature minds. But, when Radicalism approaches the young, then should the plough be abandoned, then should the negative action be exchanged for the positive. For is not the mind of the child already like the well-ploughed field, waiting and asking for seed?

The growth of his body and the development of his mind have necessarily been largely a personal work with the child: he *must* eat his bread for himself, he *must* study his lesson for himself. But now he is ready for the radical teacher, be it mother, friend, or stranger, who shall instruct him that he is not a solitary being in the world, placed here just for the growth of his own body and the development of his own mind, but that he has relations and duties to others that take him out of the region of selfhood, and make his life one thread in the weaving of a great and invisible pattern. Here opens a vast field of positive work for the radical teacher in the building up of personal character, in the unfolding and strengthening of the things that make for righteousness. Truthfulness in speech and action, honesty, justness toward others, generosity, personal purity,—these things must always be the foundation stones in character-building. There can be no question about these things. They must be the fruit of radical work,—work that goes to the root of things,—or the work stands self-condemned. History, remote and recent, is rich in lives that exemplify all these virtues; and biography may be made a most valuable aid in the development and strengthening in young people of virtuous character. Let great and good lives, humble as well as far-reaching lives, be placed vividly before them, that they may say with Longfellow:—

"Oh, though oft depressed and lonely,
All my fears are laid aside,
If I but remember only
Such as these have lived and died."

"The study of mankind" in biography and history is one inexhaustible field for radical workers with young people. For this study may develop not only the strictly personal moral character, but builds up as well the character of the citizen.

Having made sure of our foundation of character that it is laid deep and strong, our superstructure gives us more freedom of choice. The world about us, rocks and flowers and the stars beyond, invite us to most wholesome study and thought. Every such avenue of study opened to the young is an added source of wealth for his future, an added safeguard against the physical temptations that surround him, an added source of rest and consolation for the wearisome and sorrowful hours that must come.

The study of art, whether it be in the field of the painter, the sculptor, the musician, or the poet,—having first made our foundations sure,—promises those graces of character that so sweeten and beautify all our human relations. How strong the instinct of human nature is for these graces is shown in the attempts at art in the rudest peoples, the love for decoration in the least developed. And, when the little baby is placed in our arms, it is the tender lullaby in simple rhythm that voices our brooding care; and, when the little one has outgrown the lullaby, then the nursery rhymes are his delight, until these give place to the stirring

strains of the Iliad or the sweet melodies of our own beloved poets. These are pointings of nature which we need not fear to follow. The mind of the child grounded in truthfulness will as unerringly gather from the poem its vital truth as the bee goes straight to the heart of the flower for its honey. And I might carry the illustration still farther, and say that, as the brilliancy or perfume of the flower attracts the bee to its nectary, so may the rhythm of the poem attract and hold the child to its vital truth. All that we can do to refine his tastes, to make coarse and evil things abhorrent to him,—and this may be done without taking from the strength of the child's character,—is so much done to arm him against the temptations of young manhood or womanhood.

Thus far, I believe I have not touched debatable ground; for I think no one would question that, in the building of character, our foundation must be the personal virtues, and I think no one would seriously object to the teaching of science or art as aids to this work. But, since I am speaking in a personal way of what, unlimited by consideration of others, I would have Radicalism do for my child, I will add that I would have it implant in the virgin soil of his mind the sustaining, the consoling, the all-inspiring faith that the root of all things is spirit. I would have it impress upon his willing mind the belief that he has set out upon an immortal career; that his life is not merely for to-day or for next week or for next year, but is forever and ever; that his powers for getting knowledge are infinite; that his powers for giving light and strength to others are infinite; that it is his high calling to live forever onward and upward toward the infinite God.

But, since I am only one member of a society organized for radical work, I feel myself bound to remember that there are other parents who have not the faith that is my inspiration, and who would not wish to have this faith instilled into the minds of their children. Therefore, I acknowledge that, when we come to the matter of working together as a society, we must choose common ground upon which to work, compromising by silence upon those points upon which our views are different. I acknowledge that I have no right to press upon the children of others teachings that their parents would not approve; and, in my own behalf, I have a right to ask that there shall be no teaching which shall close the mind of my child against that faith which I would make the strength of his feet, the wings of his soul.

I say we must compromise by *silence*, for controversy upon disputed subjects of belief is fatal to the well-being of children. What the storm of hail and wind is to the garden's tender seedlings, that is controversy to children. Their minds cannot grasp the question at issue; and they are only conscious that two sets of people whom they respect equally have serious disagreements, or, to use their own language, "quarrels," and they are bewildered and troubled.

Let us be as tender toward the children as the gardener is to his seedlings, shining upon them with all that is lovely and of good report in human nature, and stimulating them to the use of their own best powers, but protecting them from the withering winds of controversy.

It seems to me, then, that Radicalism, working for the young in societies whose one tenet is toleration, must relegate to the parents the religious training of their children, and that this leaves still to Radicalism the field which in the past religion has so much neglected,—the deep founding of the character upon truthfulness and unselfishness and personal purity.

ELIZABETH POWELL BOND.

JOHNSON'S "PERSIA."

Mr. Johnson's last work upon Oriental Religions—*Persia*—has already been noticed in *The Index* in a most careful, thoughtful, and appreciative paper by Mr. Clifford.* But I wish still to add a word upon this most valuable book. Mr. Frothingham, in his Introduction, describes it as "the masterpiece of the series"; and this, to those who know his other volumes, will be felt as highest praise.

Mr. Johnson seems in the *Persia* to have given us the fruit of his ripest thought and knowledge. He presents to us in the Iranian faith and, going farther back, in the Accado-Assyrian and cognate religions from which Iran drew, as did also the Hebrew people, the spectacle of races that have centred their worship upon personal Will as supreme reality, and has pointed out very skilfully what this involved and assures. It is a worship that has had a long and pregnant history in the past, and to this present dominates largely, almost exclusively, in the faith of Christendom.

There is a chapter on symbolism, very instructive,—the theme of all themes,—which of itself is worth many times the price of the book. Then the relations of Persian or Iranian and Chaldeo-Assyrian thought and culture to the Hebrew, and so to the Christian, is handled in a very thorough and intelligent manner. There is throughout an affluence of learning, fulness of treatment, freedom from prepossession or bias, and a positive, believing, affirmative spirit, leaving in these regards nothing to be desired. He has made us all deeply his debtors by his very thorough studies in this most important of all fields, the history of the religious sentiment in its growth and varied expression, showing withal how all this bears toward the final accomplishment,—attainment of free, catholic, universal religion.

Mr. Johnson has the perception of a seer and the utterance of a prophet. There are passages, many of them, in these writings remarkable for their sustained elevation,—passages, too, that rise to heights of commanding eloquence and power. Take, for example, his chapter upon the cuneiform monuments,—the introductory portion where he dwells upon the tie, ever vital, that binds us to the immemorial past. Free as he is to the marrow of his being, he has no sympathy with that intellectual Celticism or Nihilism which would reject or ignore the historic relation.

"We are products of the past as well as of the present; we are inherited fuel as well as instant fire, creatures of tradition as well as of inspiration. For all inspiration springs from resultant conditions, as the plant is rooted in soil and climate, in geologic layer and continental form."

"Surprise and awe make us poetic and creative; we reconstruct old beliefs and repair old defects."

"Our real knowledge, according to Plato, is 'remembrance'; and, surely, our discovery itself is but recognition. Our enthusiasm and wonder at every new thought is in finding it already familiar, of our own race and experience; in feeling at home in it, as in glad recovery of what had been lost. What is the charm of history but that the whispers of one's own genius have come back to him, as with oceanic roll, from the depths of humanity?" (pp. 162, 163.) The decipherment of the cuneiform he pronounces "the mightiest achievement of modern discovery."

Of like elevation and quickening are his passages upon the sea, or water, as the mother of the earth and its life in the old cosmogonies: "Are not the green islands its offspring, the continents its heaped sediments, the record of its secular life?"

Has it not piled the countless layers, its footfalls, its world-architecture?"

"Well might we fancy this rippling laughter, this pulsing rise and fall, this long commingling and emotion, to be the very quiver of the fecund life swarming beneath,—a life that foreshadows all forms elsewhere existing, and has its foretypes of all strivings toward the human, gracious and hateful, noble and mean."

"How universal the sea! Its shores suggest what an infinitude of moods, emotions, aspirations, passions, what stress of resistance and endeavor, what tones and harmonies! The very pebbles it rolls and heaves into barriers to its own march resound monotonous with the familiar, ever unsolved mystery of life and death, the cry of whence and whither that ceases not from man's infancy to his latest maturity; and all is folded in a deeper silence and peace, where the mightiest waste of unrecorded history lays its hand on man's loneliness and fear, with gentle compulsion to trust." (pp. 245, 246.)

But I have not space here to go into detail. The entire volume is rich, charged to the brim with matter, not only of instruction, but manifold suggestion.

Mr. Haskell's word at the end of the volume—it was left unfinished through Mr. Johnson's death in 1882—gives the key-note to the whole work. "This one," he says, "fully gives by hints and statements his concluding thought,—to him the fitting and all important result of his studies of Oriental religions; namely, the connections between the religions of personal Will, which found their culmination in Mohammedanism, and Universal Religion; and the natural and necessary evolution, in connection with scientific thought, of the worship of personal Will into the worship of cosmic substance, order, and law."

This is the destiny sure as the course of the sun. Christianity and all the special forms of faith are to pass away; rather, are to be absorbed, whatever is of vital and permanent value in them, to be renewed and glorified in the broad, absolute religion of a future and not distant day. These studies are invaluable as preparations for that great work of integration and construction that is to come. They are prophecy, not only of the history that shall be written, they are in good degree fulfilment of the ideal dream.

Mr. Johnson was as much a *man* in all senses as he was scholar and thinker. His figure is to me one of the most heroic and inspiring of our age and time. His life was one luminous, constant record of generous self-sacrifice, noble surrender and endeavor for others. "This man certainly did not labor for money," says Mr. Frothingham, "for he was poorer for all he did; nor for fame, of which he got little or none; but for truth alone, or for humanity, which can live only by truth." And again, "The story of Charles Lamb's heroism would be paralleled by Samuel Johnson's, if it all were known." His enthusiasm, so quenchless, irrepressible, is an amazement to me. How he should have held on amid all the embarrassments and discouragements, depressing, disheartening influences that would have utterly disarmed and defeated most men, toiling through all the lone, weary years of unrecognized, unrequited labor, working for nothing and finding himself,—and doing such work, too,—not only never disheartened, never relaxing, but serene, assured, sunny, and ardent in this love to the very last, is a wonder. Such patience, steadfastness, sublimest hope and trust, come only to souls of loftiest strain.

Mr. Johnson has given us a precious, priceless volume, an original and permanent contribution to the religious history of our race. It should be

*Index, Feb. 12, 1885.

very dear to all lovers of manly independence, fearless utterance, strong, clear thinking. All such will certainly be eager to possess themselves of and study with utmost care this remarkable book.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

MORMONISM.

It seems strange that a system of religion founded in this country in 1830 by two or three obscure individuals and based upon a romance written by a Christian preacher, who was born in Connecticut and educated at Dartmouth College, should now number its adherents by hundreds of thousands and have an organization extending largely over the globe. But this system, we should bear in mind, did not come into existence *de novo*. All its essential elements were a part of the popular religious beliefs in the country in which it appeared, and in the lands in which its converts have been made.

Rev. Solomon Spaulding's *The Manuscript Found* abounded in marvellous stories resembling those of the Bible, whose antique style its author imitated; and it was filled with the thought of a mind thoroughly saturated with Jewish and Christian supernaturalism. Rigdon was a Campbellite preacher; and Smith, superstitious by inheritance as well as by education, carried with him a "peep-stone," and was a victim of the religious revivals that frequently swept through the country. There was more or less doubt as to which of the churches was the true one, and much "agonizing prayer" that God would make known whether the Methodist, the Baptist, or some other sect was right.

The mere announcement of a new revelation was welcome to many ignorant people, who needed only a few positive words from the prophet or his disciples to make them converts to the new religion. The main doctrines taught were those they had never questioned; and their state of mind predisposed them in favor of a claim which, if true, would confirm their old faith and answer their longings for a new revelation which should settle definitely all disputed questions. It was easy, therefore, for many to accept the new religion which its founders, from a desire for authority, for leadership, for fame, perhaps, and with that dishonesty and cunning which often characterize abnormally religious minds, presented as a system of divinely revealed truth.

The new religion was, in fact, the old religion as interpreted by those who accepted Mormonism, with the name of a new prophet added and with a supplementary revelation, written by inspiration long ago, preserved by Providence, and newly discovered and translated under divine guidance from the original text. Mormonism was simply a new twig on the old tree of religion, or a new variety of the system out of which it grew. It found, therefore, the environment in which the old system flourished favorable to its early growth. Had it been really a new religion, it would have perished at birth. Rarely does even a new variety (variation) of religion find a combination of circumstances favorable to its development into an organized system.

Without doubt, Mormonism was a reactionary movement. The minds from whom it received its original stamp, who formulated its creed and established its ecclesiastical polity, were literalists, more impressed with the doctrinal portion of the Bible than with its highest ethical teachings, and disposed to emphasize the very parts of the Jewish and Christian system which the more enlightened Christian sects rejected or ignored. For this very reason, Mormonism was acceptable to large numbers upon whom it would have made no impression,

had its founders been men of advanced thought and had the new system embodied all the best and rejected all the worst features of Scriptural teachings or of the current religious belief. There would not have been sufficient points of contact between the old faith and the new with numbers large enough to form and sustain an organization. The Mormon leaders, like Mr. Moody,—who, without education, original thought, or the gifts of oratory, attracts large audiences,—gained attention and made converts by their gross anthropomorphism and crude conceptions of the world, adapted to the unenlightened mind.

Polygamy, it should be said in justice to Mormonism, is not and never was an essential part of the system; nor was it originally taught by the founders of Mormonism. It soon became, however, an essential part of the purpose of the Mormon leaders, who, for very unspiritual reasons, desired to establish polygamy, and with Jewish precedents had no difficulty in making their ignorant followers believe that it had been reinstituted by the authority of Jehovah. The religious belief of the Mormons contains so much that belongs to an intellectual and moral stage of development in which polygamy is regarded as an important institution that it was easily adopted; and its speedy extinction would be, if the Mormons could remain a separate community and escape the influence of the outside public sentiment, an impossibility.

With the abandonment of polygamy, the general character of Mormonism is likely to improve; and it may yet become one of the respectable Christian sects. Its essential teachings are the same as those of all the orthodox churches; and its special, distinctive claims to a new revelation and a modern prophet, gaining strength by age, may last as long as those of Judaism and Christianity, out of which it grew and amidst whose adherents it thrives.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. W. SLOANE KENNEDY will speak for the Parker Memorial Science Class next Sunday (at 12.15 P.M.) on "Some Social Views of Ruskin."

COL. HIGGINSON once remarked that he valued his military title chiefly because, to make a place for it, his other title, Reverend, had been rubbed out.

"TWENTY-FIVE SERMONS OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS" is the title of a volume of discourses by William J. Potter, which will soon appear from the press of George H. Ellis.

COL. INGERSOLL, in his recent lecture in this city, stated his agnostic position in the following terse and vigorous language: "I take this occasion again to say that on the subject of theology I know nothing. As to the great question of whence and where, I know just as little as any cardinal or any pope who ever lived, and just as much as all of them put together."

FROM an exchange, we take the following: "'No,' said the Unitarian, 'our church is not a large denomination, its membership amounts to next to nothing outside of New England; but for all that, sir, it is a progressive body, a very progressive body.' 'Yes,' replied the orthodox deacon, 'there's no doubt about its progressiveness. It has already progressed so far as to eliminate two persons from the Trinity; and no doubt, before many years, it will finish what it has begun so successfully.'"

THE *Methodist Recorder*, referring to the fact that the receipts from Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures

lately closed in this city were \$40 under expenses, allowing nothing for the lecturer, says, "Had this occurred in the capital of the Congo country or in Patagonia, we would not have been surprised so much; but to hear of this in cultured Boston sounds rather strange." This leads the *Christian Register* to remark: "And yet it ought not to be strange. The modern Athens, like the ancient one, is constantly seeking new things. Mr. Cook belonged for a while to the class of theological novelties, but he is no longer a novelty. . . . Mr. Cook has great power of popular statement, but Boston has discovered that neither his facts nor his conclusions are always to be trusted."

At the monthly meeting of the Unitarian Club in this city recently, Rev. C. W. Wendte, in the opening address on the question "Why don't People go to Church?" said as reported in one of the daily papers:—

There is also a growing class of people who stay away from church, because they cannot accept its articles of faith and teachings. This class is thoughtful, earnest, and influential, sceptical in regard to the old traditions, forms, and creeds of the Church, but not sceptical in regard to truth. In losing these, the Christian cause is experiencing the most serious disaster from which it has ever yet suffered. To recover them, there is but one way,—to revise the creeds, reshape the forms and institutions of the Church so as to bring them into harmony with modern knowledge and the practical needs of human souls and human society at the present hour. The signs of the times indicate that Christendom is undergoing a peaceful but tremendous revolution in religious philosophy and belief. We are on the threshold of a great spiritual crisis,—a crisis as significant and eventful as that which shook the moral universe when Christianity was born. The ancient and petty nations of the universe have disappeared before the teachings of modern science. Yet the Church, with blind fatuity, declines to accept the new philosophy. It is this which is alienating the minds and hearts of intelligent men, and this which is making the overthrow or transformation of the Church only a question of time.

"THE world's hatred of Christ" has been the subject of countless sermons; yet what "the world" hates is not Christ, whose memory is honored and revered, but religious cant and theological fustian repeated *ad nauseam* in regard to, and in the name of, Christ. Ordinary preachers are unable to distinguish between their absurd theories and tedious sermonizing about Christ and the character of the Judean reformer, fairly judged from the New Testament narrative, subjected to the ordinary canons of historical criticism. If Jesus could return to earth, and should reappear among men to-day, he would probably meet with a warmer reception among "infidels," who criticise the reports of his sayings and doings, than among the orthodox clergy, who talk so much about "the world's hatred of Christ." There is not an "infidel" society that would refuse to give him a hearing: there is not an orthodox pulpit from which he would be permitted to speak. When no pulpit in this city was open to Garrison, he spoke in an "infidel" hall and from the desk of an "infidel" lecturer,—that of Abner Kneeland, who was imprisoned two months in Leverett Street jail for blasphemy. Garrison's praise is now in many churches, because the evil he combated has been removed, and his labors are acknowledged and appreciated. His opposition to theological creeds, if he were with us to-day, would exclude him from the pulpits of those who talk most about Christ. And what chance would Jesus have in this generation to address fashionable orthodox congregations in Boston or New York, if he should condemn established ceremonies and creeds and current hypocrisies and shams as he condemned those of his own day?

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

The Profit-maker and the Socialists.

BY VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.

No branch of the conflicting and chaotic body of discussion known as political economy, by some claimed to be already a science, is more crude than that which professes to treat of the distribution of wealth, and especially of the inequalities in its distribution, whereby a few men are the owners of a wealth so enormous that they are supposed to be able to make no profitable use of it, while millions are on the verge of want. Mr. Mill says that, "while the laws and conditions of the production of wealth partake of the character of physical truths," in which there is "nothing optional or arbitrary," it "is not so with the distribution of wealth. That is a matter of human institution solely. . . . The distribution of wealth depends on the laws and customs of society."

In short, Mr. Mill thinks that, while the production of wealth is governed by economic laws as natural as those which govern any department of physics, the distribution of wealth is not regulated by economic, but only by parliamentary and judge-made laws. If legislatures but chose to enact it, wealth could be divided equally, or it could be distributed according to honesty, piety, learning, complexion, personal beauty, or any other required standard. It would be anticipating our argument to affirm that, the distribution of wealth being the chief means to the production of wealth, to say that the latter is governed by economic law, but the former is not, is to say that part of a subject is exempt from law, but the whole of it obeys law, which is absurd. Mr. Mill says that "the rules by which it is determined are what the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community make them." And how comes there to be a "ruling portion of the community"? Why should one portion of the community be ruled by another at all? Because the portion ruling have wealth, and the portion ruled is in poverty. The circle

then is this. Inequality in the distribution of wealth causes the laws and customs of society, and these cause inequality in the distribution of wealth. Mr. Mill's cause is the consequence of its own effect, and its effect produces its cause.

The fact is that the laws which govern the distribution of wealth are not only not human, but, like all natural laws, they are remorselessly inhuman. They are so inhuman that "the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community" have been one unending proclamation of their inhumanity. One has but to enter a fashionable church, where "the opinions and feelings of the ruling portion of the community" are set forth with weekly tact and precision, to learn that the great inequality in the distribution of wealth ranks either among the profound mysteries or the palpable iniquities of this imperfect world. Most statesmen have assumed, as a proposition too self-evident for argument, that that condition of society is happiest where wealth is most equally distributed, and that a period of the rapid differentiation of society into various grades of wealth is greatly to be regretted. The pet phrase in which the politician describes this progress, so as to adapt his thought to the sentiment of the very great mass who feel that they do not lead in the race so nearly as they ought to, is to say that "the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." A free repetition of this shibboleth impresses the average crowd of the unrich with the notion that the speaker is a man whose sympathies are universal, and whose political economy makes him the friend of the poor man.

Test this proposition, first, hypothetically. Suppose the whole wealth of the people of the United States to be divided among the whole people equally. \$54,000,000,000 divided among fifty-four million persons gives to each person \$1,000. No one has more, no one less. The division takes no note of capacity, but only of personality. Nearly two-thirds of this value consists in each one's share of the land, which, if made equal in area, would be forty-three acres; if made equal in value, would be about \$600 worth. The personal wealth coming to each over his land would be \$400. No person who has no more than \$400 of wealth can devote it, as society is now organized, to any other purpose than that of a saved-up fund to guard against a "rainy day" of illness or loss of work. Hence, an equal division of the capital of the country, much of which is now in the form of reproductive or unconsumable wealth, would convert it all into non-productive, but consumable wealth. No person having a fund of only \$400 could safely or skilfully invest any portion of it in railways; and no railway owned by a vast army of stockholders, not one of whom held more than \$400 of stock, could be successfully run. A New York Central would require at least two hundred thousand stockholders. Not only would all railways, but all banks, manufactories, shipping lines, mining enterprises, in short everything requiring capital as its basis, would be not merely impaired, it would be instantly wholly destroyed. All commercial interchange and association among men would be not impeded, but paralyzed. Universal equality would precipitate general but instant annihilation. A prosperous country would be wrenched with the pangs of instant famine. The radically equalized mob would be surrendering themselves to military organization, in order that, through that complete surrender of its liberties which marks the subordination of the soldier, society might again emerge from social slavery into its present condition of mutual helpfulness, and therefore of freedom.

Tested hypothetically, therefore, the equal distribution of wealth would destroy wealth itself,

and with it society, civilization, and that very human freedom in whose interest equality in the distribution of wealth is asked for.

All wealth, when analyzed with reference to the reason of its distribution, resolves itself into two forms; namely, consumable wealth, most of which would be useless for any purpose of reproducing wealth, and reproductive wealth, most of which is utterly incapable of being consumed except as it wears out in the process of producing consumable wealth. The former might be called enjoyable wealth, the latter instrumental or capitalistic wealth. Food, raiment, shelter, social power, works of art, entertainment and of instruction, music, books, pictures, etc., are enjoyable wealth. Farms, factories, mines, roads and their means of carriage, ships, shops, stores, banks, machinery, money, are all reproductive wealth. Mankind are interested, both from the economic and the humane point of view, in a distribution of these two kinds of wealth in exactly opposite ways. Consumable wealth needs to be so distributed that the capacity of each individual to consume shall be satisfied. Reproductive wealth needs to be so allotted that mankind shall get its free use on the most economic terms and at the lowest cost. Are both these results obtained either absolutely or proximately? and, if the achievement be proximate, how near is the proximate work to that perfection which should mark the operation of natural law?

But anterior to these questions lies the question, What law of economics is it that causes men to distribute consumable wealth with any regard at all to society's aggregate wants? Why should Chinamen interest themselves in carrying bales of tea or raw silk on their backs over the mountains, so that we may enjoy them? Why should this process of mutual obsequious service to almost antipodal strangers go on all over the world? Mr. Jevons* has happily illustrated this law, which, simply stated, is that, owing to the limits on the consuming capacity of each individual, a decline in the value of all that he produces over his own need can only be prevented by his forwarding the surplus to the person who needs it most, such last-named need being expressed economically by the return service such person is willing to render. Every commodity declines in value in the degree that it exists in surplus, and advances in value in the degree that it is brought nearer, or made more accessible, to the persons by whom it is most needed. This law of declining and advancing values is the steam which propels the social mechanism. It is the involuntary philanthropic force which feeds, shelters, clothes, employs, nerves, stimulates, educates, and governs the world, not only in all its industries, but in all its charities. The farmer's wheat is invaluable to him for his own use to the extent of six bushels per head per year for the members of his family, and his seed for the next year. After the quantity which is consumable by him, the rest has no value whatever except as it is marketable,—i.e., as he forwards it to the man who needs it most; such need being indicated economically by the price,—i.e., the value of the return service he can get for it. The value of anything, then, is the quantity of return service it will buy; and this is not at all measured, or at least not measured with any economic accuracy by the labor, capital, skill, or time required to produce it. Rather, value regulates the quantity of labor, capital, skill, and time which will be devoted to produce the thing to which we attach value. Value, therefore, is the cause and creator of labor. It is the point toward which industry tacks and enterprise steers. It is

* *Theory of Political Economy*, p. 26, et seq.

not to be found in the wake of labor, but ahead in its path. What, then, is the cause of value? It is want combined with the power to relieve want; it is hunger backed by muscle, taste backed by capacity, desire to take combined with willingness to give; it is the working and striving being shaping out the becoming; it is the present standing ever at the portals of the future. The greater desirability of that which can be over that which is, is gain or value, and to so live and steer as to obtain it is profit. Hence, all profit is found in relieving want, and all wealth is such only as it abolishes distress. This want must not come empty-handed: it must offer the results of its own effort in exchange for that which it wants. All that a man hath he will give for his life. All that he is able to produce will he give, if need be, for that which he needs to consume. The value of a product in exchange, therefore, is measured, not by the cost of its production, but by the consumer's need and by the consumer's power to produce. Double the facility with which clothing can be made relatively to wheat, and, other things being equal, twice as much clothing will be exchanged for a given quantity of wheat. The measure of the value of the bushel of wheat, therefore, is the quantity of clothing it will buy, not the labor which produced the wheat.

The law governing values involves endless and hourly fluctuations, most of which are too infinitesimal to be noticed. When one is hungry, a meal has great value. Esau proved this, when he sold his birthright for it. When one has eaten, a second meal has no value for him; but its value is as great as ever to the next famished man, and it will again have value for him in four hours. Value rises with desire, and declines with satiety. It is never quite the same as to two persons, nor the same as to one person for two successive moments of time, nor the same at the same moment in two distant places. The winds and clouds are not so variable as values. The bloom on the flower is more permanent. Value is life expending itself to live. It is heart, blood, muscle, bone, and nerve exacting counter service from the heart, blood, muscle, bone, and nerve of others, in the universal effort to send that of which we have a surplus to answer another's need.

Out of this variableness of values springs the fact of profit. Profit is the ever-fluctuating margin between two factors, one of which can never be exactly known, *i.e.*, cost of production, and the other of which will not remain for two moments or in two places or as to two persons exactly the same, *namely*, price. Loss is the same margin, on the wrong side, when cost of production exceeds price. Working for profit, therefore, is playing at a game which is governed by law; but the factors are hidden from sight for the winnings. Capital, life, honor, and toil, all have to be staked. The reward is that the profit-maker shall become owner of the implements of industry, the lands, mines, railways, ships, banks, factories, stores, merchandise. The profit-maker will be the employer-general of labor, the Pharaoh of the wages-workers, the raker-in of the sunken capitals of those who have played for the same great stake, but have lost. The profit-maker has three graces: *First*, before he yet has capital and while he must work for others at wages, he saves. Subduing appetite, passion, and generosity, and thwarting the cunning of every class that would impose upon him, whether in the name of enjoyment, philanthropy, profit, or religion, he insists on conquering the first step toward fortune, *a working capital*. *Secondly*, this capital he invests not blindly, but shrewdly; *i.e.*, with a true sense of where values will come to be, so as to achieve every

time the margin of profit between the two variable and unknown factors, *cost of production and selling price*. *Thirdly*, the steady persistence in this career, withdrawing the smallest possible ratio of his capital to purposes of consumption and devoting the largest possible ratio off it to production, with a sure capacity to avoid losses, makes him a captain of industry, *a Girard, Astor, Stewart, Vanderbilt, Roache; a Rothschild, Baring, Peabody*. All have trodden the same course. Some who exercise this "value sense" passably well for a time have not held out, and are wrecked. The salvage of the wrecks of these insolvents goes to swell the winnings of those who were not mistaken. The law of the profit-maker is that to him that can rightly foresee profit, *i.e.*, can so invest and combine capital with labor that cost of production of that which he produces will be less than the esteem of the consuming world will induce them to pay for his product, whether it be railroads or their shares, raw cotton or cotton goods, the songs of a prima donna or the sermons of a preacher, the books of a philosopher or the oysters of a fisherman, and whether his product be acquired by him honestly or crookedly, piously or shamefully, *to such a one profit shall be given; and from one that cannot so foresee, his capital shall be taken away, until he ceases to have aught to venture or work with, but is degraded to the ranks, reduced to a private in the great army of wage-workers*. Briefly, to him that hath (the sense of value) values shall be given; and, from him that hath it not, they will be taken away, even that which he seemeth to have.

Is this economic law whereby capital tends to accumulate in the hands of the most shrewd profit-makers humane? That is, is it a law whose practical operation tends to secure the most equal and universal diffusion of consumable or enjoyable wealth among all mankind? If so, then inequality in the control of reproductive wealth tends to produce equality in the enjoyment of consumable wealth. If so, then the fewer the men who own and control our railways, and the larger the capitals massed in them, the cheaper will crops and goods be carried. We do not say this good will not be offset by evils, but only that this good will exist. The larger the capitals massed in our factories and the smaller the number of their owners, the cheaper will they manufacture. The greater the massing, or "monopoly," as some will call it, of money in our banks, the cheaper will they lend, and so on through the whole gamut.

Waive for the present the question whether *all* interests of society are furthered by massing the control of reproductive capital into the hands of a few persons. First ascertain whether *any* interests of society, and especially of consumers, are so furthered, and in what degree. We may, then, compare the degree in which the true interests of society are furthered at some points by this cause with the possible degree in which they may be retarded at others.

The function of all reproductive wealth *i.e.*, wealth that earns or makes wealth *must be to forward all consumable wealth to its consumers as equally as possible as between consumers, since only by that means can the owner of reproductive wealth get a profit out of it*. If Astor owns a thousand houses, one of these only is, as to him, consumable wealth; *i.e.*, one only can he occupy, and only one or two rooms of that. The other rooms will be occupied by his family, servants, and guests. The larger he makes his residence, the more nearly he becomes economically the proprietor of a servants' boarding-house. But his nine hundred and ninety-nine houses are abso-

lutely non-consumable wealth, so far as his own capacity of use goes. They are therefore available only as reproductive capital; *i.e.*, so to rent to others as to leave a margin of difference between their cost of production and their rental. If this margin is on the wrong side, the investment is a loss relatively to the other uses that could have been made of their cost. If the rental is in excess of expenditure, there is a profit. Obviously, however, the owner of a thousand houses will keep them in better repair at a lower rent than the owner of one. The latter can seek his tenant. The former must make his houses so desirable that tenants will seek him. Hirers of houses in large cities usually hire them from five to ten per cent. cheaper of the very large landlords than of the class who own few houses. The greater the concentration into few hands of the capital invested in shelter and dwellings, the cheaper society gets its shelter furnished it. In manufacturing, the superseding of the home system by the large factory system, and the attending concentration of capital incident to such a change, have reduced the cost of most kinds of goods to a fifth their former cost. The concentration of the kerosene oil manufacture in America into the hands of one monster company, the Standard, has been fiercely denounced by a community which purchased its oil at a third of previous prices, and at a considerably lower rate of cost for the manufacture. The concentration of the railways in America has been attended by a similar decline in the cost of transportation. A. T. Stewart effected a vast concentration of capital in merchandising, but he reduced greatly the profits and losses of merchandising and the cost of goods. The greater the concentration of reproductive capital, the lower will be the rate of compensation it will be able to exact from society for its use. Thus, the newsboy having but fifty cents of capital fares poorly, if he does not earn a hundred per cent. per day for its use; but, to do this, he runs ten miles to every fifty cents of capital he turns over. When he gets ten dollars of capital, he would think ten per cent. a day a large profit. As his capital rises to \$100, he would be content with thirty per cent. a month. A thousand dollars in trade ought to yield him fifty per cent. per annum, expanding his occupation into that of a retailer of books and magazines. With a hundred thousand dollars, he becomes a great publisher, but is content with twenty-five per cent. per annum. As a retired capitalist and millionaire, six per cent. satisfies him. With fifty millions, he gladly takes three per cent. on government bonds.

It being a law of capital that the larger its aggregations, the lower the rate at which society will enjoy its use; and it being the fact concerning all reproductive capital that it cannot itself be consumed or enjoyed by its possessor, but can only be worn out in the process of diffusing consumable wealth to others, *it follows that society has a very great economic interest in the concentration of reproductive wealth into few hands*. Again, we remark, this gain may have its set-offs; but we are now searching for the gain only. That the greatest concentration in the ownership of the means is essential to the most economic and equal enjoyment of the results is shown in all that class of enterprises in which the State attempts to render a small but equal service to a great number of persons, *say to furnish a city with water in every house or with gas, or to carry letters to all parts of the world*. Here it either creates a monopoly and vests it in private hands, or it becomes itself the monopolist and forbids others to compete with it in its work. It does so, too, in the interests of cheapness, because it knows that one postal service for a

country is cheaper than twenty, and that one water supply or gas supply for a city is cheaper than ten. When the State supplies education, money, and currency, the administration of justice, roads, the support of the poor, etc., it, as a rule, bars out competition more or less completely, and enforces monopoly in the interest of cheapness. But, what the State does thus by its conscious will, economic law—i.e., the workings of ordinary interest and what we opprobriously term greed—does with an unconscious will, which is stronger and more efficacious than the State, and binds together by the ties of commerce those distant peoples between whom there is no State connection.

Mr. Mill, in his *Chapters on Socialism*, calls the attention of workmen to the fact that all reproductive capital is in use by the workers themselves, and is not, as is usually assumed, in the possession of the capitalist. He has a claim on it for profits or dividends, but labor is using it daily in its work of production. Mr. Mill says:—

Another point, on which there is much misapprehension on the part of socialists as well as of trades-unionists and other partisans of labor against capital, relates to the proportion in which the produce of the country is really shared, and the amount of what is actually diverted from those who produce it to enrich other persons. When, for instance, a capitalist invests £20,000 in his business, and draws from it an income of suppose £2,000 a year, the common impression is as if he were the beneficial owner both of the £20,000 and of the £2,000, while the laborers own nothing but their wages. The truth, however, is that he only obtains the £2,000 on condition of applying no part of the £20,000 to his own use. He has the legal control over it, and might squander it, if he chose; but, if he did, he would not have the £2,000 a year also. For all personal purposes, they have the capital, and he has the profits, which it only yields to him on condition that the capital itself is employed in satisfying, not his own wants, but those of laborers.

A truer statement would be that the capitalist has the control and the profits and losses incident to the employment of reproductive capital; operative workers have its loan and use while in operation; and the customers or purchasers of its product, who are nearly equivalent to society at large, have its services.

"But," says the socialist, "as you cannot prove that negro slavery was just by showing that it was economical, that it made cotton, sugar, and rice cheap, or transformed the imported African into a civilized American in the course of years or centuries of plantation tutelage, so you cannot prove that the dominion of the profit-maker over the wages-worker is just by proving that it promotes production, increases abundance, or cheapens goods, nor even by establishing that the capitalist cannot at the same time have the profits, the use, and the enjoyment of his capital. What we demand is to get down to the bed-rock of justice, on which rests the right of the profit-maker to rule over the laborer, or wages-worker."

To this the economist replies that the injustice of slavery itself is subject to modification and deduction in just the degree that it can be shown to have occasioned a production of wealth, civilization, and progress in refinement and happiness which could not have occurred without its aid. Indeed, such alleged injustice would wholly disappear as a quality of slavery *per se*, if it be demonstrable that anterior to the existence of money with which to pay wages, and of commercial honor with which to maintain co-operation, slavery is the sole form in which society can be organized for effective and progressive work. On this being established, as will probably yet be done, the wrong of slavery will attach to its later periods only; and slavery as a primitive type of organization of labor will be seen to be the outworking of an unconscious will or involuntary instinct in man, which is as irresistible and therefore as free from moral quality of any kind as

is the killing of the drones among bees or slavery itself among the ants.

(Conclusion next week.)

For *The Index*.

VERNAL HYMN TO APOLLO.

(A Glimpse of Old Greek Paganism.)

Followers of the Sage of Samos,*
In the foreworld's purple spring,
To the god of song and gladness
Pæans loud were wont to sing.
Seven-chorded lyre their master
Fashioned deftly vibrant rung,
And, as glowed their bright libations,
This perchance the strain they sung:

'Tis the season, O Apollo,
When from mystic sojourn far
Com'st thou, Delphi's steep regaining
In thy swan-drawn, radiant car.
Earth in blossoms breaks to greet thee,
Soars o'erhead the cloudless blue,
Carol birds in every thicket:
We, thy votaries, carol too.

Myrrhine odors from thy temple
Curl aloft in fragrant mist;
Flash the peaks of high Parnassus,
By the rays of morning kissed;
Light of prophecy still streameth
From thy holy mountain shrine;
Gifts of many-languaged suppliants
There in votive splendor shine.

Priceless, glorious mementoes
Of the past are gleaming there,
While o'erhead the crag-born eagles
Poise themselves in azure air.
Sculptured beauty, that decays not,
Deathless haunts thy templed glen;
Charms, that once could fire the nations,
Still witch there the eyes of men.†
Round thy Sibyl, as her accents
Fate's enigmas dark unfold,
Tributes hoarded through the ages,
Kings' ex-votos blaze in gold.
To thy lofty threshold wafted
Come perfumes from sea and vale.
Through its flowery gorge, thy river
Shaded runs by olives pale.

On thy sacred steep thou sittest,
God of justice and of light:
Thither countless votaries climbing
Bow in homage to thy might.
Welcome was thy glad arrival,
Sound of song and lyre was heard,
Dark and bloody rites were banished,
Souls to harmony were stirred.

Pillared fanes and cities rising
Made the earth more lovely seem,
Poet, sculptor, words and marble
Wrought to likeness of his dream.
Genius by thine impulse quickened
Poured itself in Pythian lay;
At thy bidding, truce and quiet
Reigned along each travelled way.

God of shepherds, once you tended
Mortal's flock on pastoral lea,
At your humble service listening
Low of kine and hum of bee.
Garland of the sacred laurel

* Pythagoras.

† There were several votive golden statues at Delphi of women famed for their loveliness, among others one of the fair but frail Phryne, the most famous beauty of ancient Hellas. It was the work of Praxiteles, of solid gold, and stood on a pillar of Pentelican marble. The cynic philosopher, Crates, called it a votive offering of the profligacy of Greece. Beauty was a sacred attribute in the estimation of the Greeks, even the beauty of a courtesan.

‡ The river Fleistus, which flowed from the steep of Delphi through the lovely plain of Cirrha into the sea. Up the gorge of this river swarmed pilgrims to the shrine of Apollo.

Thou round victor's brow dost twine.
Healer, lyrist, and soothsayer,
All thy functions are benign.

Quelled by magic of thy harping,
Darkest passions sink to rest;
Fangs of wild remorse assuaging,
Cleansest thou the guilty breast.
All the festal, glad emotions
At thy bidding wake and glow;
Thus thou giv'st to man, ill-fated,
Respite sweet from care and woe.

Archer art thou; and thine arrows,
Raining plagues and vengeance, fly
When injustice crowned and haughty
Dares affront thy deity.
But thy gentle shafts thou keepest
For thy favorites' release:
Noiseless from thy bowstring speed they,
Dipped in dews of sleep and peace.*

Thus thy votaries might have hymned thee,
Phoebos, in the long-ago,
When the rays of morning deemed were
Arrows from thy golden bow.
Caves and fountains, which you haunted,
Pensive pilgrims, musing, scan:
Now but souvenirs in them find they
Of the fancies strange of man,—

Gorgeous dreams and beauteous shadows,
Which to form and feature grew,
And were shrined as gods in temples,
Ere man his own nature knew.
There a deep hallucination
Real made through centuries long,—
Personal forces, which the reason
Banished has to realm of song.

Of that airy brood, Apollo
Brightest was that fancy feigned.
Lord of light and song and music,
Over Hellas long he reigned.
Like Jehovah on Mount Zion,
He was throned on Phocian Hill.
Shrunk he long since to a shadow,
But Jehovah reigneth still.

B. W. BALL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CARLYLE THE PEASANT.

Editors of *The Index*:—

The author of the criticism entitled "Carlyle the Peasant," in one of the January numbers of *The Index*, which has just reached us in London, evidently has neglected the study of Hume and Hume's aphorism upon criticism, "No criticism can be instructive which descends not to particulars, and is not full of examples and illustrations." Had the writer adhered to Hume's canon, her comments upon peasant life in Great Britain would have been corroborated by illustrations taken from eminent and reliable authorities or would have been embellished by observation founded upon experience. As illustrations in her criticism are conspicuous by their absence, an Englishman can only infer her statements are chiefly derived from pedagogues whose coloring in writing of peasant life is as illusory as an highly colored oleograph of the beauteous figures and harmonious tones of a Raphael from whence it is taken. No statement can be more erroneous than that where the writer affirms peasant life, especially that species of it which affords her the subject of her criticism, is alienated from the higher and more civilized sections of society. Firstly, history refutes that the peasantry were wronged and down-trodden in the past; secondly, history affirms for the past and living men for the present that the men who have enlarged man's intellectual horizon and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue have been born in a more humble state than Carlyle,—*videlicet*, Richardson, Burns, Faraday, Dickens.

English city life is being constantly increased and

* An euthanasia, or sudden, painless death, was attributed by the ancient Greeks to the gentle arrows (*agana belea*) of Apollo and Dian.

invigorated by the manly, virtuous peasant's son. Through such an influx, our social life is rendered more wholesome, also our intellectual. It is from the peasantry and the descendants of the class from whom Carlyle was descended have emanated most of our illustrious men, notably Shakspeare, the supreme poet, philosopher, statesman, and delineator of morals and manners. With such an example, it were an obvious lack of knowledge to announce the peasant is debarred by caste from comparing himself with many people. Were England Russia, such an observation might pass unchallenged. Besides having the village swain for an associate, Robert Burns found time to become acquainted with Shakspeare and Addison's *Spectators*. Since Burns, the facility for widening as well as increasing similar tastes has been vastly augmented. Be that as it may, peasant life, from Robin Hood to our own age, has been an envious one. To-day, it bears no comparison with the life of the self-sacrificed slaves who are the bondmen to Watt and Stephenson's inventions, and who crowd and demoralize our cities. The peasant's life is simple and pure. Being so, we owe to the peasant the preservation of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and not to the *savant*, high-born dame or cavalier. Macaulay, the imperious, arbitrary chief of savantship and smooth-faced, external respectability, verifies my assertion. Shakspeare's eagle eye and potent hand record, in an age anterior to Bunyan's, that the age is grown so refined that the toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier. Also another authority, Cromwell, demands no more city tipsters be sent him, being neither good soldiers nor fit companions for his peasant Ironsides. Were the writer or the reader to peruse English ballads, the nerve as well as the mirror of a nation's life, the peasant would be found to have an inherited instinct to praise his wife. The systematic kindness of a peasant to his wife is proverbial. It is to be seen upon her smooth brow, neat dress, scrupulously clean cottage, and the beautifully trained hedge and floral culture which surround it. To be cruel to a wife, to beat her or to be faithless to her, arouses the peasantry for miles around. The offender's effigy is burned, and the hamlet is paraded for three successive nights by men beating old pots and kettles. So odious is the offence and so implacable is the peasant's hatred of cruelty and vice that the offender has to remove into a distant district.

Peasant life being as I have enumerated it, it is not at all perplexing to an Englishman, howsoever it may be to an American, why Carlyle's antecedents have not been accounted the primal cause of what is termed his inconsistencies. Beyond having an inherited instinct to praise his wife, it is to Carlyle's immortal credit that he honored his father and mother, who, if he speaks of in an infinitude of praise, only confirm the scholar's eulogy:—

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learned to stray."

Instead of his early environment acting as an incubus upon his career, it preserved him and his energies from the enervating influence of society which to-day visits a great man and to-morrow Jumbo, and both in the same spirit,—curiosity. To Carlyle, the age was out of joint,—not because he viewed it through his ancestors, but because he saw, underlying etiquette of the fashionable sort and the much belauded culture and development, there lurked, actually existed, envy, malice, and avarice. In such a humor and with such a belief, Carlyle's conduct is perfectly consistent both toward the world and his wife, who having married him, her duty was apparent. In marrying Carlyle, her calling and election was settled. Being so, her best possible method was to have endured her lot with a conscious, clear-eyed endurance. But she was differently constituted, being volatile and emotional, parent qualities of the greatest of human vagaries. She designates herself a crotchety creature. Numbers of people love her after their fashion; but his (Carlyle's) fashion is so different from all, and seems alone to suit the crotchety creature she was. She in no way resembles Cato's daughter. Cleaning a room or making bread were quite a minor, insignificant affair to Portia's self-inflicted wound. Mrs. Carlyle was not a heroine, and it is useless trying to make her one. She had the desire of a Boswell; but she had not Boswell's will patiently to endure her husband's moods and superior nature, which was not insensible to her subtlety of language and evenness of manner. His sensibility

and knowledge of the highest feminine characteristics are demonstrated in his portraits of Diderot's wife, Marie Antoinette, and Madame Roland.

Ultimately, Carlyle, like all great men, will be enshrined in fame's palace and in men's hearts for what he has done and for what he can do for them. What boy who reads and revels in *Gulliver's Travels* takes the trouble or cares about knowing of Swift's slow but sure murder of Vanessa or Stella? Or does the gazer upon the "Transfiguration" ignore it because Raphael was connected with La Fornarina? Because Wren or Angelo had some common failing, St. Paul's or St. Peter's is not to be shelved out of existence. Neither are Carlyle's works, which to the world are only of interest to it, excepting Lady Sneerwell's world. Were all great men by all men to pass under the same crucial analysis as Carlyle, human worth and heroism would fade into a *caput mortuum*. The Rousseaus, the Burnses, the Goethes would entirely be *hors de combat*. But let us hope criticism will ere long follow the bee's example, which goes to the thistle's flower, extracts its honey, and heeds not the thistle's prickly nature. One thing is quite evident: Carlyle's prose poems, no more than David's sublime melodies and Solomon's proverbs, can be impugned; but what pale figures mortally these immortal and loved ones look beside the moral, self-denying grandeur of the Sage of Chelsea!

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THE SHUT IN SOCIETY.

A Club Membership of Invalids.

Editors of *The Index*:—

A unique and surprising association called the "Shut In Society" has been in existence since January, 1877. Its object is to broaden the life of the invalid. To Mrs. Jennie M. D. Conklin, then Miss Jennie M. Drinkwater, of New Vernon, New Jersey, belongs the distinction of originating the society, and giving it its name. She was an invalid for three years, shut in the seclusion of her room, and longing for sympathy and companionship of a kind that her condition seemed to make impossible. She wanted some one "to write to, to do good to, and receive good from," to use her own expression. Already, she had one such correspondent,—a sweet little maiden, who was a constant sufferer, rarely taken into the sunshine, and who never walked,—Miss Sadie S. H. Hewett, of Belleville, New Jersey. But the pleasure derived from this acquaintance on paper only made her desire to widen the sphere of her influence. Through chance, her attention at this time was attracted by an article in the *New York Advocate and Guardian*, entitled "My Invalid Friends," and signed "Cousin Alice." She at once wrote to the editor of the *Advocate*, and obtained the full name and address of Cousin Alice. A correspondence ensued between them that was at once delightful and mutually profitable. This second invalid friend of Miss Drinkwater was Miss Alice M. Ball, of Pittsfield, Mass. Miss L. J. Greer soon after joined the little circle of invalid friends, which gradually gathered numbers and began to attract public attention in certain directions. Two years after Miss Drinkwater's first attempt to communicate with invalids shut in like herself, so many sufferers had joined the band that in the autumn of 1879 it was deemed advisable to issue a manual containing all the names and addresses of those connected with the movement. The objects of the association were stated in this printed manual to be as follows:—

- 1st. To relieve the weariness of the sick-room by sending and receiving letters and other tokens of remembrance.
 - 2d. To testify to the love and presence of Christ in the homes of suffering and privation.
 - 3d. To pray for one another at stated times daily, at the twilight hour, and weekly, at ten o'clock on Tuesday mornings.
 - 4th. To stimulate faith, hope, patience, and courage in fellow-sufferers by the study and presentation of the Bible promises.
- It was further agreed, the more surely to reach all the members of the society, scattered as they were over our country, to publish a circular letter every three months, which should be the medium of messages from one to another and addresses of those seeking admission.

Unlike other associations, the "Shut In Society" has no constitution, no by-laws, or initiation fees. To be a sufferer is all that is required to entitle one to its membership and privileges. Shut in from the outside world, perhaps forgotten by it, it is a simple agency to cheer those who are sitting with folded hands or lying on beds of racking pain, deprived of the methods and activities of their fellow-beings that are blessed with health, and too frequently, alas! of their sympathy. There are many members of this society who are not invalids, but have associated themselves with it, who have volunteered their services through their pity toward suffering ones. Through these associate members, a monthly magazine called the *Shut In Visitor* has taken the place of the circular letter, and answers the larger demands of the society, as a frequent method of communication.

Several literary people, who have the ability and time, contribute articles for the embellishment of the *Visitor*, as a gift to their less fortunate fellow-beings. "All invalids are not unhappy," it has been said very truthfully. We know that there are sick-chambers where the sun seems always to shine brighter than anywhere else,—where there is love and harmony and perfect peace. From such rooms, the cheeriest messages go forth sometimes to brighten and give patience to those drooping and languishing in some narrower place. The letters in the *Visitor* are frequently marvels of this kind, and exceedingly pathetic from the very circumstances which surround the senders and the receivers.

At the present writing there are two thousand members (associates and all) of the society.

ELLEN E. DICKINSON.

[So far as the "Shut In Society" contributes to cheer and comfort the sick, its object is of course most commendable; but is it not by its sectarianism practically a *shut out* society for all invalids who are not believers in Christianity?—B. F. U.]

SPIRITUALISM A PROOF OF IMMORTALITY.

Editors of *The Index*:—

In your paper of September 25 is quoted, in regard to the doctrine of immortality, from Mr. John Fiske the following: "Scientifically speaking, there is no presumption either way, and there is no burden of proof on either side: the question is one which science cannot touch. In the future as in the past, I have no doubt it will be provisionally answered in different ways by different minds, in an estimate of what is called moral probability." Again, "There is something overwhelming in the thought that all our rich stores of spiritual acquisitions may perish with us."

It is to find an answer to this question of immortality—a question ever welling up in man's heart, "If a man die, shall he live again?"—that thinking men and women of to-day are turning their attention to the investigation of Spiritualism, feeling and knowing that in Spiritualism, if it be found true, they have an answer that shall forever put the question beyond dispute.

In investigating Spiritualism, a medium must be sought whose faithfulness, truthfulness, and elevation of sentiment shall give you only the best and most truthful results. Such a medium you will find Mrs. Maud E. Lord to be, of whom Mrs. Beecher Hooker, in one of her delightful and instructive Monday evening talks on Spiritualism, Theosophy, Occultism, etc., says: "Mrs. Lord is a dear friend of mine, a lady I dearly love, one who has been of great help to me. She seems to bridge over the chasm between this world and the world of spirits." She could recommend Mrs. Lord as one of the best, if not the best, medium in this country, if not in the world,—a lady in whom she could put the most perfect confidence. Upon this recommendation, I have attended all the sances of Mrs. Lord that it was possible for me to attend; and I have always found that those who attended her sances have, nearly all, gone away delighted with the manifestations of spirit presence.

Some have said, why "are her sances in the dark"? To me, this is no objection; for, as has been aptly said, "half the universe would be to us unknown but for the darkness of night." And we know that, when God would reveal himself to his servant, he took him into the mountains, and, when he had "hid him in the cleft of a rock, caused his glory to pass before him": this is God's way of revealing his wonders, and God is spirit. In the dark-

ness, our minds are better prepared to receive the whisperings from that spirit world than in the glare of day, when our minds are drawn away by our surroundings, and that quiet peace which a spirit's presence should give cannot settle on our hearts.

At Mrs. Lord's séances, I have seen spirit faces and touched spirit hands, and have known the messages to come so fast from the spirit world that the medium could scarce deliver them to the waiting friends; and the evidence has been overwhelming that immortality is true, that man's spirit never dies, but lives, knows, and loves.

F. H. C.

A SUBSCRIBER writes: "I have been reading Joseph Cook's last lectures. I wish you'd review them. If the authors of the Testament were inspired, why does Cook insist that they wrote the record within so short a time after Christ's death? Inspiration could record the facts in the second or third or eighteenth century as well as within twenty-five years. The later the authorship, the more miraculous the inspiration. If not inspired, then the writer's memories were wonderful. How many Boston reporters have such memories? What court would believe witnesses who pretend to remember even ten years one quarter of a prayer or a speech word for word as long as the Sermon on the Mount? Christ told many to 'preach.' If his record was to be the light of the world down all the centuries, why didn't he tell somebody to write? An eternity in hell or heaven depended on a knowledge of the gospel and of Christ. Yet his only commands were to 'search the Scriptures' then written, not what Paul would write in twenty-five years. In view of the myth about Lee's surrender under an apple-tree,—the greatest event of our generation, and only twenty years old,—is it not possible that there is much more myth about the resurrection? An apple-tree is as big as a man just from a grave!"

THE following paragraph is from the *Nation's* review of the new Memorial History of the American Episcopal Church, an exhaustive work in two great volumes of seven hundred pages each. It is interesting for the facts: "The Attitude of the Church during the Civil War" is disposed of in seven pages. Of its attitude on the questions leading up to it there is not a word. The hardest things that have been said against the Episcopal Church for its complaisance in the matter of slavery are less damaging than this dreadful silence. The word 'slavery' does not occur. That there was such a thing in existence; that the country was distracted by it for thirty years,—of this no sign. Words having come to blows, Bishop Perry is happy to record the general refusal of the Church to take any part in the great struggle. The only exceptions were a day of fasting with a collection for the Sanitary Commission, and 'the pastoral of 1862,' which 'stands alone among our Church "state papers" in respect to its declaration of opinion on matters of a civil nature.' What the opinion was, we are not told. In the special prayers ordained for the day of 'fasting and humiliation,' it is noticeable that there is no reference to the matter of slavery, though Lincoln's first Emancipation Proclamation had been published only two weeks before. The chapter on 'The Reunion of the North and South' is equally discreet in its avoidance of all expressions that might give offence to those whose sympathies were with slavery and secession. But, in these respects, Bishop Perry's chapters are in perfect keeping with the general attitude of his Church throughout the anti-slavery contest and the war. Like the spirits whom Dante encountered in the outer court of hell, it was 'neither for God nor for his enemies.'"

HERBERT SPENCER.—The following is from an editorial on "The Test of Philosophy" in the May number of the *Popular Science Monthly*: "There is now a pretty decided agreement among the intelligent and unprejudiced that Herbert Spencer takes rank as the first philosopher of England; and G. H. Lewes, many years ago, declared him to be the only English thinker who has originated a philosophy. How much this may mean is well intimated by the remark of Mr. Lester F. Ward that, when we have reached England's greatest in any achievement of mind, we have usually also reached the world's greatest. . . . Philosophy, to achieve its highest objects, must now begin with the patient study of long-contemned realities; must discipline the imagination; must work in subordination

to established knowledge, and aim to bring out profounder truth for the practical guidance of man in ordering the course of his life. To be the first philosopher of the foremost nation of the world, from this point of view, is exalted praise; and this is the position that Mr. Spencer has undoubtedly won. . . . Mr. Spencer has applied his philosophical views to the subject of education, and his little treatise upon the subject has been rendered into all the languages of the civilized world. And now, by an appeal made to the judgment of English teachers, the verdict has been rendered that the first of English philosophers is also the first of English educators. We see by the *London Journal of Education* that an extra prize was offered for the best list of the seven greatest living educationists, classed in the order of importance. A great number of lists were sent in, and the prize was awarded to 'X Y Z' for the following list: 1, Spencer; 2, Huxley; 3, Wilson; 4, Thring; 5, Miss Buss; 6, Laurie; 7, Quick. Besides this premium list, in which the name of Spencer was first in importance, his name also appeared in seventy-two other lists; while Bain appeared in fifty, Huxley thirty-eight, Thring thirty-six, Miss Beale thirty-four, Miss Buss thirty-three, R. H. Quick thirty-two, E. A. Abbott thirty-one, A. J. Mundella and J. G. Fitch twenty-nine, J. Ruskin and M. Arnold twenty-eight. It has been said, in depreciation of Spencer, that 'only the seven sages can understand him'; but it seems that practical teachers can sufficiently understand him to be able to form a very appreciative estimate of his position in the field where they are the most competent judges."

DEAN STANLEY'S HERESY.—The following is an extract from a letter to Keshub Chunder Sen, by Prof. Max Müller, written in 1881, and just published in the appendix of Müller's *Biographical Essays*: "A dear friend of Stanley's, a high dignitary in the Church, asked me soon after his death, 'Tell me, did Stanley believe in miracles?' I said, 'Certainly not'; and he seemed quite relieved, and repeated again and again, 'Certainly not, certainly not.' And yet this might give you a false idea of Stanley. He certainly did not believe in miracles as they are believed in by many as irregularities committed on purpose. He was not troubled by miracles. He knew, as every historian knows, or by this time ought to know, that there is no religion without miracles, and yet that the founders of the three highest religions have unanimously condemned miracles. Your ancient native religion is full of miracles, and it would be quite as true to call them psychologically inevitable as to call them physically impossible. But Stanley knew that certain minds cannot believe anything, unless they first believe in miracles. To these men of little faith, miracles are everything; and, if their faith in miracles were undermined, their faith in everything else would crumble to pieces. . . . But you may say that, although most miracles performed by Christ offer no difficulties to an historical mind, such as Stanley's was, there are two miracles performed, not by, but as it were for Christ, which must have been a stumbling-block to an honest mind, such as Stanley's was; namely, the miraculous birth, and what may be called the miraculous death of Christ. I cannot tell for certain what Stanley thought on these two subjects, though some of his remarks on a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey by our common friend Kingsley leave little doubt in my mind that he looked for true divinity elsewhere than in the cradle and in the grave. But, to your mind, these two miracles ought to be the least perplexing. You know that, whenever the founder of a religion has been raised to a superhuman or divine rank, the human mind rebels against an ordinary birth and an ordinary death. It is extremely curious to observe how on this point human ingenuity tries to outbid divine wisdom. The highest wisdom, whether we call it God or nature, conceived one kind of birth as the best for man. Man invented what he thought a more becoming birth for God. The intention was good, no doubt; but it was, to say the least, uncalled for. Is there anything more wonderful than the ordinary birth of a child, is there anything more holy, anything that can more truly be called a revelation? Does a miracle cease to be a miracle because it happens every day? Does the marvellous become common because it happens every minute? Depend upon it, no miraculous birth will ever outbid the miraculousness of the plain birth of a child. 'What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.'"

BOOK NOTICES.

THE CONTINUITY OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT: A STUDY OF MODERN THEOLOGY IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY. By Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.00.

This book of four hundred and thirty-eight pages, from the Riverside press, consists of a course of lectures delivered in Philadelphia under what is called the John Bohlen Lectureship Endowment, the object of which is similar to the "Bampton Lectures" at Oxford, England. The lecturer each year, according to the terms of the bequest establishing the lectureship, is appointed by five officials of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. In Prof. Allen, they selected a man who brought to his chosen subject ample learning, a liberal spirit, and, in general, the modern historical instinct. The topics of his six chapters (or lectures) are "The Greek Theology," "The Latin Theology," "Theology in the Middle Ages," "Theology in the Age of the Reformation," "Conflict of the Traditional Theology with Rationalism," "Renaissance of Theology in the Nineteenth Century." Each chapter is an elaborate essay with notes and references. The treatment is always broad, scholarly, thorough, and the point of view that of the most advanced Orthodoxy.

The work, indeed, is an excellent representative of what is coming to be recognized in the orthodox Protestant denominations as the New Theology. So far as we have been able to examine, the consideration of historical facts is fair, and without undue bias. Yet the author's own view and purpose are apparent from the start. He believes that the interpretation of Christianity by the Greek Fathers was not only much more rational and spiritual, but much nearer the truth than the interpretation made by the Latin Fathers; and his contention is that the Christian Church, only by reverting to the Greek interpretation of its theology, can escape that conflict with modern thought which the Latin theology has made inevitable. He says that "the formal theology, the ecclesiastical institutions, which Augustine sanctioned for the ages that followed him, which Calvin renewed for the Protestant Churches, are built upon the ruling principle that God is outside the world, and not within"; and that "what is sometimes called 'modern infidelity' is mainly, I had almost said exclusively, a protest against the theology based upon such a conception of God." He admits that the Augustinian theology had its place, and did a needful work; but he thinks that it now seriously cumber the ground, and he opposes, with no little boldness, the idea of Deity as a colossal man in the heavens, and pleads for the older Greek idea that God is manifest, not only in Christ, but in nature and in humanity. One of the first principles of Greek Christianity was, he says, "that the divine and the human are not foreign or alien to each other; that, if God speaks to man, it must be through the reason or consciousness which is in man; that human reason is the reflection of a divine reason; that humanity, by its constitution, participates in the eternal Wisdom which became incarnate in Christ." And these statements very well represent the dominant principles of the New Orthodoxy.

We have no doubt that Christian theology would be much improved by this reversion to Greek philosophy. It would be improved, because Plato, in whom this philosophy had its source, was a broader and higher-souled man than Augustine. And by and by, perhaps, the Christian Church will get broad enough to give the credit to Plato, and to count him among its founders. Though Christianity as an organized religion began in the confession of Jesus as the Messiah, it is evident that it has had other roots than that. It has been swayed, as Prof. Allen says, for centuries by the mind of Augustine. It was earlier swayed by the more spiritual philosophy of Plato. Possibly it is now to return to this more generous yet more vague system of thought. But it is clear that Jesus knew little of either the Greek or the Latin theology.

W. J. F.

NEW LIGHT ON MORMONISM. By Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, with an Introduction by Thurlow Weed. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 10 and 12 Dey Street. 1885. pp. 272. Price \$1.00.

Mrs. Dickinson has added another volume to the list of books which aim to give the facts of the origin and early history of Mormonism, in which she sustains the commonly accepted view that Joseph Smith

was an impostor, and that the Book of Mormon was constructed from a manuscript stolen from Rev. Solomon Spaulding. In her preface, she says: "A deeper interest may be felt in this attempt to cut to the very root of this monstrous parasite upon our American civilization by my stating here that the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, the author of the romance called *The Manuscript Found*, from which the Book of Mormon was formulated, was my mother's uncle by marriage; that this romance was for a long time in the house of my grandfather, William Harvey Sabine, near Syracuse, New York; and that it contained no suggestion of polygamy. With the intention of writing these pages, I visited Mrs. McKimstry, the daughter and only child of Rev. S. Spaulding, in Washington, D.C., in 1880; and she then made a sworn statement as to her father's authorship of the work which has been used with such disastrous effect by crafty men."

Mrs. McKimstry's statement regarding *The Manuscript Found*, which was originally published in *Scribner's Monthly* of August, 1880, is reproduced in this volume, with many other testimonies never before published, which, taken together, make a strong chain of evidence in support of the claim that Mr. Spaulding's manuscript, in the hands of Rigdon and Smith, was made the basis of the Golden Bible.

The author has had access to family papers and other sources of information not open to other writers on this subject, and she has made skilful use of her material. Her dislike of Mormonism is so great that she writes in the spirit of one who is determined to do all the damage to the system she possibly can rather than that of the impartial historian; but for this the discriminating reader will make allowance, while he will value the work for the interesting information it contains in regard to a system which is the most remarkable religious and social development of modern times. The Introduction by Thurlow Weed, written in 1882, is very brief. It says: "I have not read this book myself, as my health will not permit it; but, in conversation with Mrs. Dickinson, I have become satisfied that she has introduced considerable original material, and has gathered from books already published a large amount of interesting matter relating to Mormonism. . . . With my knowledge of Joseph Smith and one of his first followers, Phelps, a Canandaigua printer, it has been for more than half a century the occasion of surprise and regret that such vulgar impostors should have obtained a following which is even now drawing proselytes by the thousand from Europe." B. F. U.

HEGEL'S AESTHETICS. A Critical Exposition. By John Steinfort Kedney, S.T.D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Fairbault, Minn., author of *The Beautiful and the Sublime*. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1885. pp. 302. Price \$1.25.

In this work, the author has reproduced the essential thought of the aesthetics of Hegel,—a voluminous work which gave a new impulse and began a new era in art criticism. The philosophic basis of art, its meaning and purpose, beauty in its abstract idea, beauty in the concrete, the ideal in art, the realization of the ideal, art in relation to the public, and the artist, are discussed in the first part of the work, the thought being Hegel's faithfully reproduced, with criticisms by the author interspersed. Part second is a disquisition by Prof. Kedney, which traces the logical and historical development of the art impulse by the pathway marked out by Hegel, the substance of whose thought it gives in regard to classifications into symbolic, classic, and romantic arts, and the progress of art through the chronological order, the temporal and eternal ideals, and the sublime and pathetic in art. The third part of the work treats of all the arts in detail,—architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry, epic, lyric, and dramatic, omitting the more technical part and the minute illustrations of Hegel's treatise relating to these subjects, while presenting the main thought in a condensed form. The following is the concluding sentence: "The result of the author's painstaking has been to show that the eternal idea of the Beautiful has haunted the human race, and that man has been perpetually seeking to solace himself with the imaginative representation of that from which the reality falls so far short; that this endeavor comes from the primal impetus which started our race in its career to create itself as a commonwealth, and for itself a world truly beautiful, no matter what be the sublime and pathetic periods through which it must pass to reach that consoling and satisfying end."

The work is easy of comprehension, and possesses an interest, not only for the student of the philosophy of art, but for all who love art for the pleasure it imparts, and who desire information in regard to its history, development, classification, etc. B. F. U.

In the *Art Amateur* for May is an account of the sale of the collection of pictures of George I. Seney. It gives a great deal of information in regard to the prices of pictures, and the effect which time has had in raising or depressing their value, which is curious and interesting. The sale excited great attention, and thousands paid a half-dollar fee to see the pictures. In spite of the supposed depressed condition of the market, two hundred and eighty-five pictures brought \$56,000 above the sum they were put in for by Mr. Seney as assets. The pictures, however, generally brought less than the prices which Mr. Seney paid for them, whether he bought them of the dealers or at auction. The largest price ever paid at an auction for a picture, \$18,200, was paid for "Evening in Finisterre," by Jules Breton, for which Mr. Seney had paid only \$14,000. The American pictures, on the whole, held their own, and came nearer bringing what was paid for them than did the average of imported pictures, although but few of them brought more than their original cost. This speaks well for the appreciation of American pictures by the public, and shows that they can stand on their own merits and do not need a tariff for protection. There is a long account of the pictures of American painters in the Paris Salon and of the National Academy Exhibition in New York, which is pronounced to be decidedly above the average in general merit. An interesting article on stained glass is the chief feature of the Decorative Department. E. D. C.

In the May number of the *Andover Review*, Prof. Gerhart concludes his searching criticism of the theology of the Reformers. This is followed by the second sermon in Dr. Newman Smyth's series to workingmen, on the use and abuse of capital, considered with reference to the complaints of leading socialists. The third article, by Rev. F. H. Johnson, under the title "Co-operative Creation," aims to show the advantage afforded by the evolutionary theory of creation in the argument for the divine benevolence. In the fourth article, Mr. S. T. Dutton, of New Haven, considers the question, "What may justly be demanded of the Public Schools?" The editorials treat of the "Criteria of Theological Progress" and of "The Revision of the Old Testament, and the Religious Public." The first is introductory to a series designed to point out certain doctrinal advantages of the new theology as compared with the old. A well-informed Lutheran writer gives an historical account of "The Predestination Controversy in the Lutheran Church" in this country (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Memorial Building, Boston, Mass., as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45 o'clock, business session for the hearing of reports, election of officers, etc.

Friday morning, May 29, at 10.30 o'clock, address by the President, followed by addresses from Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, of Ottawa, Can., and Rev. M. J. Savage of Boston, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" After these addresses, the subject will be open for speeches, not exceeding ten minutes each, from the floor.

Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Rev. R. Heber Newton will address the meeting on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." During the afternoon session there will also be opportunity for ten-minute speeches from the floor.

The annual festival will be held in the Meisner, Tremont Temple, Friday evening, commencing at 6.30 o'clock. R. Heber Newton, W. D. Le Sueur, Wm. J. Gill, H. W. Holland, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary Eastman, W. J. Potter, B. F. Underwood, J. K. Applebee, and G. N. Hill will be among the speakers. F. A. HINCKLEY, Sec'y.

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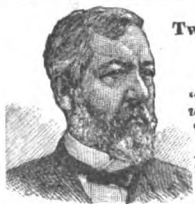
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

COL. INGERSOLL declares that, in his opinion, all the so-called "physical manifestations" of Spiritualism are fraudulent performances.

MR. S. J. STEWART, of Bangor, Me., who abandoned the Unitarian ministry about two years ago, has just been admitted to the Penobscot bar, and will soon open an office in Bangor.

THERE seems to be no danger that the Free Religious Association will retreat and go into the barracks of Unitarianism; but is there not a liability of its remaining encamped where it now is, when it should advance to new conquests? A forward movement, and a few vigorous, well-directed assaults upon some of the most popular errors and evils of the day, would require sacrifice, of course, but would bring to the Association, if we mistake not, a host of volunteer soldiers, secure it strong allies, enlarge its means of usefulness, and make its future worthy of the courage and progressive spirit of its founders. "Summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" would desire to be mustered out, but it is not this class that adds to the effectiveness of an army.

A UNIVERSITY professor, in a postscript to a business letter, writes: "Garrison's article on 'Religious Education of the Young' is good, but far too despondent. You ought to say, in reply, that it entirely is possible to fill young people (the best of them) with enthusiasm for righteousness and for service to humanity; to make this at once practical and idealistic; to bring in also the poetic element; and yet to encourage no superstition, no reliance upon sacred 'authority,' no distrust of rationalistic methods. I believe this; and, though I've had little experience of it with the young hitherto, yet I am experimenting a little now in that direction, and expect, sooner or later, to learn the secret of success."

THE Congress of Churches, held at Hartford last week, to whose platform was admitted repre-

sentatives of the most liberal Christian sects, the Unitarians even included, was one of the notable signs of the day, one of the significant indications of the increasing breadth of thought and liberality of spirit in the churches. Although their organic union is not possible nor, in our opinion, desirable, while so much importance is still attached to dogmas and so much intolerance remains, yet it is gratifying to see sectarianism so far subordinated to an honest desire to promote the truth by discussion as to enable churches widely separated in belief to consider their differences on a common platform, with entire freedom and without vote, after the manner of the Free Religious Association and liberal organizations generally.

ACCORDING to a correspondent of the *New York Evangelist*, educated and wealthy people at the capital of Costa Rica pay priests large sums of money for pews in heaven, to be reserved for them and their families for all eternity. Single seats are bought at a cost of \$500. The seats about the throne are all numbered, and the certificates given hang in frames in the parlors of many houses. "The poor," the letter says, "are expected to take back seats, I suppose, or stand in the aisles of heaven through all eternity; but the grandees of Costa Rica have paid for cushioned pews, from which they can hear distinctly and see all that is going on." According to the teachings of the priests of Costa Rica, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a poor man to get a seat in heaven about the throne,—a seat from which he can watch the performance.

A METHODIST minister in the *Pall Mall Budget* says: "The country has a special right to complain of the clergy of the Establishment. We give these gentlemen £5,000,000 a year and a position of unique authority and honor, in order that they may teach us all to be Christians. But if, at a crisis like this, they have either nothing to say to us or, worse still, like the canon of Lichfield to whom you refer, preach the gospel of Moloch, it will be difficult to show cause why they should not be disestablished at once, and disendowed without a penny of compensation. At a recent meeting in St. James' Hall, a workingman grimly suggested that Mr. Bradlaugh ought to be made Archbishop of Canterbury, because he was, at any rate, advocating the principles of the Prince of Peace, while the occupant of that venerable see, as you have observed, was calamitously silent. This is the sort of verdict we may expect to hear more and more from workingmen." In the same number of the *Budget*, M. D. Conway refers to the attitude of a part of the English clergy at this time on the subject of peace as resembling the cowardice and subserviency the American pulpit exhibited toward slavery, when cotton was king. The attitude of the Positivists, on the other hand, has been very pronounced against the war in Egypt from its beginning. Their "Protest against the War in the Soudan" closes by saying that, in the name of Humanity, they protest "against the decision of the government, not merely as pregnant with evil consequences to our material and moral interests as a

nation, but as in itself essentially and radically immoral,—a pure abuse of our strength."

SINCE the article on "Liberal Communities," printed on another page, was written, several papers have been received containing detailed statements in regard to the town mentioned in that article. Some of the statements about Liberal, Mo., are based upon an "exposure" made by a very unreliable Campbellite preacher, whose rancor manifested toward the town may be explained by the fact that he was, a few weeks ago, arrested there charged with some offence, and taken to Nebraska on a requisition from the Governor of that State. All the statements we have seen are more or less sensational in style, and contain much that may fairly be regarded as improbable or very highly colored. They resemble in some respects articles which sometimes appear in Western papers in regard to a community, put in circulation in the interests of a rival town. The main facts, so far as we can judge, are these: About five years ago, Liberal was founded by Mr. George H. Walser, a free thinker, who, by advertising and making terms easy to persons of his own views, induced many such to remove there with their families. A hall was built, and a school and newspaper started. For some time, the town thrived, and people of Christian views or predilections, among others, availed themselves of its business advantages. They soon built a little union church. Mr. Walser bought out the interest of one of the subscribers, and, one account says, "thereafter delivered addresses before the Sunday services, and harassed the preachers with interruptions and questions, justifying his course on the ground that the town afforded 'free speech to every one on all topics.' He was arrested for disturbing the meetings, but never tried; and the fight grew. The people of the town were not more vicious than in other communities, but they flaunted their disregard of customs ordinarily considered sacred." In the dissensions, some of the Liberals joined the Christian party, and worked with them to defeat what they regarded as an illiberal and narrow policy. Some, irrespective of religious beliefs, were in favor of having a liquor saloon, to which Mr. Walser was as much opposed as he was to churches. Last year, a decisive split occurred, and a number of the dissatisfied party bought land adjoining Liberal, and started the town of Dennison, moving their houses and stores, and carrying with them their country trade. Dennison is said to be now about one-third as large as Liberal. These facts prove nothing whatever as to the truth or tendency of any religious or anti-religious beliefs. They show, if correctly stated, simply the effects of the arbitrariness of one man, who, although evidently honest, has much of the sectarian spirit that generally marks the founders of such communities; while they illustrate the folly of making hostility to popular religious beliefs a prominent feature in founding and building up a town,—a folly into which men of sagacity and breadth of thought could never be betrayed.

THE GHOST OF IMPROVED SOCINIANISM.

* Carlyle, in his preface to the English edition of Emerson's Essays, rejoiced that the author did not trouble himself about "the ghost of improved Socinianism,"—namely, the Unitarianism of Boston. It seems to me that our excellent friend, the senior editor of *The Index*, troubles himself quite too much about that same ghost, if ghost it be. No reproach is here intended on the Unitarian body, which is an eminently respectable and increasingly liberal denomination of Christians. But it seems to me altogether to belittle the origin and character of the Free Religious Association to imply that it is or was a mere protest against certain clauses in a preamble, or that it has no value except as it may lead to a still more "improved Socinianism." If it was no more than that, it was hardly worth forming; if it is no more than that, it is not worth sustaining. It may be, as Mr. Potter thinks, that the two or three men who drew up the call for the original convention of the Free Religious Association were simply Unitarian bolters. It is a very common thing for a body of people, once brought together by an almost accidental circumstance, immediately to outgrow that trivial occasion, and expand into something larger in principle than the projectors ever imagined. Even the "mugwump" political movement, for which the nomination of Mr. Blaine was the occasion, soon outgrew mere anti-Blainism, and became an independent appeal for political reform, for which the time was ripe, and which would have come to a head before many years, had Blaine not been nominated. As an immediate occasion for that movement, his nomination was a piece of good fortune for the country; and so it was a fortunate thing if the Unitarian body, by certain words of a preamble, set free such men as Potter and Abbot and Frothingham, and brought many others, who cared nothing for those words, to act with them. Now that this has been accomplished, the circumstances that led to it seem to me no more worth dwelling on than the incidents of Mr. Blaine's career.

However it may have been with a few committee men, the great body of those who came together on May 30, 1867, gathered without any reference to what some Unitarian organization had or had not done. Neither in the call of the meeting nor in the proceedings, I believe, was that fact mentioned. Of the twelve persons announced to speak at that convention, eight were Jews, Quakers, Spiritualists, Universalists, or Transcendentalists, and presumably indifferent to the precise attitude of Unitarians. The president-elect was a Unitarian; but two of the three vice-presidents, Mr. R. D. Owen and myself, cared nothing for this sectarian matter, and would have been equally ready to come into the new movement had the Unitarian action been wholly different. As to Mrs. Severance, the third, I cannot now say. The Chairman elected for the Board of Directors was Rabbi Wise, a Jew. In view of these facts, it seems to me that Mr. Potter wholly deceives himself when he says, at the outset, addressing the Liberal Club (the italics being my own):—

In other words, on account of certain theological limitations which were affixed at the outset, there was a secession from that body,—not large, but a secession which became quite active in working for religious Liberalism outside of all denominations. It organized at once, for instance, the *Free Religious Association*, and more recently this club.

I should say that, in writing this, Mr. Potter either wrote hastily or utterly understated the importance of the convention held in 1867. The men and women who assembled that day came together because the time was ripe, the organiza-

tions insufficient, the churches unsatisfactory. They were of the blood of the Protestants of all ages,—of the Quakers, the Huguenots, the Hussites, the Essenes. Once gathered into their own organization, they entered into their work; and even the committee that had called them together had no more right to speak for them than a man has to determine the career of his great-grandchildren. I have no suspicion that Mr. Potter intends so to speak; but, if he had, he could not. It is only that he unconsciously exaggerates the importance of the particular chain of circumstances that brought him to Tremont Temple that day. We all tend to such exaggeration: it is the self-defence of our individuality,—just as, at a great conflagration, you hear little knots of men in the street talking, not about the fire, but about the precise circumstances under which they heard the alarm. One was on his way to bed, and one was at his own front door, delayed by the loss of his door-key; but, after all, the really important thing is the fire, of which they generally say little or nothing.

But all this, it may be said, is only historical: the question is as to the future. Undoubtedly; I can only say that I, for one, feel as little in sympathy with Mr. Potter's suggestion of a possible future organization as with his interpretation of that in the past. His whole aim and desire in this essay seems to be to find some point of agreement, some *modus vivendi* with organized Unitarianism. When he speaks for himself as minister of a recognized Unitarian society, this is all well enough; but, when he speaks as a prominent radical, and appeals to "brothers of the scattered radical army, tenting in the open field," the other soldiers of that radical army have surely a right to respond. In my own case, the response must be that there is no such yearning desire to be in barracks as he assumes; nor could the quarters he proposes be made attractive by any such inscription as he suggests. I have no more wish to belong to an association of "churches and societies, Unitarian and other, here assembled" than I should desire to belong to a nation labelled "United States, Virginia and other," or "Rhode Island and other," or even "Massachusetts and other." The mere specification sectarianizes. He thinks that Unitarians could agree to this, as well as others "who are not, but might be of the National Conference." Now, I do not know how many of these "others" there may be in the Liberal Club which he was addressing; but I suspect that in the Free Religious Association there are very few. At the present age of the world, the question of the precise verbal formula of the Unitarian body seems to me as utterly unimportant as the mediæval question, How many angels could be assembled on a needle's point? And, if the members of the Free Religious Association are ever to transfer their interest to any other organization, let it be one that is wider, not narrower, than their own.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

THE GHOST LAID.

I congratulate the readers of *The Index*, as well as myself, that my essay at the Liberal Union Club has drawn Col. Higginson's prompt fire. And the main point which he makes is sound. Whatever event in the history of the Unitarian denomination may have been the immediate occasion for forming the Free Religious Association, the fact is not to be forgotten, nor in any way put aside as of little importance, that that Association never has been merely a fraction or faction of the Unitarian body. Col. Higginson is right in reminding us all that, at the start and ever since, a very considerable portion of its members never had

any connection with Unitarianism, and cannot be supposed to have any special interest in what the Unitarian denomination may do or may not do. Their only interest in Unitarianism is the same which they have in the movements of any religious sect which concern religious liberty and progress. And this, it may be added, is the only interest which the Free Religious Association as an *organic body* has in Unitarianism; though some of its members, individually, may also be connected with some branch of the Unitarian body.

There was nothing, however, in my essay that antagonized these statements. I have been so accustomed to assume them, and also to utter them whenever it appeared necessary, that it did not occur to me that anything different could be read between the lines. The Free Religious Association was only incidentally named at the outset of the essay, and the discussion might have proceeded in the line followed without even that reference. I was not discussing the Free Religious Association, much less, as Mr. Higginson's last paragraph seems to apprehend, entering into any diplomatic negotiations between the Free Religious Association and the National Unitarian Conference. I was merely asked to consider the question—which has persisted in coming up in the Unitarian body—of the relation of the constitutional platform of their National Conference to mental liberty. And, in addressing myself to this question, if I did not make the above statements about the Free Religious Association, it was simply because they did not appear to me to have any special relevancy to the occasion. I was not there as an officer of that Association, and I also took pains to say that I was speaking only for myself.

But, possibly, now that the essay has been given a wider hearing in *The Index*, these things to which Col. Higginson has called attention need to be said. They certainly do, if there is valid cause for such a misunderstanding of the purpose of the essay as his closing paragraph suggests. Let me, then, declare distinctly my belief that the Free Religious Association is entirely independent of the Unitarian body, and that its continued existence is by no means necessarily involved in any action which may be taken by the National Unitarian Conference. Nothing was farther from my purpose than the thought that I was offering terms on which the Free Religious Association would merge itself in the Unitarian Conference. Nor do I find now any hint of such a thought in the text. Yet, if any one else finds it there, because of something not said, then, once for all, I disclaim it. I have so often had occasion to say on the Free Religious platform that no member, not even the highest officer, had authority to speak for the Association, that I could not fall into that snare myself. The vision of the President of the Association proposing to lead his fellow-soldiers of that body into the barracks of the Unitarian Conference is, therefore, purely a spectre of the imagination. That, at least, is a ghost which can be laid. A stranger coming into the Free Religious Association might suppose that here was a company of men and women under the generalship of their president; but one who has summered and wintered with them, as I have for eighteen years, knows them too well to imagine that they will be led together by any body. Every soldier on that field is his own general.

Yet, having said thus much, I feel bound to say more. Suppose that the Unitarians should make the suggested changes in the constitution of their National Conference, one effect, doubtless, would be that a considerable number of the members of the Free Religious Association who now feel debarred from the Conference would feel free to

join it, that some who were once of it might return, and that all persons who have any kind of natural affiliation with the Unitarian movement, or who believe at all in a local organization of religion on terms of freedom, and are trying to keep alive or build up such an organization, might consider whether they would not do well to join a Conference which had thus freed itself from dogma, and so widely broadened the terms of its fellowship. All this might happen, and yet the existence of the Free Religious Association might not be affected. It might still have a sufficient reason for being; possibly, as Mr. Higginson suggests in his closing sentence, might enlarge or more positively define its scope; and many of its members, like Col. Higginson, might not feel any more drawing than now toward the Conference. Those not interested in any local society would naturally care nothing for the Conference; nor could they, indeed, have any footing in it, since it is a del-gate conference of societies. Yet these different classes of members, with their special beliefs and interests, might come profitably together in the Free Religious organization, as they have done hitherto. Now, it was the former class of members, or of radicals in general, that I had in mind in the essay under the designation of those "others, not now of the Conference, but who *might* be." I was not thinking at all of the Free Religious Association *en masse* joining the Unitarian Conference. That it could not do, and I perfectly respect the position of those who have no desire to do it. But I was thinking of that very considerable number of radicals in the Free Religious Association and elsewhere, who might find their natural home and a field for congenial work in the Unitarian ranks, were those ranks opened to receive all earnest thinkers and earnest moral workers, irrespective of theological beliefs and religious names.

Let me speak still more definitely. My motive purpose in that essay lay much deeper than the personal desire which Mr. Higginson attributes to me. I do not complain of what he says on this point, for I took no special pains to make my motive clear. But I wish now to say that whatever zeal I have shown in this matter, either in this essay or heretofore, has arisen from no desire or aim, personally, to rehabilitate myself in the Unitarian denomination. My connection with Unitarianism, denominationally, has been very slight. I passed through its penumbra, and soon emerged upon the ground of free religion; and that has been my natural place. But, by peculiar good fortune, I found myself the minister of a society which, though recognized as Unitarian, was by temperament so individual and independent that it cared little for denominational affiliations. My work as its minister went on uninterruptedly, harmoniously, without any of those conflicts and sacrifices to which many of my radical brothers in the ministry have been subjected. Personally, therefore, it has been a matter of little moment to me what my relations to Unitarianism might be. And now it is altogether probable that my ministry will be completed before the Unitarian Conference will so open its doors that I can enter them. But that is of little consequence. I am content to work on as I have worked hitherto. But, for the sake of younger radical men who are already in the ministry, and do not find the course so smooth and pleasant as I have found it, and for the sake of young men of earnest thought and purpose, who would like to fit themselves for a free ministry, could they see any opportunity for securing a place for work from which their beliefs would not debar them,—for the sake of these, I do earnestly hope to see the Unitarian Conference

remove its theological bars and open freely its doors; and for these I speak. My position in the Free Religious Association has brought many inquiries to me from this class of young men. Three such inquirers have asked me for advice since this year began. The Free Religious Association makes no provision for these young men. It has never adopted the policy of aiding in the establishment of local societies. Whether it might not have done so is a question which need not here be discussed. There has been a difference of opinion upon it among the members of the Association, and the negative has prevailed; and there were, certainly, serious practical difficulties in the way of the Association's undertaking such work. Now, I, for one, believe in the importance of local religious institutions, under a free administration. I believe that young men of earnest minds and hearts may rightly and nobly desire to choose for vocation the leadership in such institutions. The Ethical Culture movement will, I hope, open places for some of them. But, to others, that movement does not appear to include everything they deem important; and to these, since the Free Religious Association offers no field, the only encouragement I can give is that Unitarianism, which has the machinery and the means, is progressing; that some of its societies, particularly in the West, are essentially on Free Religious ground; and that, if they are ready for hard work, they had better prepare, and hope for the full freedom that is to come. But I cannot give this encouragement so positively as I would like to do it. Therefore, I am earnestly solicitous that the largest representative body of Unitarians should declare unmistakably their position in such terms that these young men should be able to work with them without any restraint of conscience. Nor am I able to see how any one who has any sympathy with the principle of the Free Religious Association should think such a change in the interest of freedom "utterly unimportant."

WM. J. POTTER.

ENGLAND, RUSSIA—AND VIRTUE.

The age has opened its ears to cries of grievance whencesoever hailing; and no heart has made its appeal, I dare suppose, to an utterly fruitless purpose. But, if every good cause has had its word spoken, by whom has peace been applauded at this moment of its likely infraction at the East? While official Russia and England are engaged in their passage of commercial and conquering courtesies, who has called the common thought to a higher level, upon which the trouble of the hour may have other than merely sordid glasses turned upon it? And in the midst of the bedlam of reason and idiocy, where the mere threat of clashing arms generates such clamor, who has dared to tell the hosts that their frenzy is over an unworthy disturbance, and that it is not by such play with blood that the gods—or the loves—are most truly sought and worshipped? There are voices of protest, but they are not many. Taking the theological implications, nothing could be better said than has been said by Mr. Potter. Nevertheless, the common run of men are led captive to other ideas than these, and are seemingly content to rest what faith they have in the "statesmanship," so called, of our Congresses and Reichstags. The governments traduce the governed, and make the victims believe themselves honored in traduction. Thought is betrayed into channels partial to all save the moral elements of the question. Thence, however little it is meant to be, and from pure misdirection of sympathy, flow out all manner of vile injustices, that at the moment produce in men an emulation as to who shall farthest and quickest

forward governmental crime. The step from the temptation to the fall is an easy one. In the present case, we can see the transition coloring the daily record of events. Though Russia may be barbarous and England all she is said to be, the bottom of ensuing omens is in a common motive. Nor can it be objected that the matter is one exclusively for the primary factors to determine. The nerves of the race are affected by the on coming as well as the presence of martial conflicts; and, therefore, the world is interested in an honest and manly settlement of disputes.

For the moment, peace is evidently assured as between the contestants. Whether Gladstone brought this about by an exercise of Parliamentary tact, which is morally called "evasion," and whether cowardice or humanity dictated the terms, scarcely matters: suffice it that peace is temporarily assured. But, after we have fully acquainted ourselves with this fact, what have we to say of the universal impression that the war now averted is inevitable before many months or years pass away? Here is a question which might well puzzle the wit of the age. If the hour cannot answer it in the interests of peace, we should have done with our boasts of "civilization"; and, if it can mark out a conviction equal to the highest demands of the heart, we should not fail to make the talk of "inevitability" futile gibberish on political and popular lips alike. It is abhorrent to sincere men that we should so carelessly live two lives, evoking the one or the other to-day and to-morrow, as best pleases the flitting color of the demand.

What is the truth about all this Anglo-Russian spleen? What is the motive-force, and what can be anticipated as the outcome? It is not moral right, civilization, the elevation of the people, that mainly engage the attention of the prominent war-partisans. They are willing enough to use these as pretences where they will serve a purpose, but the end sought is other and less pure. Here, as in humbler paths of life, the inspiring note is of material splendor. The sacrifice of everything to gilt and show is taken as dutiously demanded. Value is not placed in virtue, but in coin; and it is the land, not the landscape,—adopting an Emersonism,—which captivates current thought. When a politician, bent yet by some degree of conscience, chooses to retreat from a designed wrong, his act is called cowardice and dishonor. Names are sent flying after fancies, and men who can regret an error are counted as loving their country less than before their moral waking. The visual obliquity is not always "corruption," in the ordinary sense. It is apt to arise in our readiness to give greater credit to the outer than the inner man. But the glaring sin loses nothing of despoiling power for its innocent acceptance. It is more dangerous, the less we know of its prevalence when it prevails. When we are choked by it, and yet seize no means, in our unknowing childishness, to clear the throat and give utterance to the unswerving note that the occasion needs, then have we most call to exercise discretion.

Very vague and hopeless such thought is pronounced by the politicians. We are argued with not to take Russia and England as they might be, but as they are. Grapple with concrete mud! However, we find no dragon at our doors, and can wander forth whither we list. Thus only is it, cut loose from predilection, that we find how cowardly are the principles of modern government. Think of these "defenders of the private man," "bulwarks of society," "arch-enemies of anarchy," in the light of their oft-time performances! They masquerade as civilizers on foreign shores, while bearing down wofully upon their people at home. They persuade subjects to perpetrate the death-

dance upon alien States, whose offence is always chiefly and often wholly imaginary. They count the politicians as the nation; foment discord more pleasurably than they endure peace; and wage wars—or force the masses to wage wars—which would never be invited for a day, if it was upon the leaders that sacrifice and pain and death were to be visited. Energy owed to purity is prodigally sown to corruption. While governments speak with such a voice, what right have we to ask that they be respected and upheld? It is very well to preach of patriotism and the fireside; but is England patriotic,—England, the State,—when it deals justice charily to people at home and abroad? And is the Parliament just, that first fans up the heart-fires and then explains hazily to its constituencies through their passion rather than their reason? The nations never would go to war one with another, had the masses the means of knowing fairly what inevitably are the causes and the results. Politicians distort these, citizens are contaminated, and, lo! the gun is fired, and Hate stands ready at its post. All this in a breath, ere love has its senses collected. And then follow such tales as have, for instance, come to us daily, here in the centres of “civilization,” from Soudanese outposts. History has written and rewritten of the inviolable course till we sicken of the revel.

Can we honor the fireside of home while we outrage that of a neighbor? Do we rightly suffer those who “rule” us to assume that they speak our conviction, when they change “protest” to “behest,” and swear that we order what we do not? Nor can so just a case end with those of similar interrogations. Whether it is the ruler alone or the nation as a whole that enforces the evil principle, condemnation should be spoken with unsparing words. We applaud “reason,” but what reason resides in cannon and bloodshed? We claim our age to be eminently “modern,” loving investigation and moved by means of the interweaving of intellectual and moral research. We send discoverers to the north, south, east, and west, to bring us the farthest and latest photographs of the mysteries of earth and heaven. But, when we come to the passes of political life, we lose all peaceful spirit, though the stake be smaller by vast chasms than Darwin’s or Greely’s, and must needs take a man by the nape of the neck to convince him, or dismiss his precious form, riddled with bullets, to another world (or to sleep) to be enlightened. This we call Caucasian glory. “Civilization,”—“the light of the nineteenth century,”—“peace on earth, good will to men”: how blandly we meet the stranger-hand and pass the sardonic contradictions of the moral life!

I have had men point me to the past. Was war useless there? Did it not open the way to a blessed future? Comparatively, it was helper, not originator. Though a medium, it was not a gracious one. And, however we may learn from the past, we need not and should not pattern from it. Experience has shown that progress is accelerated with free opinion; that races move onward quicker, the more peacefully open are all ports; that settlements prosper more surely upon purchase than robbery. That men lived and moved under harsher conditions in earlier times was despite, not because of the mistakes. The progress of the race was not forced by war, but by that which was deeper, and which bathed in effulgence a future hope. The battlements of old bore their flags, not only to inspire temporary hosts, but to bring on the age of peace. It is an injury to the future to endeavor to read the past into to-day. The astronomer of long ago was dull of sight, and we cannot accept him in the present. Neither do we bow to Cæsar or Napoleon, nor take our creeds from Rome.

Neither, therefore, should we gather our armies and take the assurance of antiquity that men cannot live on earth together, and effect majestic and healthful changes, but through physical combat.

It is always a grief to me when I find men estimating the greatness of a nation by its material possessions. Justice was never written in figures. The churches are too often accounted prosperous by virtue of their dollars, not their excellent souls. States are too often built upon brass. “Britain,” my friend avers, “shines not so gloriously as of yore”; but he puts the Bank of England in the scales, and sees that the weight compares ill with national treasures found elsewhere, and takes that test as adequate. My reliance is not on such delusions. Countries depend less upon bank accounts than accountants. Does England find its foundation in Threadneedle Street? Does its solvency hinge upon the certification of a check? England is great, if her soul is great, though her guineas be few; and she is poor and pinched indeed, though she may gather the earth’s flow to her coffers by means of criminal wars. Russia may conquer Asia, and yet be contemptible while she renders necessary a Nihilism to counteract her autocratic crimes. If the age we call ours has not thus settled “the values” of its spiritual estate, it has done nothing equal to its boast.

The moral of the prevailing and prospective Russo-English controversy lies to me in this,—that men have no adequate faith in their own professions of reliance upon an eternal justice. They discuss every matter as though it could be resolved into dollars and cents. I do not believe they are in this respect peculiarly lower in status than their fellows of the past. On the contrary, the average individual has greatly advanced. But they display lingering traces of a barbarism from which mankind has toilsomely issued. These remnants of brute nature leave them ready in many ways to apply the brute method of settling disputes. Abstract right is rarely treated with, even in cases whose decision involves the happiness of future generations.

Human beings amicably revolutionize scientific theories, art prejudices, medical errors, religious superstitions, by the mere force of intellectual generosity. Should they not be as well able to see and secure the justice in what by contrast we can term the petty occurrence involving Afghanistan? I say again, England, Russia, Afghanistan, Egypt, are not isolatedly responsible for what takes place in such an hour. The world is touched by the results, good or bad, and has, in consequence, a direct right to a word in the council. Man loses inestimably when he shows greater willingness to war for dollars than for virtue. If the warriors now on the local boards won’t see this, internationalism is warranted in calling them to order.

It remains to be seen whether we cannot identify nations and individuals. If it is possible to settle private discord by reference to legal or social tribunals, it should be possible so to settle public troubles. It should be as easy to establish courts of resort for the Afghan controversialists as for the Liberal-Conservative factions in England; or, if not so easy, at least as honorable and wise. Nations are as facile as individuals, and could be as conclusively persuaded as individuals are to act in accordance with the dictates of a higher than barbaric or mediæval reason, if we husbanded our eloquence and surrendered less to mammon.

Again, we should not less circumspectly study our bearing toward nations than toward persons. An individual possesses rights and duties, but holds no higher warrant than a State that stands for number where he represents merely fraction. We trust the fireside of our neighbor, the person,

while we suspect and invade that of our neighbor, the State. Yet both are entitled to an equal protection. What we can change by reason is another thing, and what is to be done when free speech and a free press are impossible raises other considerations. At this moment, Russia and England refuse to allow the privilege I should predict as bound at some time to embrace society not less than its ingredients. Afghanistan, Egypt, India, are modern victims of unrighteous governmental purposes that profess a kindness to men singly which they refuse to men in the mass.

The sooner we perceive the identity of the one and the many, the sooner we can get over present shoals. A nation—this or any—has justice on its side, when it asks and gives in its corporate capacity to like corporate bodies powers that our century vauntingly claims as achieved for the individual.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

LIBERAL COMMUNITIES.

A friend sends us an article clipped from a Louisville paper, which says in substance of Liberal, Mo., that three times as many people have moved there and then moved away as live there now, that one or two towns have sprung up and absorbed many of the original settlers of Liberal, whose growth has stopped. A rather disparaging reference is made to the moral tone of the town; and all the alleged misfortunes which have befallen it, the writer declares, are the legitimate effects of “infidelity.” The friend who sends the article desires us to state the actual facts.

We cannot speak of Liberal from personal knowledge, never having been there, and possessing no reliable information in regard to it; but what is affirmed of its experience and condition is or has been true of many, perhaps of the majority, of settlements in the West in the early years of their existence, irrespective of their predominant religious beliefs. It is very common there for new communities to grow rapidly till they reach a certain point, and then come to a standstill or even decline for a while. People come and go, some returning, others moving farther West. Rivalries spring up between different sections of a town, giving rise to antagonisms, and resulting often in the founding of another community near by, and in fierce competition for advantages, degenerating sometimes into hostility to each other, to the great injury of all concerned. We hope this is not true of Liberal, and we certainly have no definite information to that effect; but, if such be its condition, it is probably due, not to the heterodox views of the people, but to causes similar to those which have led to similar results elsewhere.

It is true, however, that a new community, composed chiefly of persons brought together on the common basis of hostility to popular religious beliefs, must encounter difficulties unknown to ordinary communities. And in the growing West especially, with industrial, social, and religious forces pressing continually, vigorously, and at every point from without, a community, however founded and for whatever purpose, must soon lose a distinction based upon dissent from popular creeds,—a distinction which, if retained, would put it at enormous disadvantage as the surrounding country should become settled and communities formed, with churches and religious institutions such as are demanded by the beliefs of the great mass of the people. Such a community, detached in important respects, as it would be, from the larger life surrounding it, would suffer in its business interests, lose its most active members, and the land and buildings would soon fall into the hands of men under whose control the anti-theological views of its founders would have no

more prominence than in the adjacent communities. Under the influence of a strong religious faith, when the members have a common creed and authority, and when they are favored by locality, wise leadership, and shrewd business management, a community in which prominence is given to unpopular religious or social views may last for a few years; but, sooner or later, it will either break up or undergo modifications, until it becomes assimilated to the surrounding conditions. Whether its religious conceptions and social theories be higher or lower than those that prevail outside, its failure is equally certain; for, in either case, the views and theories which are made the basis or a distinctive feature of the organization will serve as a point of antagonism, and partially interrupt normal relations with the million outside, who constitute a closely knit organism, with an established and intolerant public opinion, backed by the precedents and practices of centuries,—a social organism that must sooner or later assimilate and co-ordinate all forms of social life within the reach of its influence. All this is evident from a study of evolution, and is abundantly illustrated by the progress and results of a multitude of social experiments.

In regard to Liberal, while the prominence given to the anti-theological views of its founder—who, we understand, owned the site of the town—and of its original settlers has served to attract many of its inhabitants, these views, it is easy to see, will play no such important part in the future of the community. If it shall continue to prosper, people of different religious beliefs will settle there, churches will be erected, religious influences developed, and everything done to adapt the community to the wants of the population, and to put it in harmony with other prosperous towns. Meanwhile, the anti-theological views will be gradually reduced to about the same relative importance they have in other communities in that part of the country. Without such changes in adjustment to the requirements of the population and in harmony with the surrounding influences, changes in all probability now taking place, continued progress and prosperity would be impossible. This the intelligent business men of Liberal must soon see, if they do not see it already.

Such experiments are not without some good results, if they are really in advance of society in general; for the force with which they react upon the outside public sentiment tends to liberalize it. But such communities are very liable to suffer from the narrowness, erraticism, misdirected zeal, ambition, and selfishness of a few aggressive members. All the mistakes made and all the follies committed are sure to be regarded by the outside public as the legitimate results of liberal thought; and thus important truths, which are gradually gaining and imperceptibly modifying beliefs, customs, and institutions, come to be associated in the minds of many, in consequence of these mistakes and follies, with conceptions and conduct which have no necessary connection with them. In this respect, such communities sometimes do more to retard than to advance liberal thought.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Memorial Building, Boston, Mass., as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45 o'clock, business session for the hearing of reports, election of officers, etc.

Friday morning, May 29, at 10.30 o'clock, ad-

dress by the President, followed by addresses from Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, of Ottawa, Can., and Rev. M. J. Savage of Boston, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" After these addresses, the subject will be open for speeches, not exceeding ten minutes each, from the floor.

Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Rev. R. Heber Newton will address the meeting on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." During the afternoon session there will also be ten-minute speeches from Giles B. Stebbins, John Orvis, Henry B. Blackwell, George E. McNeill, Frederic A. Hinkley, and others.

The annual festival will be held in the Meinaon, Tremont Temple, Friday evening, commencing at 6.30 o'clock. R. Heber Newton, W. D. Le Sueur, Wm. J. Gill, H. W. Holland, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary Eastman, W. J. Potter, B. F. Underwood, J. K. Applebee, and G. N. Hill will be among the speakers. Music, including quartet and solo singing, will be furnished by the Temple Quartette. Mr. H. L. Bateman, first tenor; Mr. F. E. Webber, second tenor; Mr. H. A. Cook, first bass; Mr. A. C. Ryder, second bass; Mr. Howard M. Dow, pianist.

Tickets, with reserved seats at tables, at \$1.00 each, may be obtained at *The Index* office, No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

GIVE expressions to your doubts, I beg of you. A doubt is the bud of an idea. If you give it the sunlight of thought, it may blossom. The man who suppresses a doubt is a kind of Herod who kills a child of the brain.—*Ingersoll*.

MR. GEORGE MARTIN writes thus to the *Present Day*, Mr. Holyoake's paper, in regard to the Montreal Free Thought Club: "The Club is still in a healthy and progressive state. We held our fifth anniversary in January, and the gathering was such as to afford a pleasurable inspiration of hope for the future. All our Sunday afternoon meetings are now open to the public, and are largely attended by our most thoughtful and respected citizens. We have thrown open our reading room and library to the public,—the first step taken in this direction in our city,—I may say in the Province, and I think I may say in the Dominion. Captain R. C. Adams is President of the Club at present, and a most efficient and devoted leader he is. He lectures often, and is always listened to with marked interest."

"UPON one of Whitefield's arrivals from England," says Franklin in his *Memoirs*, "he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but he knew not where he should lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, 'You know my house: if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations, you will be most heartily welcome.' He replied that, if I made that offer for Christ's sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, 'Don't let me be mistaken: it was not for Christ's sake, but for your sake.' One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarked that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders and place it in Heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth."

THE following from *Unity* is worth considering: "There is more than one side from which to look at any question, and it occurs to us that those who

are deploring the absence of religious convictions in the late George Eliot have not seen all around. Is it not just as trenchant a rebuke on the current conceptions and beliefs that one of the most earnest and prophetic thinkers could not share them? If the idea of God was inconceivable to her and that of immortality unbelievable, isn't the least unlikely that, as she apprehended these matters, they not only were to her, but would be to most of us, inconceivable and unbelievable. This is no self-regarding vanity that prompts her to the course: her life is one long, steady seeking after righteousness; her ideals are not less eternal than the current ones, her heroism not less sustained, her insight not less clear."

In a letter printed in the *Commonwealth*, Oliver Johnson, after adducing testimony covering the attitude of the churches and pulpits during the period from 1831, and earlier, up to the time of the Rebellion, adds: "The ill-informed or unscrupulous gentlemen who would cover up the guilt of the American churches in opposing emancipation, and, more audacious still, would claim for those churches the credit of abolishing slavery, may as well understand that flinging stones at Garrison, Phillips, and their associates will not help their cause, and that before they can succeed they must meet and overthrow the testimony of scores of men whose Orthodoxy is as unimpeachable as their own. Such men as Prof. Phelps, Dr. Dexter, and others like them, will find that they have undertaken a task beyond their powers. History will rise up in judgment against them. The Persian monarch was not more powerless to blot from the wall the record of his guilt and shame than these men are to avert the just verdict of posterity upon the leaders in Church and State who sought to protect American slavery."

A WRITER in the *Catholic Review* states some facts which his brethren would do well to consider: "Burchard's association of 'rum' with 'Romanism' (Catholicity) was exceedingly offensive, no doubt; and it was resented by a severe loss to Mr. Blaine's vote. Nevertheless, unpalatable a truth as it may be, it is still the truth that, in local politics, the liquor interests and the Catholic vote nearly always coincide. . . . There is no need of exaggeration in this matter. But the truth is that the mechanic who gives up his useful trade and opens a drinking-place on the corner thereby acquires fifty times the influence, or more, which he would have exercised, had he stuck to his honest labor. He becomes a political leader among the poor. Catholicity is the religion of the poor as well as the rich; and, as most of the workingmen who have any religion of consequence are Catholics, the saloon-keeper becomes a political leader of the workingmen, and, logically but sorrowfully it must be admitted, of the majority of Catholics. What is this but 'rum' and 'Romanism'?" This writer calls upon Catholics to assert their independence of the liquor interests, which, he says, are just as tyrannical and perhaps more tyrannical than George III.'s rule.

DR. LYMAN BEECHER was tried for heresy by the Presbytery of Cincinnati for certain utterances of his in New England. The case had got up to the Synod, which met in Cincinnati, in 1834. The testimony was all in. One forenoon, Dr. Beecher commenced summing up in his defence. As usual, he was able and ingenious while addressing his distinguished auditory. On the adjournment at noon, he took a select party to his house for dinner, among whom were some of his antagonists. As was the doctor's wont in enthusiastic hours, he kept right on making his speech at the dinner table. He was vivid, elastic, and facetious. He seemed particularly desirous of favorably im-

pressing his moderate opponents. Suddenly there piped up from the lower end of the table a voice which uttered these words: "Father, I listened to your speech in the Synod this morning, and I know you are plagued good at twisting; but, if you can twist your creed on to the Westminster Confession of Faith, you can twist better than I think you can." The doctor's countenance fell, but only for a moment. He suddenly rallied and said, "All my boys are smart, and some of them are impudent." Then, of course, rose a laugh. The voice that piped up from the lower end of the table belonged to Henry Ward Beecher. Whether he can twist his creed on to the Confession of Faith, it does not become me to decide. The doctor's case went up to the General Assembly, and was yet undecided when the Presbyterian Church was rent in two in 1838.—*H. B. Stanton, in Random Recollections.*

A FRIEND writes: "Dr. G. Stanley Hall's lecture on 'The New Psychology,' delivered on the occasion of his inauguration as professor of philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, last autumn, has just been published. Professor Hall is, perhaps, the most assiduous of American workers in the field of physiological psychology, and the most familiar with contemporary German research. His full and careful *résumé* of recent psychological thought is of singular interest and value, and his large empirical knowledge gives significance to his philosophical conclusions. 'All who have absorbed themselves in these studies,' he says, 'have seen the logical impossibility of every purely materialistic theory of knowledge.' 'If all cells and fibres involved in each act of the mind or emotional statement might be conceived to be numbered and weighed, and all the circulatory thermal, chemical, and electrical changes exactly formulated, the sense of utter incommensurability between these objective relations and the closer, more intimate consciousness of such acts and states would be sufficient as a corrective of materialism and as a positive justification of an idealistic view of the world.' The friend who sent us the above is probably aware that there is a class of thinkers among whom are men of unsurpassed ability, who have long maintained the "incommensurability" between the molecular motions of the brain and consciousness, and who are neither materialists nor idealists, as these words are commonly understood, but who, nevertheless, hold that that which appears objectively as force and matter is identical with that which appears subjectively as consciousness. If, instead of hurling their old objections against each other, the so-called materialists and idealists could forget their contentions long enough to examine carefully an eclectic and synthetic system, which unites in a philosophical realism the profoundest truths taught by materialists and idealists, it would be "greatly to their credit," since it would show an advance beyond the scholasticism of the university professors of philosophy in this country.

B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at East Dennis, Mass., next Sunday, on "Ideal and Actual Methods of Progress."

Of all the evil spirits abroad at this hour in the world, insincerity is the most dangerous.—*Froude.*

O you who linger in the night of toil,
And long for day,
Take heart. The grandest hero is the man
Of whom the world shall say

That from the roadside of defeat he plucked
The flower success,
Bravely and with a modesty sublime,
Not with blind eagerness.

—*W. T. Tailbot.*

The Index.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

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For The Index.

The Profit-maker and the Socialists.

BY VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.

(Concluded from last week.)

Most socialists concede that, in the present organization of labor, the rule of the profit-maker is temporarily just, because of its temporary necessity. But they desire mankind to believe that it is not intrinsically and perpetually just or necessary; in short, that, as Mr. Mill argues, it rests upon the arbitrary institutions and customs of men and not on irreversible economic law. Those economists, on the contrary, who have elaborated a just because necessary and inevitable doctrine of economic distribution must hold that, whatever ascendancy over the wages-workers economic law gives to enterprisers and profit-makers to-day, it must give them eternally, and that greater equality in the control of reproductive wealth can only be arrived at by increasing the ratio of the enterprisers and profit-makers to the wages class until the former embrace the whole of society and the latter cease to exist.

In economic law, the right of the profit-maker to rule industry arises out of his correlative function of loss-sustainer,—a function which neither Karl Marx, Lassalle, nor any other of the socialists nor quasi-socialists, like Mill, takes cognizance of. If a profit-maker produces that which society does not want, he is punished for it by being obliged to sell it for as much less than it cost him to produce it as society has less need of it than of other things which might have been produced by the same effort. Having no right to compel society to pay him more for his product than it pleases, as society pleases to pay him less than its cost, the difference is his loss, penalty, or punishment for ignorantly assuming to lead social industry into any other form of work than that for which there was most demand or need. It is upon condition of sustaining all these losses that the profit-maker enjoys his counter-privilege of collect-

ing as profits the excess of price which demand or need puts upon his product over its cost of production.

I am aware that the wages-worker points to the "lock-outs, strikes," commercial crises, times when he is out of work, or works for an insolvent employer who does not pay him, and insists that he, too, shares in the losses of industry due to its being turned into channels where its product is not demanded. In the cases of lock-outs and strikes, the wages-worker is paid while he works; but his work stops. There is no loss of pay for work actually performed. Consequently, no wealth passes out of him to compensate society for a mal-employment of labor. On the contrary, he may have grown richer by that very mal-employment of labor by which society would have grown poorer but for the fact that the whole loss to society is paid for out of his employer's capital. In commercial crises, labor and capital both stand still. Labor contributes no value, which is capable of compensating for a loss, to society. But the capitalist who has invested fifty millions in building a railroad worth five millions has sustained a net loss of forty-five millions, which, if society in the aggregate were the capitalist, would have to be borne by society at large. The only case in which the wages-worker makes a loss which makes him a sharer in the punishment due to an unprofitable guidance of industry is when he works for an employer in creating reproductive wealth, and his employer so fails as not to pay him. In this case, the wages-worker "adventures" or risks his labor virtually on the success of the enterprise; and, to make it fair toward him, he ought to be getting enough higher wages than he could earn elsewhere to compensate him.

As a rule and in the large, the profit-maker relieves society of all pecuniary loss by the unprofitable misdirection of labor in the production of that for which there is less than the highest current demand. He exempts society from all waste of labor by paying the penalty of such waste himself. No other system could be so evidently economical to society as that which relieves it of all loss by waste. Compare the waste incident to the building of the New York Court House by Tweed, a socialistic or State enterprise, with the economy with which the East River Bridge was built, a private or "monopoly" enterprise. The latter cost but \$15,000,000 against the former's \$12,000,000, but is one of the seven wonders of the world, while the former is only a court-house. Socialism, under our tax system, already gets access to two and a quarter per cent. per annum on the assessed value of all property in New York City. Out of the fund so acquired, it pays one wages-worker eighty cents per cubic yard for shovelling earth, which it pays another eight dollars and eighty cents to shovel. The difference is the waste which is incident to socialistic method, and may be called "profits of corruption," which, in the case stated, utterly dwarf the profits of capital. If these things be done in the green tree, when socialism has access to only two and a quarter per cent. of the capital of New York City, what would be done in the dry,—i.e., if socialistic methods controlled all distribution of wealth? Might not the profits of capital be lost in the "earnings of corruption"?

Again, who can estimate the value of the vast saving to society which accrues, and the vastly more rapid growth of wealth which results, and the prodigiously greater amount of mental service rendered by each part of society to every other under a system which, by shoving over all uneconomic and unprofitable effort on those who cause it, resolutely holds the great mass of workers to

effort that may be perhaps distasteful and uncongenial to nearly every person engaged in it, but which, by the very fact that it "pays a profit," is inexorably proved to be the most demanded of any service that could be rendered?

To borrow the phrase of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, the Unconscious Will, or irresistible instinct, of society is wiser than its conscious will or reasoned theories, even as expressed in legislation, and is especially wiser than the theories of economic charlatans, who are indebted for much of their capacity to write glibly and fluently to their incapacity to "think out" the absurdity of their own imperfect thinking.

In an economic sense, the power to earn and accumulate profits is proportionate to the utility of the service rendered by the profit-maker to society. In short, the economic organization of society is just. This conclusion is inevitable, when it is once perceived that inequality in the diffusion of reproductive wealth promotes equality in the consumption of enjoyable wealth.

The greatest possible saving to society is promoted by the concentration of reproductive wealth into the hands of those who will apply it most profitably and with least loss to reproductive purposes, and who will divert the smallest ratio of it to purposes of consumption. Though reproductive wealth *per se* is not consumable, and though canals, locomotives, land, and furnaces cannot be eaten, drunk, or worn, there is a broad margin of reproductive forms of wealth, such as negotiable securities, mortgages, shares, bonds, notes, bank accounts, and money, which constantly tempts the holder to withdraw them from the work of reproduction and make them a means of increasing his consumption or that of others. He does this whenever he takes capital from his business to increase his cost of living. As between two persons both having the same income, say ten thousand dollars, one of whom devotes two thousand and the other eight thousand to expenditure for consumption and enjoyment, society has a four times greater immediate interest in the concentration of wealth upon the former than in the latter, because under the former four times as much capital is devoted to reproductive purposes. The law that reproductive capital shall constantly tend to accumulate in the hands of those who withdraw least of their gross income for expenditure is at the very basis of the whole business instinct, and is obviously the law which will promote with most rapidity the growth of wealth. That it is natural will be obvious to every one who reflects that it is by the same law that the oak becomes stronger and more permanent than the weed, or one animal than another. Its organization enables the oak to save a large relative proportion of its nutrition, which it deposits in annual layers in a manner to promote the greatest possible reproduction of woody tissue,—i.e., to extend its leafy surface to the light over the largest area. So in the hound there is a large setting apart or saving, out of his nutritive supply, of the nerve fibre and bone which in him supply the means of reproducing his food by the chase. But in the hog there is hardly any capacity whatever, and none in the civilized state, to reproduce his supply of food by his own effort, because it all goes to fat and contentment, wallowing and sensuality. Hence, like a politician, he can only live and attain his full growth by wallowing in the mire of corruption and being fed by those who have more muscle and less fat.

"Capital begins in abstinence," is one of the early modes of expressing the fact that the control of industry inheres in those who divert from reproductive to consumptive purposes the smallest fraction of their incomes. Obviously there

could be no other class to whom society could, if it acted through its conscious instead of through its Unconscious Will, so economically intrust its reproductive wealth as to those who would deduct in the least degree from its volume, add to it whenever practicable, keep it profitably employed, and make a lower charge for its use than any others could.

The immediate growth of society in wealth is, therefore, promoted by having reproductive wealth pass, as it usually does, into the hands of the parsimonious, the grasping, and the avaricious. Sentiment, poetry, and religion may alike rebel against the notion that the great rewards and powers are reserved by natural law to skilful money getters. For thus natural law is brought into open conflict with what is assumed to be divine law. But, as the very pulpit which rebuke the theory are invariably located expressly where they will get the "carriage custom," the pretended conflict is not real.

Reproductive wealth is to society, relatively to consumable wealth, what the engines, tunnels, aqueducts, and water-pipes of a great city are relatively to the water,—namely, means of forcing it from the point where it exists in surplus, and is therefore useless, to the point where it is not only needed, but most needed, the degree of need being always certified in economics by the return of effort or "price" the supply will bring. To say that commodities tend to where they will bring the highest price is to say that supply seeks out the greatest need, and this in turn is to say that the organization of society is humane.

The perfection with which this work of involuntary mutual helpfulness from selfish motives ends in a universal and nearly equal supply of food, raiment, and shelter, has caused nearly all men to believe that it is accomplished by a supernatural, special Providence. This ascription is touchingly expressed in Lamartine's "Morning Hymn" of a little child, of part of which I venture the following translation:—

"They tell me Thou givest alone
The fields to little birds wild,
And also to each little child
The spirit by which thou art known.

"They say it is thou who dost send
The gardens their wardrobe of flowers;
Without thee, our orchards with showers
Of golden fruit never would bend.

"The blessing thy riches afford
All the world are invited to share.
The worm has enough and to spare
At Nature's munificent board.

"The lamb may browse the wild thyme;
The goat may seek out the *cyttise*;
The fly on my cup, if he please,
May drink the white drops of my cream.

"The lark o'er the bitter grain sings,
Which the hand of the gleaner foregoes;
The swallow the winnower knows;
And the child to its own mother clings."

While in nature the supply for the lower forms of life seems to be thus everywhere provided, in fact the struggle for subsistence is of the same character in nature as in man. Although in man every act of production and exchange seems voluntary and artificial, and nothing has value except as it stands associated with labor, yet experience proves that the waste of generation and of life diminishes rapidly as we ascend in the scale of animals toward man; and that, in man, the more complex and diversified the system of interchange becomes, the less is the waste of life, and the larger the populations to be maintained, the greater becomes the ease of their maintenance. The diffusion of consumable wealth was formerly so imperfect that famines were frequent: now, they are confined to barbarous and sparsely populated countries. In

civilized society, commercial crisis, involving a cancellation of bankrupts' accounts without payment, and the temporary assistance of the less fortunate by public taxation or private charity, is the extreme form of distress possible. A rapidly increasing percentage of infants born reach maturity, and a steady diminution goes on in the forcible extinction of life.

But the miracle of organization which comes nearest in its quality to a special Providence is that whereby each individual in nearly fifteen hundred millions of people, aiming chiefly and almost solely to benefit or enrich himself, renders to others in so doing that endless complexity of mutual service which diffuses throughout the globe and to its most distant inhabitants the means of maintaining that diversified diet, mode of life, and relaxation which civilization requires. To the people of some portions of the world, the supply is barely up to the needs of a semi-barbarous existence. These, however, have a coarseness of appetite and dulness of sense which cause that to seem abundance which to others would be deprivation.

The socialists contend that the organization of society should be so perfect as to relieve all persons from the prospect or possibility of want. Economists teach that the prospect and possibility of want, especially when mitigated and softened by the legal right to relief at State expense which the pauper, incompetent, and suffering classes have in all enlightened countries, and when tempered by organized charities of all kinds, become the mildest stimulus adequate to keep mankind at work with the degree of industry essential to the highest average of comfort. Under this degree of stimulus, the total labor and production of society are not greater than are needed. If, therefore, it were lessened, the production and mutual service would lessen. The readiness to work would cease. And its cessation is social suicide. The substitute which socialism would be compelled to propose for the prospect of want as a coercive force to induce work would necessarily be either want itself, which would only renew the present order of things, or bodily coercion and punishment,—i.e., chains, imprisonment, the shower bath, thumb screw, and lash, which would be a *shute* backward into slavery and barbarism. It is idle to deny that, among those who fail to save money and accumulate capital, the predominant cause is: (1) animalism, the inability to abstain from a possible immediate sensual pleasure as a means to future success; (2) insubordination, or the inability to defer to the will of the organizers of labor sufficiently to make their services trustworthy and reliable; (3) lack of foresight and sagacity in the investment of their means, owing to a deficient value sense; and (4) defective nervous and mental organization. But all of these reasons, if carefully weighed, will be found to be compulsory and irresistible reasons why such persons should have as little control of capital as possible, and should be kept at work for their own sake as well as for that of society. There are far more people in the world, and especially in America, who attain money and wealth more easily than is good for their happiness than there are who attain it too slowly. It is seen in families made miserable or destroyed by sordid and infamous contests over their property; in married couples divorced by a slight increase in their wealth, perhaps, but which outruns their growth in the capacity to defer to the rights, tastes, and sentiments of others, without which wealth becomes vulgar; in a very general contempt which intellectual and polite people in all countries feel for the wealth that stands associated with dishonesty, brutal manners,

and coarse, ignorant, or mercenary meanness. That money is made too easy is true, not merely where it crops out in vast and vulgar fortunes, but among the wages-workers, where a man who has worked faithfully for years, without a spree, on two dollars a day, is made foreman of a gang in a rolling mill at \$100 a month, and after one month of prosperity, too great for his animalism, enters on a career of debauchery which speedily lands him in the hospital or penitentiary. A census of those whose prosperity is greater than is good for their peace would show that they far outnumber the righteously needy.

Pecuniary power bears no necessary ratio to intellect, culture, piety, charity, honesty, learning, or any other of the mental or moral graces. The function of all these is rather to give us dignity without wealth than to bring wealth itself. The principles of economic distribution are justified when wealth centres in those in whom the sense of value is most highly developed, and who, therefore, are able to practise greatest abstinence in its use, to keep it most profitably employed, to exact the smallest return for its service, and to diffuse its service to the greatest number.

If any economic work calls attention to the almost absolute equality in the personal consumption of all men for food, raiment, and shelter, the observation has escaped my notice. And yet a man's capacity to increase his consumption of wealth is so limited that he can as easily add to his stature as to the quantity of food he can eat, of clothing he can wear, of shelter he can enjoy. A millionaire with dyspepsia must breakfast on an egg and coffee and graham gems. A beggar in good health can consume six times more and better food. If a merchant prince build a marble palace which will last five centuries, and contain, at the average, two hundred persons, his personal use of it becomes more economical—i.e., involves less waste or destruction of the dwelling—than is involved in the use by a peasant of a hut so poor that he must build a new one every twenty years. So the deduction of capital made by the millionaire, all of whose wealth is in railways and bank stocks and whose money is on deposit in bank, where it is, of course, in circulation from the active uses of society, is less than the deduction made by the journey-worker who dare not trust the banks, but keeps the sum with which he expects to purchase a home, in gold, in his chest.

All the forces of nature and society conspire together to equalize the distribution, not merely of the consumable means of enjoyment, but of enjoyment itself. If men abhor labor and cultivate inactivity, their harvest is a loss of sleep and of digestion, which they must return to physical toil to recover. If their prosperity builds palaces, the sewer gas enters; the prince consort of England dying, prematurely by thirty years, by breathing an air more poisonous than poor Joe found in "Tom-all-Alone's." To reign over Russia is to lose one's liberty. To steal a railroad may be, as in the case of Fisk, to lose one's life. To inherit from a Vanderbilt may be to lose one's reason.

In the distribution of wealth for consumption there is a constant tendency and desire to pass from the more perishable forms of wealth devoted to mere sustentation to those rarer, costlier, and more permanent forms which are devoted to exhilaration, exaltation, and ostentation. After the needs of food, raiment, and shelter are provided for, man desires stimulating beverages, social influence and excitements, religious connections, superstitions, art, poetry, music, the drama, statues, pictures, equipages, jewelry, costly dress, libraries, diamonds. As fast as what are inaptly and

falsely called the lower passions, but which should be called the vital passions, because directly essential to life itself, are satisfied, the remoter and indirect passions call for satisfaction. These are often, in obedience to an irrational system of ethics, called the higher emotions or faculties, being social or spiritual and in no way vital. In economics, they serve at least two functions, and doubtless more. But, chiefly, they furnish forms of wealth which are permanent, and of nearly universal estimation, and which therefore become means of storing wealth for permanent preservation, and for expressing socially the completeness of the owner's triumph over property. Diamonds, coronets, crowns, palaces, pictures, church architecture, and costly shows are all of this class. But they also become a means whereby the Unconscious Will works in society as instinct works among bees, to accomplish solidarity. They push financial relief further outward and downward into the waste places of earth than it could otherwise come. When the hardy Norway or Spitzbergen savage essays to get a little nearer to the pole with his chubby wife and fur-wrapped babies, he is helped in his career by the fact that in the capitals of Europe the ermine which he takes is worn by emperors or judges, the eider down which he gathers makes the princess' pillow or lines her cloak, and the skin of the seal protects her form in winter; the negro on the Congo counts on brightening his home in the jungle with the price of the ostrich feathers which he sends to the Flora McFlimsy of civilization; the mountaineer in Peru or Hindustan knows that his herd, however small or wild, is his best reliance; but now and then one is raised to affluence by finding a crystal of value, or even a diamond. The Ceylonese with his pearl, the Parisian lace-maker, the vine-raiser on the Apennines, the Chinese silk and tea growers, the ivory hunters on the Niger, and the growers of roses in Bulgaria, all serve to illustrate the fact that luxury and ostentation are the means whereby society's Unconscious Will determines that the surplus consumable wealth of the overrich shall serve to carry relief to the more distant and more straightened of the world's workers as unerringly as their surplus of reproductive wealth gives employment and sustenance to those nearer home.

Those who are determined to see no natural or healthy laws in economic distribution will not be helped by these illustrations. There is probably some good economic reason why, in the existing order of things, they should see only discord. For, to denounce the existing order with skill and effect, they must study it at least a little; and this study, however slight, helps to cure the disposition to denounce.

WAS WASHINGTON A CHRISTIAN?

A Reply to the "Congregationalist."

Some weeks ago, in a paragraph printed in the editorial department of *The Index*, we asked, "What proof is there that Washington believed in Christ as a superhuman being?" and made a few quotations, two of them from clergymen, to the effect that he was probably what was called a Deist, and added, "Washington died without having around him any clergyman, without praying, without a word about Christ, without any allusion to the Bible, or any expression implying that he was either cheered by the promises or disturbed by the threats of Christianity."

Last week, the leading editorial of the *Congregationalist*, more than three columns in length, was directed against this paragraph, which we had forgotten, and which we had never supposed the editor of the *Congregationalist* so much as conde-

scended to read. It seems to have disturbed him greatly; and he says that, although, "had this appeared in some journals, it would not be worth serious notice," since it appeared in *The Index*, to leave it unconsidered would be "by silence to appear to assent to the theory that that overturn of so many idols—'the latest criticism'—has unearthed evidence unknown to the past, competent to reverse its judgment as to the character of patriots whose title to our veneration has been supposed to be unassailable."

The *Congregationalist* says, "Fortunately, few public men resembling him in reticence have left behind them the materials for so close an inquiry, as to such a matter, as are afforded by the journals, letters, public documents, and history of Washington"; yet the editor, evidently, after weeks of searching, is not able to cite one paper or letter written by Washington showing that he "believed in Christ as a superhuman being," unless it be, which we do not admit, his circular letter to the governors of the States,—which we were careful to mention in the paragraph to which the *Congregationalist* takes exception,—nor do the testimonies quoted establish the claim that he was a believer in Orthodox Christianity, or that he was not a Deist. That he listened, when a boy, "at his mother's knee to her readings of the Evangelical Contemplations of Sir Matthew Hale," and preserved "this identical volume" with "filial care"; that at the age of twenty-two, in the absence of the chaplain, he conducted public prayer; that he read the burial service when Braddock was buried; that he ordered "profane swearing" to be punished, although sometimes he himself swore terribly; that he was a vestryman in two Episcopal churches, helped with his money to build a church, observed the fast day appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1774; that, when Congress was opened with prayer on the 7th of September, 1774, he knelt "upon the floor of the hall"; that he pressed the matter of having chaplains "of good character and exemplary lives"; that he was opposed to "impiety and folly"; that he had "faith in God and his friendship for the cause of American patriots," and supplicated "that his Providential care might be still extended to the United States"; that he averred in his farewell address "that 'religion and morality are indispensable supports' of political prosperity, and that 'reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle'"; that he attended church during his presidency,—all these statements may be readily admitted, but they do not prove that Washington believed in Christ as a superhuman being, or that he was an orthodox Christian, or, indeed, that he was not a Deist.

The *Congregationalist* admits that, during the Revolution "and the period that long supervened," Washington did not take the eucharist. It thinks he "felt himself unfitted, and so refrained." It might have added that the rector of the church of Alexandria, in 1831, hunting for evidence that Washington was a professing Christian, and after inquiring in "every branch of his family" and of all who knew him and attended church with him, was obliged to make the admission, "I find no one who ever communed with him."

In explanation of our statement that no clergyman was present in the last hours of Washington's life, the *Congregationalist* mentions the shortness and severity of the illness and the fact that "the nearest clergyman was from seven to ten miles distant." The fact is, Washington believed, when attacked, that the disease would result fatally; and there was ample time to bring clergymen to his bedside, had he wanted them. Robert Dale Owen

wrote, fifty years ago, "It is well known that the patriot on his death-bed sought none of the consolations of religion; and it has been confidently stated to me (but, as I have not positive authority at hand to substantiate this, I state it hypothetically) that he actually refused spiritual aid, when it was proposed to send for a clergyman." According to the notes of Mr. Tobias Lear, his faithful private secretary, an eye-witness, taken down the day after Washington's death, his dying words were: "Doctor, I die hard; but I am not afraid to go. I believed from my first attack I should not survive it." According to Lear's testimony, not a word was said about religion. The *Congregationalist* admits that, in the notes committed to paper by Mr. Lear "as to the events of that eventful day, and which furnish the main staple of what is known in regard to them, it is true nothing is said about prayer, the Bible, or Christianity. It is simply said that the dying man said, 'I am not afraid to go.'" But the *Congregationalist* explains: Washington was a "silent man"; the effect of the disease upon the throat was severe; and "Mr. Lear is known to have had small sympathy with the religious views of his illustrious chief, and possibly remained ignorant of some facts which took place, or failed to make mention of them." Then follows what a clergyman, who was not present, said, and, although improbable and almost absurd, in no way affects our statement that Washington died without any reference to Christ or indication that he believed in Christianity. The manner in which he died is a strong indication that he was not a Christian, but a Deist.

But the *Congregationalist* points to his conformity to the religious observances of his day as proof that, if he were not an orthodox Christian, he was a dissembler. Doubtless there was much in the Christian worship in which he could honestly join; and he did not attach so much importance to theological doctrines and differences as does our very orthodox critic. "Nor let us," says a writer, "slander the memories of departed patriots by complaining that their creeds were breathed in the ear of private friendship alone, and not to a public that has yet to learn respect for honesty, and which may then justly challenge evasion and concealment, when it has frowned into impotence the tyranny which sits in judgment on conscience, and arraigns for the crime of sincerity."

Whether the expressions in Washington's circular to the governors of States, designed for the perusal of a Christian people, prove that Washington was not a Deist, let those judge who are acquainted with his intellectual character and with the methods of public men, especially cautious and conservative public men of all countries, who, withholding public expression of their own religious views, so far as it might lessen the weight of their words or impair popular confidence in the wisdom of their recommendations, accommodate their language to the religious condition of the masses. Not simply statesmen and rulers absorbed with affairs of State, but pious and devout divines whose business is to teach theology and ethics, subscribe to creeds at Andover and elsewhere which they can believe only by an interpretation of the language never designed by those who wrote the creeds. If Washington, in times less enlightened than these and less tolerant of heresy, did not publicly and unreservedly avow his religious beliefs, still his reputation is in no danger. He regarded himself a Christian, doubtless, according to his own interpretation of Christianity, as did Jefferson, Franklin, and other great characters of the Revolution who were Deists, as did Elias Hicks and Theodore Parker, as do eminent statesmen, authors, and ministers to-day, who have no belief in the super-

human character of Christ nor in the supernatural origin of the Bible, and who, the *Congregationalist* will admit, cannot fairly be called Christians.

In regard to Washington's religious views, Thomas Jefferson wrote:—

"Dr. Rush told me that he had it from Asa Greene that, when the clergy addressed Gen. Washington on his departure from the government, it was observed in their consultation that he had never, on any occasion, said a word to the public which showed a belief in the Christian religion, and they thought they should so pen their address as to force him at length to declare publicly whether he was a Christian or not. They did so. However, he observed, the old fox was too cunning for them. He answered every article of their address particularly except that, which he passed over without notice. Rush observes he never did say a word on the subject in any of his public papers, except in his valedictory letter to the governors of the States, when he resigned his commission in the army, wherein he speaks of the 'benign influence of the Christian religion.'"

"I know that Gouverneur Morris, who pretended to be in his secrets, and believed himself to be so, has often told me that Gen. Washington believed no more in that system than he himself did."—*Jefferson's Journal of February, 1800, Jefferson's Works*, vol. iv., p. 512.

Gouverneur Morris was in the Continental Congress of 1777–80, was one of the committee that drafted the Federal Constitution, was minister to France, was a lawyer and an author, and in politics a Federalist.

In the *Albany Daily Advertiser* of Oct. 29, 1831, was published a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Wilson of that city, in which he said Washington was not a "professor of religion," adding:—

"When the Congress sat in Philadelphia, President Washington attended the Episcopal church. The rector, Dr. Abercrombie, has told me that, on the days when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered, Washington's custom was to rise, just before the ceremony commenced, and to walk out of the church. This became a subject of remark in the congregation, as setting a bad example. At length, the Doctor undertook to speak of it, with a direct allusion to the President. Washington was heard afterward to remark that this was the first time a clergyman had thus preached to him, and that he would henceforth neither trouble the Doctor nor his congregation on such occasions. And ever after that, upon communion days, he absented himself from the church."

The following reference to the sermon is from the pen of Robert Dale Owen, and is copied from appendix to the *Discussion between Bachelor and Owen* (p. 367):—

"As this important paragraph, being only from a newspaper report, could hardly be considered authentic, I myself called, accompanied by a gentleman of this city, on Dr. Wilson this afternoon. After giving my name and stating the object of my visit, I read to the Doctor, at his request, the above paragraph. When I had completed, he said, 'I indorse every word of that.' He further added: 'As I conceive that truth is truth, whether it make for or against us, I will not conceal from you any information on this subject, even such as I have not yet given to the public. At the close of our conversation on the subject, Dr. Abercrombie's emphatic expression was, for I well remember the words, "SIR, WASHINGTON WAS A DEIST!"' Now,' continued Dr. Wilson, 'I have diligently perused every line that Washington ever gave to the public; and I do not find one expression in which he pledges himself as a professor of Christianity. I think any man who will candidly do as I have done will come to the conclusion that he was a Deist, and nothing more. I do not take upon myself to say positively that he was, but that is my opinion.'

"Dr. Abercrombie, the associate of Bishop White," continues Mr. Owen, "in the pastoral charge of Christ's Church in Philadelphia, is now alive to corroborate the statement of his brother clergyman."

"In proof of his Orthodoxy," says Owen, "we have merely the vague opinions of certain individuals, the fact that he rented a pew, looked out a location for a church, and secretly prayed. I need not surely re-

peat that this is no proof at all of anything more than Deism; and that the lack of further evidence, so assiduously sought after, is, of itself, presumptive of Washington's heterodoxy, especially when added to the undenied and undeniable fact adduced by Jefferson,—that Washington, in replying to the clergy's address, evaded expressing any belief in Christianity, and that he never did say a word on the subject in any of his public papers except his valedictory letter to the governors of States, where he speaks of the 'benign influence of the Christian religion.'

"No clergyman around his death-bed, no protestations that in the dying hour religion afforded him aid, no praying, no repeating texts, no asking for a Bible to read a chapter; not a syllable about the redeeming blood of Christ or the saving efficacy of divine grace, or any of the rest of it; not even a straw for the orthodox to catch at and work up in a tract form as 'The Dying Testimony of that Distinguished Christian, George Washington.' True, the Father of his Country died the death of a patriot: he died as he had lived, in dignity and peace; but he left behind him not one word to warrant the belief that he was other than a sincere theist. . . . Elias Hicks, too, spoke of the 'Divine author of our blessed religion'; he, too, prayed and read from the Bible; he, too, spoke of 'the pure and benign light of revelation'; he, too, regularly attended public worship; and he, too, was a man whose integrity was proverbial. What shadow of a reason have we for believing that the religion of the hero of Mount Vernon was more orthodox than that of the philosopher of Long Island?"

As to the value of these testimonies, our readers can judge for themselves. They are sufficient to show that there were strong doubts as to Washington's orthodoxy—which the *Congregationalist* thinks beyond question—long before the paragraph which has disturbed our esteemed contemporary was written; that in his own day he was regarded by eminent men, even by a clergyman who was personally acquainted with him and was rector of the church he attended, as a Deist. Whether Washington was a Christian or a Deist, or, if a Christian, whether he was orthodox or heterodox, is a question to which we attach no great importance, and have given this amount of space to the subject only because the *Congregationalist* assumes that Washington's orthodoxy is established beyond controversy, and that our quoted suggestions that Washington was a Deist should be regarded as defamation of the noble dead.

B. F. UNDERWOOD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHY I BECAME A MORMON, AND WHY I APOSTATIZED.

Editors of The Index:—

I was born in Canada West, county of Leeds, March 6, 1809, of poor but respectable parents, who were able to give their children but the slight education attained by a few months' attendance at the public school. Books for instruction consisted of the Bible, Webster's spelling-book, the English Preceptor, a geography, and an arithmetic. There was but one newspaper in the county, and that not well patronized. My parents were strictly orthodox in their religion, belonging to the Methodist Church. In consequence, I was taught all the materiality of God and the devil, the endless joy of heaven and the eternal misery of hell.

This church I joined at the age of twenty-two years, and was a most conscientious member and advocate of their principles; attended the local and circuit preaching, and upheld the church with money and prayers. But I was puzzled to see some of my less zealous brothers repeatedly become drunk and beat their families, then come to church and pray for and get (?) forgiveness, and evince such ecstatic joy and peace of mind unattainable by myself, ever making the best endeavor to attain Christian perfection. I thought of the passage in the Bible where God says each one shall be rewarded according to his merits, and asked the minister for an explanation. He answered by referring to the parable of the prodigal

son, and the words of Jesus concerning "the one sinner that repenteth." But I was not satisfied. There was evident injustice in the cases at hand.

While in this state of mind there came a man into our neighborhood named Blakesly, calling himself a Mormon, or one of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, a disciple of Joseph Smith. He claimed that Smith was a prophet of God, ordained by the hands of holy angels to bring in a new dispensation of the fulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, with all the gifts pertaining as described in the New Testament, where the Holy Ghost was given by the imposition of hands. He declared that the gifts of healing the sick, speaking in tongues, interpreting, prophesying, etc., which had been lost for centuries, were restored. At first, I doubted his ability to sustain these claims. But soon sufficient converts were made and baptized to organize a church; and when I had seen good old men whom I had known from childhood, whose veracity could not be doubted, arise and speak in unknown tongues, another immediately arise and interpret, interpret songs and sing them in the same tune as the first, and saw the sick healed, like many others I thought God had revealed himself through his servants as in the days of the apostles, and became converted.

And why should I not, being already a firm believer in the Bible? For had not Jesus said unto his disciples, "And greater things than these shall ye do, for I go to the Father"? And, after his death and resurrection, he appeared to them, upbraiding for their unbelief, saying: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned; and these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name, they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and, if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them, they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover. And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following." Elsewhere we find (Cor. xii.), "For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another faith, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another the discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another interpretation of tongues."

Here we found them fulfilling the words of Christ and the apostles, those signs following which had been said should follow the believer, all working in harmony with and exemplification of Bible teaching. How could these poor blinded Bible worshippers deny it was the true gospel and the church to uphold?

The Book of Mormon is mistakenly supposed by many to do away with the Bible. Instead, it is simply an extra addition to it, in full doctrinal harmony, teaching faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, baptism for remission of sins, and the giving of the gifts of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands by the authority of the priesthood, and giving the history of the ten lost tribes of Israel, said to be the aborigines of this continent. It is claimed to be a revelation from God written on plates by these aborigines, hid up, to come forth by his will to restore them, Joseph Smith being God's chosen instrument of discovery, revelation, and prophecy.

One of the prime teachings of Mormonism, for which it has Biblical authority, is the gathering together of the saints from the four quarters of the globe against the coming of the Saviour. Joseph Smith, being the prophet to guide the affairs of the dispensation, appointed Kirtland, Ohio, as one of the points of gathering, another in Jackson County, Missouri. In this latter place, some of the teachings and practices so incensed the people that they drove them out across the Missouri River into counties of Clay and Caldwell. And soon they were driven from the State by force of arms by authority of the governor, the alleged reason for so doing being that they were stealing the property of their neighbors and causing insurrections among the Indians. They then settled at Nauvoo, Ill. About this time, I emigrated from the East through Kirtland to Nauvoo.

But, previous to this, doubts had begun to arise in my mind regarding "the gifts," from the fact that many of the prophecies and warnings had proven false and unwarranted; and I had become satisfied that they were not inspired of God, but perhaps from evil or ignorant spirits. And now my doubts were

strengthened by the reports of the unsuccessful attempts to settle in Missouri. It was not in harmony with the perfect knowledge of God that he should have inspired that appointment. I now felt anxious to investigate the whole affair. And, for the purpose of learning as nearly the truth as possible regarding the finding of the plates and the translation of the Book of Mormon, I stopped at Kirtland and interviewed Martin Harris, he being one of the witnesses of the Book. I asked him if he saw the plates. He said, "Yes." Then, "Did you see with the natural eye?" He answered, "No: an angel of God appeared and showed them to me." I had read in a pamphlet that Harris claimed he had seen Christ and the devil. I now asked if this was a fact, and he said it was, —that Jesus was the handsomest man he ever saw, and the devil looked like a jackass. "Yes," interrupted his wife, "and you were fool enough to get out your hounds, and follow it for half a day."

At this time, Harris was trying to establish a claim to the leadership of the Church. He was but an ordinary-looking and ignorant farmer, whose every appearance warranted him a good dupe and fit subject for assisting Joseph in his plans. It was his money procured by selling his farm that paid for the printing of the first edition of the Book of Mormon.

I also called upon Oliver Cowdery, another of the witnesses. He was then an apostate, and advised me to go no further, and referred me to another man regarding the proceedings at far west Missouri. From that honest old man, I received an account that, together with the bad appearance of the society I found at Nauvoo, greatly increased my scepticism.

Still, I was not satisfied of entire fraud, as none had disclaimed the purity of Smith in the beginning, nor the inspiration and truth of the Book of Mormon.

After my arrival at Nauvoo, I investigated the reports of the practice of polygamy and consecration, and learned satisfactorily that Smith and other leading men did practise polygamy, it being later publicly taught; and that there was a society of "Danites" organized for carrying on theft,—or consecration, they termed it,—their work not being publicly proclaimed. These things were extremely obnoxious to me; and I openly declared them to be in violation of the laws of right, and therefore not prompted of God.

Being conversant with the book of *Doctrine and Covenants*, a book written by Joseph, I relied upon the declaration therein found, where God said of Joseph, if he sinned, "He shall be taken away, and he shall not have power, but to appoint another in his place." I believed Joseph had sinned in these things, and therefore looked for him "to be taken away." When he was killed, my belief being thus verified, I looked for the further fulfilment of the prophecy in the appointment of a successor; for it was one of the prime teachings of the Church that it could not live without a head. Sidney Rigdon claimed to be the rightful successor by virtue of his high office, he being one of the prophet's two councillors,—Hiram Smith, the other councillor, having been killed with his brother. By virtue of their office as "president," the "twelve apostles" claimed the leadership. All documents drawn up by them were signed "The Twelve Apostles, Pres."

There was still another claim made by James J. Strang, based upon the proper ground of appointment. Had he asserted his claim immediately, personally, and with the self-assurance and vigor which carries convictions, and which later characterized him, he would doubtless have won the allegiance of a large majority.

He was but slightly known, having been but a short time a member of the Church, and was not at Nauvoo at the time of Smith's death; and the other aspirants, of course, disputed his claim, and declared the letter of appointment from Joseph, which he showed, to be a forgery. A few were convinced of the genuineness of the letter and his right of succession, and became his followers. Others there were who did not deny the letter being from Joseph, but claimed it was not written in expectation of his own death, but was simply the appointment of Strang as the head of a new "stake," or "colony," to be "planted" at Voree.

His church grew to considerable strength on Beaver Island, where later they located; and there, in the year 1856, they disbanded at the time of the assassination of Strang, who made no appointment of a successor, but advised them each to take care of himself.

Rigdon retained a small following, which were soon scattered. The majority of the people supported Brigham Young, making him their leader by a vote, and basing the selection on the fact of his being the chief of the "twelve apostles."

The non-fulfilment of the prophecy regarding the appointment shattered my remaining faith in the religion. It failed at what had become for me the testing point, and must be false I now decided; and this decision necessarily included the Bible in my renunciation, for I had found them through all to be much alike and harmonious. Thus, my eyes were opened to make clear, unprejudiced investigation of it (the Bible), which has been followed by the perfect conviction of its being but accumulated works of many men, and not of God. In the workings of "the gifts" there is now evidently nothing unusual or miraculous. Speaking in tongues and interpreting is easily explained by believers in modern Spiritualism, and for disbelievers yet to be explained by science. Healing by laying on hands is but the combined effect of faith and animal magnetism.

I will add, regarding the Mormons, that they give allegiance to no people or government except their own. They believe themselves God's chosen people, and that eventually all others will be destroyed. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believes and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned," is essentially their motto; and, had they power, they would destroy all disbelievers, impatient of leaving that work to the Lord.

Yet we can scarcely believe them more blood-thirsty than other Christian sects, when we think of the past persecutions of Protestants and Catholics, or even of present utterances reported from these pulpits regarding the extermination of the Mormons, and of the treatment they have received at the hands of many.

Of the Church of Joseph Smith, Jr., of which he is president, and not prophet, I understand there are none of the disgraceful features of the old, and it differs but slightly from other Protestant sects. They are loyal to the government, do not teach consecration, gathering, polygamy, or present prophecy.

B. G. WRIGHT.

"A DARK SEANCE."

Editors of The Index:—

Permit me to thank Mr. Underwood for the "kindly spirit" of his remarks concerning Mrs. Lord and myself, and for the fair attitude of *The Index* toward Spiritualism, as thus indicated.

The author of "A Dark Seance" did not realize, probably, that in saying that Mrs. Lord touched him with her own hands, and handled the guitar herself till he held it securely between his legs after "it fell from the medium's hands," he was virtually accusing her of lying and forgery. Yet this is plainly so, since her assertion has been for years that whatever hands are felt in the circle are materialized spirit hands always, and never her own; and whatever movement of guitar or music-box, or rings or handkerchiefs, around the circle is a movement made by spirits always, and never by herself.

And, if Mr. Annet had observed carefully and without prejudice, he could not fail to have heard from the other side of the room acknowledgments that the hands were busy there, while yet Mrs. Lord's face was toward himself and her lips in full speech all the time. And, also, that, when her face was turned wholly away from him, certain hands, larger and smaller by turns, were busy with him and his immediate neighbors. But the trouble with Mr. Annet seems to be that he looked upon almost all the members of the circle besides himself as people without sense, "who paid their money to be humbugged and got all they paid for," so that their testimony counts for nothing with him. Not only this, but he proceeds to describe his companions, some of whom were guests of Mrs. Lord, like himself, and had paid no money at all, thus: "a poor, gray-haired sufferer," "a poor, weak, broken-hearted dupe," "almost all the rest were of the earth, earthy," "when the light was turned up, I noticed that he had a most peculiar head, with the smallest amount of forehead I ever saw so large a man have."

Moreover, Mr. Annet declares in the beginning that Mrs. Lord was introduced by Mrs. Hooker ("whose name seemed a guarantee of good faith") with many good words of commendation, which words "are in-

dorsed by almost all Spiritualists in this city, and are heartily echoed by the Spiritualistic press throughout the country." From which it appears that not only were the audience of that particular evening of the earth, earthy, poor, weak, broken-hearted dupes, or people glad to be humbugged, but almost all the Spiritualists of Boston and the contributors to the Spiritualistic press throughout the country must at one time or another have been in danger of being thus characterized, if Mr. Annet had chanced to be present at the time they were pursuing their investigations.

Had Mr. Annet called on Mrs. Lord as a gentleman sincerely desirous of knowing the truth in these weighty yet mysterious matters, and calmly stated his difficulties, even his suspicions, she would have been able to convince him at least that she was a lady, and that there was no possibility of her being able to practise such deceptions week after week and year after year in the city of Boston, and yet maintain the reputation he himself had accorded her.

For myself, I have been boarding in the same house with Mrs. Lord for several months, and have repeatedly attended her "circles," so that I knew whereof I spake, as surely might have been expected from one whose name seemed, even to Mr. Annet, a guarantee of good faith. How should he dare, then, to shake off the dust of his feet at this door, declaring Spiritualism a stupendous swindle, and wondering if that "gray-haired, strong-faced woman," "Isabella Beecher Hooker, knew what sort of a woman she had commended to the kindly consideration of a Boston audience?"

And is it not time, dear sir, that public mediums and their friends were uniformly treated with ordinary courtesy, and the phenomena of Spiritualism patiently investigated, after the manner of Wallace and Crookes and all lovers of the truth?

I am very respectfully yours,

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

Boston, May 12, 1885.

BOOK NOTICES.

SELECTED POEMS FROM MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI. With translations from various sources. Edited by Ednah D. Cheney. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1885.

Michelangelo is so famous as a painter and sculptor that few persons think of him as also a poet. Yet a poet he was of a high order. He was a man who was great in all directions. Mrs. Cheney has done a good service in bringing together these selections from his poems,—chiefly sonnets and madrigals,—which will be greatly welcomed by all lovers of poetry and by all admirers of Michelangelo's genius. The Italian text and the English translation are given side by side. Mrs. Cheney herself contributes a large number of the translations. The poet's thought is as subtle and delicate as it is vigorous, and translation is not always easy. The difficulties are acknowledged, but they seem to have been well surmounted. Here is the rendering (Mrs. Cheney's) of a sonnet to Dante, which discloses Michelangelo's religious attitude, as well as his poetic talent and his boldness of speech:—

"What should be said of him, I may not speak;
His splendor overwhelms my blinded sight.
To censure those who wronged him is my right,
Since for his least worth my language is too weak.
He bended low where God does punish sin,
To teach us; then to God did he ascend.
'Gainst him the gates of heaven would not
defend;

Yet his false country would not welcome him.
Ungrateful country! of thy children's fate,
Nurse to thine harm, bear witness this,—
To thy most perfect comes thy greatest shame.
So, from a thousand proofs, this one I state,—
No equal exile hath there been to his:
No greater man than he on earth e'er came."

W. J. F.

PELVIC AND HERNIAL THERAPEUTICS. Principles and Methods for Remedying Chronic Affections of the Lower Part of the Trunk, including Processes for Self-cure. By George H. Taylor, M.D. New York: John B. Alden. 1885. pp. 282. Price 75 cts.

The author of this work is a physician who has had an extensive practice for a quarter of a century, and what he has presented in regard to the principal diseases to which the pelvic and abdominal portions of the human body are subject is evidently the result of the original observation and experience of a vigorous

and independent mind. His theory, briefly and imperfectly stated, is that the class of disorders which he describes originate in a weakened condition of the muscular and other tissues which uphold the interior contents of the lower part of the trunk, and keep the organs in their proper places, and in adjustment to one another. The displacement of these organs, affecting the natural ratios of their activities, breaks the rhythmic waves which are ever passing through the body when in health, and the integrity of which, when destroyed, should be restored, if possible, by exercises such as will strengthen the parts that are relaxed and incapable of performing their functions. Dr. Taylor has arranged a system of gymnastics designed to reduce the abdominal pressure sufficiently to enable the organs to recover their normal position and perform their functions regularly. Many of the exercises can be used by the sufferer without assistance. The doctor relates numerous instances of cure by his method, as to the merits of which we are not competent to judge. B. F. U.

THE story of "The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," continued in the May *Atlantic*, will be read by many with unusual interest in the light of the discovery that Charles Egbert Craddock is Miss Mary N. Murfree. The two chapters contained in this readable number are among the best pieces of writing yet given us by this author. Mrs. Oliphant's serial is continued, as is "A Marsh Island." Dr. Holmes turns over some new leaves in his delightful "New Portfolio," and the genial articles on "Madame Mohl and her Salon" are completed all too soon. Important short papers of this issue are John S. Dwight's article on "Bach: 1685-1885"; Richard A. Proctor's essay on "The Misused H of England"; "Children in Early Christianity," by Horace E. Scudder; and a "Bird-lover's April,"—a pleasant talk on bird-life, by Bradford Torrey. A brilliant critique of Cross's Life of George Eliot is contributed by Henry James; and a notice of the *Literary Remains of Henry James, Jr.*, of Woodberry's Poe, and of Phillips' *Popular Manual of English Literature*, complete the book reviews. There is some excellent poetry, and the usual Contributors' Club and Books of the Month close the number.

THE *North American Review* for June, which concludes the seventieth year of the magazine whose circulation now is larger than ever before, has contributions on seven topics of great interest from twice that number of writers, not including the short contributions in "Comments." "Shall Silver be Demonetized?" is answered, *pro* and *con*, by three distinguished economists, Sumner, Laughlin, and Walker, representing Yale and Harvard Colleges and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "The Tardiness of Justice" is discussed by Judge W. L. Learned, and "Prohibition in Politics" by Gail Hamilton; "The Swearing Habit," by E. P. Whipple; and "French Spoliation Claims," by Edward Everett. The policy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy toward our public schools is assailed in an essay by Mr. M. C. O'Byrne, of North Carolina, and defended by Bishop Keane, of Virginia. It is a most interesting double presentation of an impending issue. "How shall Women Dress?" is answered by Charles Dudley Warner, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Dr. W. A. Hammond, Dr. Kate J. Jackson, and Mrs. E. M. King, the English leader of the dress reform movement.

A HYMN.

For *The Index*.

BY FRED. MAY HOLLAND.

TUNE: *Antioch*.

Our life is full of love and light,
Because our aims are high.
In Freedom's service we unite:
Her reign supreme is nigh.

Thy growth, O Science, gives us joy!
Thy victory is ours!
March on, and all thy foes destroy!
We bless thy mighty powers.

No holy sacrament we ken,
Save that of doing good:
Our faith is in our fellow-men,
Our creed is brotherhood.

We love this world of life and light;
We drink its gladness in:
The morning drives away the night,
And golden days begin!

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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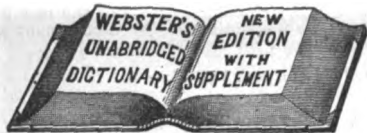
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

POLICE-SERGEANT CROWLEY, of New York City, convicted of an outrage upon a young woman in a liquor saloon, cursed the newspaper reporters, as he stepped into the criminals' van. His remark led the New York *Tribune* to say: "This was a deserved tribute to the reporters. More than judges, prosecuting officers, detectives, or the entire machinery of justice, the reporters in a great city protect society from the assaults of criminals, and deal out punishment to those who defy the law."

A WORKINGMAN writes from Boston to the New York *Sun*: "I formerly lived in New York, where I endeavored to find exhibitions of paintings opened to the public free on Sundays, as I had no time on week days, and I wished to perfect myself in the study of drawing. I came to Boston to work. I visit the great Art Museum here every Sunday. I have been able to add to my salary by knowledge gained at the Public Library, which is open to the poorest person here. When is New York going to follow Boston's example?"

THE revision of the Old Testament, which originated with the Convocation of Canterbury, and was undertaken fourteen years ago, with a view to make it a substitute for King James' version, is now completed, and in the hands of the public. The discussion of its merits by the secular and religious papers of the English-speaking world, now begun, will continue probably for weeks and months. It is without doubt a great improvement upon "the good old version of King James," which abounds in acknowledged errors of translation; and, even if prejudice and conservatism shall prevent its general acceptance as the standard version, it is sure to be used as a commentary alongside of the old version in the pulpit and by scholars and readers generally.

IN Mauritius, formerly known as the Isle of France, and now a British colony, the worship of Siva is said to have recently been celebrated thus: An immense pile of wood burned for twenty-four hours before the pagoda of the evil god, until a bed of glowing coals was formed, measuring about thirteen feet by twenty, and some ten inches thick. Across this carpet of fire marched young Brahmins barefoot, bearing on their heads the baskets of flowers which they had volunteered to offer to Siva. Some moved quickly, and others slowly; but all kept quiet. There was not a single fall, which would have resulted in instant death. Only when they had passed over and plunged their feet into water did they break out into piteous moans. Those who did not die soon after were maimed for life. These tortures were calmly contemplated by vast multitudes of rapt devotees. Thus, at least, runs an account which may, for the credit of the British government, be hoped to contain some exaggeration.

THE passage of the bill exempting soldiers from the provisions of the civil service bill by the Massachusetts Senate, last Thursday, was a victory for spoils-seekers, office-brokers, and the enemies of civil service reform generally. As one of the soldiers of the war of the Rebellion, we protest against this demagogical attempt to paralyze, in the pretended interests of veteran soldiers, the newly initiated civil service system. The men who have been working this movement are not soldiers, nor men who would spring to the defence of their country should danger threaten it, but small politicians. The bill contains no guarantee that the deserving soldier shall be appointed in preference to an undeserving one. As one of the senators pointed out, an office-holder, if he wishes, will be able, under that bill, if it becomes a law, to pass over a dozen poor and honorable veterans, and give the place to one without any other qualification than his readiness to do dirty political work for his unscrupulous chief. The law already provides that, other qualifications being equal, those honorably discharged from the army and navy in time of war shall have the preference. Sixteen Republicans voted, be it said to their credit, against the bill: fifteen Republicans and four Democrats voted for it. If it passes the House, Governor Robinson ought to veto it; for it is a mere bid for votes and an insult to the veterans of Massachusetts.

AT the monthly meeting of the Liberal Union Club, of this city, last Saturday evening, Mr. Frank P. Crandon, in an address on "The Misgovernment of Great Cities," said, as reported in one of the daily papers, that he would confine the business of municipalities to the tax-payers. In cities like Boston, where there are two legislative bodies, he would have the legislature of the State make one of them elective by popular vote, and the other by the vote of the tax-payers only. "Then, by and by, when you shall have come to the conclusion that only one legislative body is needful, you might decide to retain the one elected by the tax-payers, and abolish the other!" Or,

as to any one who is not now a voter, it might be determined that he should not hereafter be entitled to the municipal franchise, unless he be a tax-payer. Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, in some sensible remarks in reply, asked how men could be prevented from voting for city officers, and leave all other officers under their control. It ought not to be done, he said, and could not be done save by military force. If they limited suffrage in the cities, they would carry out the same principle, and limit it for the State government, and then in the country. He was in favor of universal suffrage. The Boston *Herald* remarks, in reference to Mr. Crandon's theory, "As no good cause can be served by cherishing illusions, it may be just as well to say now as at any other time that ordinary political development does not move in this manner; and hence the change suggested could only come at the end of what might prove a bloody revolution."

Less than three months have elapsed since Victor Hugo—patriot, poet, dramatist, novelist, statesman, and philanthropist—received, on the occasion of his eighty-third birthday, one of the greatest ovations vouchsafed to any genius at this stage of the world's progress. On Friday, May 22, he died. If, as a romance writer, he had planned for any of his heroes a death-bed surrounded and followed by such dramatic evidences of national affection, such tokens of heartfelt love, such world-wide interest in the individual as was manifested at his own demise, the story would have been discarded as overdrawn. It speaks well for the humanity of to-day, and its appreciation of a sincere devotion to principle, that it is capable of such a universal and spontaneous manifestation of admiration and sympathetic appreciation of such a manly man as, in spite of his little foibles and eccentricities, Victor Hugo assuredly was. His was a stirring, active, romantic, yet rounded and complete life. If he had had the management himself of the drama of his life, the curtain could not have rung down on the final act with more dramatic effect than circumstances managed for him. The street in front of the dying poet's house was thronged for many hours before his death with crowds of grief-stricken admirers and friends. A register of the names of those who called to inquire for him was placed outside the house, and people waited in line for hours to inscribe their signatures therein. A table, placed in the street for that purpose, was heaped with the cards of would-be visitors. Although the clerical papers denounce M. Lockroy, a relative, as being the instigator of his action, it was yet quite characteristic of Hugo that, when the Archbishop of Paris sent to offer to visit him and administer spiritual aid in his last moments, he should send reply, as reported, that "Victor Hugo is expecting death; but he does not desire the services of a priest." Flowers in profusion were sent, after his death, to the house. The Academy will send, as a deputation to the funeral, the last four members elected to the "Forty Immortals." M. Maxime de Camp is to deliver the oration.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE?

As the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association approaches, a special interest appears to be awakening in its proceedings. It is to be hoped that the interest will show itself in an increased attendance, and especially at the business meeting on Thursday evening. It has been too much the habit to give that meeting up to the mere formalities of hearing the annual reports and electing officers, with such desultory discussion as might arise on these matters; and not many persons have thought it important to attend. But the meeting might be made a valuable one. That is the proper time for considering the practical work of the Association, in respect both to what it has done and what it might do, and for comparing views as regards the possibilities of increasing its usefulness. The report of the Executive Committee for the year appropriately brings up all such questions. If any member has any criticism to make on past shortcomings, that is the time for it. If any one has any plan or thought concerning an enlargement of the scope of the Association's activities, let it by all means be there introduced. That is the time and place for a full and free discussion of everything pertaining to the interests of the Association. And it is much to be desired that such a discussion might be had at the forthcoming meeting. If there be any apprehensions as to the future of the Association, any misgivings concerning the present limitations of its work, any conviction that a change of methods or even of the Constitution might lead to a revival of interest and an increase of efficiency, let them be freely uttered and canvassed in open debate.

Two or three times within the eighteen years since the Free Religious Association was organized, the question has been raised among its members whether the time had not come for some new departure, or for the adoption of some more active mode of operations; and several attempts have been made in that direction, which have, however, for some reason, not brought the results anticipated. Perhaps a more favorable time for such new activity—perhaps, indeed, a greater need of it, in order to preserve the vitality of the Association itself—has now arrived. The Association has shown itself able to stand a large amount of criticism, internal as well as external, and need not fear the frankest expression of opinion. It is not to be assumed that any one of its members is more wedded to the existence of the Association itself than to the principles it was designed to stand for. The present writer, at least, though he helped the Association into existence, and has been one of its officers ever since, has no such tenacious adhesion to it but that he would willingly see it dissolved, were he to be convinced that it is only a cumberer of the ground, and really standing in the way of some other organization that could better do the work needed at this hour. The *principles* are what we care for, not for the organization *as such*.

But the constitution of the Free Religious Association is very elastic. Its articles bear no resemblance to the laws of the Medes and Persians. They may be altered. Possibly, they were so shaped by existing conditions at the time of their origin, and such modes of activity were then imparted by the same cause, that a considerable change may now be demanded in the interest of the very principles and movement which the organization was meant to serve. Let this whole matter be candidly considered. No more valuable meeting, in our opinion, could be held than one in which each member should state freely what the Association means to him (or her), what he

thinks it ought to do, and how set about doing it. Cannot the business meeting this week serve, at least to some extent, the purpose of such a conference? Again and again has the elasticity of the Association to the free, progressive spirit of the times been declared in the annual reports of the Executive Committee, as in the report as early as 1871 as follows: "We have come to that epoch when there appear very marked signs of progressive movement in several of the world's great religions on converging lines toward a common centre of faith and fellowship. It is this grand movement of the religious consciousness to which the Free Religious Association (in this feature of its work of which we now speak) would strive in some way to give voice. The Association does not expect to shape the movement: it does not profess to organize it. It rather is shaped and organized by the movement. It simply desires in some way to represent the movement, to give it utterance, to remove artificial barriers, dogmatic and ecclesiastic, in order that it may have a freer opportunity and a more natural progress."

Thus free to the spirit of change has the Free Religious Association always held its own plan of organization and its methods of activity. And how wide was the early conception of the scope of its work may also be indicated by a lengthy extract from the report of the Executive Committee for 1870, which may be reprinted here as worthy of consideration at the present time. Referring to the plan of that year's meeting, the Committee said:—

"They wish to show how vastly more comprehensive is the aim of the Association than merely to bring together into mechanical juxtaposition for a single day of the year representatives of different sects and non-sects in or out of Christendom. They wish to show that it seeks to reveal and develop those fundamental sympathies of the human mind with Truth, Justice, and Virtue, which, lying within and below all specific forms of religious belief, are the germs of all intellectual and moral progress, and in the free development of which the limits of specific religions and sects are to be passed over and obliterated, and mankind are to come into a moral and spiritual unity that shall not be mechanical nor artificially eclectic merely, but organic,—a vital assimilation of whatever is true and permanent in the creeds and codes of all religions and all races.

"Your Committee believe, indeed, that the Free Religious Association has a great mission before it, if it only take the opportunity presented to its hands. The very atmosphere of our age is impregnated with the germs of the mightiest social and moral problems. And this country, from the freedom which it offers, seems to be the historically chosen field where these problems are to have their development. The old question of the relation of religion to civil government, which has generally been assumed to be a settled question in the United States, is coming up anew to demand a settlement on the ground of fixed, substantial principles, and not on the mere accident that a vast majority of the citizens chance to be of one form of religious faith. The question of the relation of religion to the public schools, with its still more subordinate question of the reading of the Bible as a religious exercise in the schools,—a question which is now just opening a gigantic struggle that is to extend through the country,—is but a part of this greater question of the connection between religion and the State, which lies behind, and where the real conflict must finally come. Involved with this are the minor conflicts in regard to Sunday laws, and the unjust statutes

in some of the States concerning legal oaths and the religious qualifications of jurors and witnesses in courts. Then there are the multifarious problems, speculative and practical, which are raised by modern science and philosophy, and which already, though crudely solved or not solved at all, are affecting the actual life of vast numbers of people. Add to these the great social problems that are now everywhere seeking of public opinion some solution,—as the demand for a new and more equitable adjustment of the relations between capital and labor; the agitation for a readjustment, in accordance with the new light and civilization of the age, of the relations between man and woman in the various functions of society; the search for better methods of meeting the evils of pauperism, intemperance, and crime of every kind; and, generally, the call for some more effective application of the intelligence, virtue, and culture that are anywhere stored up in individuals or families, or in favored portions of the community, to the conduct of governments, and to the improvement and elevation of society at large. And add still again the problem, both social and civil, which we in this country have to work out, of a nation which is to assimilate into its own life and institutions all religions and races of men,—which is to do justice and give citizenship to all,—to the African, the Indian, and the Mongolian, as well as to the Caucasian stock; to the Irish Catholic, the German sceptic, and the Chinese Confucian and Buddhist, as well as to the descendants of Protestantism and Puritanism. Such are some of the problems, aside from those more purely ecclesiastical and religious, which are put into the hands of America to solve. Now, if religion, out of its manifold historic career and experience, out of its claim to touch the deepest things in human nature and to represent man's grandest inspirations, has any aid to offer in the solution of these problems (and, if it has not, then it must indeed stand aside as a force that has had its day, and is no longer available in human society),—but if religion in any form can help forward the settlement of these questions, then, surely, the Free Religious Association, committed to the defence of no dogmas, untrammelled by traditions, having no lines of church authority to hold, utterly disincumbered of all ecclesiastical *impedimenta*, cordially allying itself with science, free to accept truth wherever and however found, and holding itself perfectly plastic to the spirit of the age, should be able to render some service in the struggle with these great problems whose solution is to determine the future of American government and life. Such is a hint of the opportunities which await the personal faith and fidelity that shall transform them into living forces and accomplished facts."

WM. J. POTTER.

THE CHURCH AS A MORAL AGENCY.

The miraculous basis on which the Church has rested her claims to the respect and allegiance of mankind having been pulverized and well-nigh destroyed, there only remains a moral basis on which a body can be founded. And it is obvious, if the Church is to endure and to serve mankind, that it must captivate the higher affections of men by an ethical tone and power far in advance of the current morality of average society. The Church must, in short, be an ethical pioneer, or it must cease to exist. If this is true, the attitude of the Church (under which generic term is included all the religious bodies) in England toward the great current questions is not such as to lead her well-wishers to anticipate for her any very brilliant future. In England, during the

past few years, especially during the past few months, the one great question, beyond all others, has been the question of international ethics, arising out of the relation in which England stands to so many foreign nations, and in particular to so many of the barbarous and so-called inferior peoples in different parts of the world. Unscrupulous disregard for the rights of the weak, in order to build up her empire,—this has been England's besetting sin: it is her most conspicuous crime at this hour. By this, it is not to be inferred that England is worse than other nations, that her sense of justice is less keen, that her sympathies are narrower. It may well be that, if France or Germany had played such a great part in colonizing as England has actually played, either of those countries would have violated moral law as much as England; while we know that the cruelties perpetrated by Spain have made of her a by-word and reproach among mankind. England, as the greatest modern colonizing nation, has certainly had fiercer temptations to oppression and injustice than any other country. But, still, the law of right is inexorable; and he who breaks must pay. At the bar of justice, England is a great sinner; and she cannot evade the coming penalties by urging that others would have done even worse, had they been in her place.

Perhaps the most abominable of England's crimes in modern times has been the campaign waged in the Soudan,—a campaign concerning which it is difficult to say whether even its wickedness was equal to its folly. I will not now dwell upon it, since every one is only too well acquainted with its details. It grew out of England's occupation of Egypt,—an occupation carried out by a Liberal administration in direct violation of its election pledges, and which has made of nearly every power in Europe an enemy of England. From the time when the British fleet was sent to Alexandria down to the present moment, the history of England's doings in Egypt and the Soudan has been one long record of blunders and crimes, relieved by scarcely a single bright feature. The main characteristic of this record has been its violation of justice and morality. Now, of course, this particular objection did not mean much to mere party politicians. The politician, as such, does not ask whether an action is right or wrong, but whether it is politic. He is concerned with the question of failure or success rather than with the question of justice or injustice. Few people, therefore, expected the English politicians to condemn these things: it was enough that the party chiefs approved, and that opposition would involve the downfall of the government responsible for these enormities. A few honest public men protested, but their protests were almost drowned in the meaningless shout of support sent up by the party wire-pullers and the party press.

But England is a Christian country,—save the mark!—and is filled with churches and chapels, in each of which is a pulpit with all furtherances and appliances for the teaching of moral truth. Was it not the duty of the spiritual guides in these sacred edifices to denounce the crimes of the secular rulers, and to lead the people into the paths of righteousness? We know that in the great days of the Catholic Church the spiritual leaders of the people did perform these functions. We know that in this very England Anselm denounced wickedness in high places, and Stephen Langton stood up for popular liberties against a despotic king. We know, too, that in the early days of Protestantism Latimer rebuked Henry VIII. There are some good precedents, therefore, for a precedent-loving people like the English.

And yet, from the time of the bombardment of Alexandria down to the massacre at Hasheen, nearly every clergyman—Episcopal or non-conformist—throughout England has been, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* very truly said, a "dumb dog." There have been some noble exceptions, but so few as to be quite inconspicuous. Nay, they have not been dumb altogether: it would have been a little more to the credit of some of them, if they had. For the archbishops and many of the bishops of the Anglican Church have produced what I heard Prof. Beesly describe as "disgusting effusions," giving thanks to some deity framed by their own imaginations, and presiding over British interests, for the success which he was pleased to vouchsafe to the Gardner guns and Martini-Henry rifles and other civilizing agencies used by the British troops. One bishop was considerate enough to put in a word for the brave for "rightly struggling to be free," but the majority were evidently thinking of a god who might be supposed to be closely identified with the business interests of John Bull & Co. The Archbishop of York, indeed, boldly claimed his god as a fighting agent on the British side, when Wolseley's troops decimated the ranks of the poor, yielding, terror-stricken Egyptians. And the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke as if, every time Gordon handled his "lovely Krupp guns," the Deity were employed in guiding his arm. The Anglican clergy generally have, of course, been the worst offenders in this business; but the majority of the dissenting ministers have been almost as bad. They were never tired of denouncing the hated Beaconsfield: they had not a word to say against their hero Gladstone. This seems to show that they were moved much more by mere partisan feeling than by any profound devotion to justice. Many of them shrank from offending the local tallow-chandler or cotton-spinner on whom their position depended, and who was a prominent man in the local Liberal caucus. So we see the principal religious organizations of England tacked on, so to speak, to the conventional institutions, and converted into mere bulwarks of ordinary *bourgeois* morality. These bodies speak with no power, compelling men to listen by its inherent divinity, even though the words cause terror and searching of hearts. The churches of England exist mainly to keep things quiet and to support the *status quo*.

If we want to see the noble rashness, the contempt for snug conventionalism, and the defence of simple right which characterized the Church in its better times, we must turn to the heretics. In this crisis of English history, they have, for the most part, been true to justice. While the "dumb dogs" have failed to arouse the sleeping nation, the heretical watch-dogs have been on the alert. Secularist, Socialist, Positivist, and some of the best Unitarians and liberal Christians have done good work for peace and justice. It would be invidious to name names; but I cannot help referring to the manly and devoted conduct of Mr. Page Hopps, of Leicester, and to the perpetual protests of the Positivist Society in London. They show us that there is a living church of humanity in this country yet.

Nor we cannot help concluding, from a review of this whole episode, that the ideas upon which the Church is founded have lost their hold upon the public mind. The Church as it is, with its *Aberglaube* and its relics of early Semitism, cannot cope with the difficulties, cannot meet the needs of our new civilization. I am not contending that Socialism or Secularism can do this, either. I find grave defects, as a matter of fact, in both these faiths now so energetically preached in England. But the Church has broken down, palpably and

manifestly: she is unequal to the task of guiding the conscience and thought of our time. Either the clergy ought to deal with public questions in their moral aspects, or they ought not. If they ought not, on the ground that the Church is merely an instrument for securing the salvation of the private soul and its happiness in a future state of being, then the Church must fall in pieces. It is inconceivable that an organization which does not concern itself with nine-tenths of the actual daily life and concerns of the modern man should endure. Catholicism, in its great days, claimed dominion over the whole life; and the coming faith must do so, too, only it must reconcile itself with science and democracy. It must inspire men with visions of a nobler ideal, and must endue them with power to press on to its attainment, even though that ideal should never be realized. Can the Church do this? The signs are not promising; and, consequently, it would be indulging in too great optimism to expect that new springs of life will be found within it. But, if the Church cannot, new societies, pledged to redeem man's life from fraud and lies, must arise. Transformation or revolution is at hand.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

MONSIEUR MONSABRE AT NOTRE DAME.

During Carême, a good deal of masquerading still goes on in Paris, though it steadily diminishes under the Republic. This year, we have seen antique costumes on the streets in wagons and chariots, each otherwise decorated with advertisement of its owner's business. The gods and fairies can only reappear for a utilitarian purpose; and, in some cases, the purpose seems questionable. In Berlin, I noticed architectural and other transformations, since I saw it in 1867, traceable to the tropical effect of the milliards paid by France for the late war undertaken with "a light heart." A corresponding but sadly different effect of that pecuniary transfer is visible in Paris. It has been too much pinched, and has not got over it. When M. Thiers was first negotiating about the indemnity, he said, "You may have all the money we possess, but not a foot of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses"; but, when it came to the possibility of those alternatives being actually offered, he privately said (the fact has just come out), "Let us part with our provinces rather than our money; for, if we keep our money, we can buy our provinces back." In the end, both provinces and money—most of it—had to go; and it is plain that the money was the more real loss. It has been coined out of the mirth and health of the people: it has left them with knit brows, clutching hands, and pessimistic instincts. So their fairies dance for money, their old gods advertise a new soda water or vermifuge.

The most interesting masquerade I saw during the Carême was in Notre Dame. There, an ingenious and eloquent scion of the defunct nobility, turned preacher, was evoking the dogmatic demons and cowed phantasms of the Past, and causing them to pass in weird masquerade every Sunday afternoon. There is in France still a nation in which titles are not abolished,—the nation whose presidency is in Rome. "Monseigneur" is still a big word in the French Catholic mouth; and it is not impossible that the politically annihilated caste may more and more repair to the one profession which respects hereditary title, and can offer it promotion and power in payment for service. A pulpit crossed with a coronet is yet a valuable heraldic device. This ablest and newest clerical lion, my Lord Monsabré, Carême preacher at Notre

Dame for 1885, has his reward. The Catholics fairly shout his praises; he is declared the successor of Massillon, Bossuet, and Lacordaire; his portraits and sermons are hawked about, and also something that purports to be his biography, but is only an expanded puff. However, I am far from thinking poorly of this M. Monsabré. I went to hear him, and, so far as I could follow him, was impressed by a manliness in his position, as well as a certain sincerity in his tone and treatment. He is a much more satisfactory product of Catholicism than Pere Hyacinth, who carries on here a poor trade in Catholicism-and-water, though he is not such a natural orator as the latter. Monsabré does not dilute his dogmas. As Canon Liddon in England can sway an audience better than any Broad-Churchman by having the courage of his creed, so touching the popular love of honesty, so this uncompromising French champion of discredited dogmas gains a hearing never accorded to Mr. Facing-both-ways. For the rest, he is a good-looking, good-sized, eupeptic priest, with a vigorous voice and a Methodistic manner. For many years, however, I have observed that French Catholic preachers cultivate several manners, having to make up for the lack of the sect varieties known in most other countries. They must do up the Methodism and the Quakerism, as well as the ecclesiasticism. Monsabré gesticulates rather too much, but he does not rant. The vast crowd, paying from three to six cents each for seats, waits a long time before even the music begins. It listens to the orator with silent interest, but I did not observe any indication of their feelings being touched or their fears awakened. Perhaps I may have been among those too far to be reached by the preacher's magnetism; but I suspect that the preacher is too didactic and argumentative in his tone through the greater part of his sermon to put his audience in a right frame to receive his pathos. He preaches too much about science and scepticism,—out-of-door enemies. If any unbeliever goes to hear him, it is likely to be only for the sake of studying the phenomenon of an educated gentleman, who, in this agnostic time, is perfectly familiar with all the ideas, plans, arrangements, and feelings of a completely comprehended deity. Though the Monseigneur speaks extemporaneously, his sermons are carefully elaborated. He never argues with Protestantism, passes by with contempt its efforts to harmonize the Bible with modern ideas, and frankly grapples with a dummy rationalism, not frankly manufactured, adapted to fall beneath his blows. He is essentially a man of sentiment, but intellectually a special pleader; and, though his illustrations and anecdotes are striking, they bear the marks of made evidence. They are so clever and complete and neat in every part as not to excite suspicions which chill their effect. Here, for example, is one of his stories, illustrating the sublimities of the Confessional, from a sermon I bought at the door. "At the end of the bloody Revolution which made so many victims, a beggar was dying. Till then, by his callous and savage silence, he had thrown an impenetrable veil over his sad life; but, recognizing the hour of God approaching, he believed that it was time to reveal the secrets of his conscience. He called for a priest; and there was sent him a man still young, whose austere garb covered profound sorrows. 'My friend,' said he, 'you have asked for me.' 'You or another,' said the other: 'listen to me, and try not to curse me!' Then he began the narrative of his crimes. He had been servant in a pious and noble family, which had covered him with benefits; and, when the evil days came on, his ungrateful heart had repaid them with treacheries, robberies, and cruel-

ties. He had revealed the retreat of his employers, and by infamous denunciations delivered them to the hands of the revolutionary bureau. Uttering blasphemies on the way, he had conducted them to the scaffold, and received, as the price of their blood, the property of which they had made such noble use, but which he soon dissipated. 'Monster that I am,' cried the dying man, 'so fair, so good a master and mistress!' Then he opened a medallion, and showed the priest their portraits. Horror! the minister of God recognized his own father and mother. There followed a fearful scene. The priest, erect, pale, trembling, his eyes on fire, gazed on the murderer of his parents; and the dying man, like a spectre, raised himself on his pallet, and, presenting his breast naked and emaciated, cried, 'Avenge yourself, avenge yourself!' But the priest remembered that he was more than a man. Falling with tears on the neck of the murderer, and placing a crucifix to his lips to stop the cries of his despair, he said: 'My friend, my brother, my son, you are deceived. I am Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ pardons you.' Long did these embraces continue; and the beggar died, pardoned and blest, in the arms of him whose life he had desolated."

I have translated the preacher's words with care; and it will be seen that he would be an artist, if he only knew how to conceal art. As it is, he must be accorded the credit of a fair pulpit novelist. The plot of the above is not bad, though so improbable. The next translation I make is from a sermon on repentance. A French sermon on repentance without anything about the interesting Magdalene—almost the French Madonna—were an impossibility. Having described sin as "the offence against God," "the loss of God," the thing that "makes man an enemy of God and God an enemy of man," the preacher continues: "Oh! who would not be sorrowfully moved in beholding the depths of sin? Who would not detest it more than all imaginable misfortunes? Parents, friends, goods, peace, health, who would not renounce them all rather than commit sin? Sacred ranks of penitents, whose conversion God crowns to-day, you have comprehended sin; and therein have explained themselves this sovereign sorrow which has broken your hearts, these groans that have filled the entire world, these heroic sacrifices by which you express your supreme horror of evil. You were the dishonor of your family and the scandal of your people, O Magdalene! but, in the depths of your guilty soul made clear by grace, the deceitful love of creatures could no more find place. Riches, honors, amours, pleasures, beauty, all were cast without regret at the feet of the God you had outraged. He sees you prostrate near the Pharisees' table, the mark of their implacable railleries; he sees you bathed in tears and nearly expiring at the foot of the cross where fell the purifying stream of his blood; he sees you in that lost grotto, where, plaintive, stripped, lying on the naked ground, you passed thirty years of voluntary exile awaiting your home. Solitudes, deserts, sharp rocks, burning sands, habitable only by wild beasts, how is it that ye have heard the voice of men and been populous, to the envy of proudest cities? Horrible places! who then have been your friends? They were the fugitives of sin, the men of broken heart, full of sorrow and hatred for evil, more eager for the sufferings, because they preferred all things to the frightful calamity of offending God. They have put so much love into their repentance that it has devoured their sin as fire devours forests when the lightning has struck."

I was reminded of this passage when visiting

an exhibition of the pictures of Delacroix, now attracting interest in Paris. Among the sacred pictures was one of the crucifixion, in which the spectator's attention is equally demanded by the sufferer on the cross and (to put it mildly) an extremely *décolletée* Magdalene at its feet. This penitent Venus of the grotto, so carefully imported to supersede the cult of the pagan goddess in the south of France, has given us our word *maudlin*; but she still displays together her ever-youthful charms and tears throughout France, and carries on her pious seductions alike in pictures and sermons. This reverend Monseigneur, it will be observed, has somehow discovered that the Magdalene had, not only riches and beauty, but "honors" to lay at the feet of Jesus. The honors he alludes to have been awarded in France, where, for example, a miracle, wrought at her traditional grotto near Arles, is said to have converted an early king, and influenced all history; but what appears to me the real honor due her is not mentioned,—namely, that on a vision of hers rests the resurrection of Christ.

The congregation in Notre Dame is very large, but one wonders where it comes from. They are not, like our Salvationists, seeking a Sunday amusement denied elsewhere. They do not seem to be the poor one meets about the streets, nor yet the wealthy one sees at the opera or in fashionable companies. There is, evidently, a pretty large stratum of Catholicism in Paris, despite the fact that even a theist can hardly be found in the legislature, and a Christian scholar is liable to the suspicion of coveting notoriety. It has at least possessed sufficient social strength to bring M. Andrieux to his knees, with apologies for his official—and he pleads compulsory—part in breaking up illegal Catholic institutions. If the fallen *noblesse*, imitating this eloquent Lord Monsabré, should universally ally themselves with the slowly falling priesthood, it is possible they may yet give severe battle to the free-thinking Republic. It would be a literal battle, and a terrible one. That which is preached at Notre Dame as religion is dealt with at the college near by, the Sorbonne, as disease or insanity. At Salpêtrière hospital, Dr. Bournville has epileptic patients who weekly undergo fits of penance, crucifixion, beatitude. It is to be hoped that the number of these "possessed" ones will not greatly multiply. Dr. Laborde, in his recent work, *Les Hommes et les Actes de l'Insurrection de Paris devant la Psychologie Morbide*, shows that a people may become insane as well as an individual. The last outbreak of the Commune has supplied him with his chief illustration. Carl Vogt has given a similar explanation of the anti-Semitic frenzy in Germany and Russia. A recrudescence of anti-heretical madness in France is improbable so long as the reactionary parties are divided; but, should they coalesce, there might be danger.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

DOES VIRTUE PAY?

The funny story called *Tommy*, which *Littell's Living Age* has recently copied from *Blackwood's Magazine*, presents some curious moral and theological problems. The hero, Robert Flopjohn, keeps trying to be as unselfish and upright as Tommy and the other good little boys in the Sunday-school books. He gives up all the property he inherited from his mother, in order to pay his father's debts. He runs away from his first place, that of private tutor, without drawing his salary, because he will not give way to his passion for a beautiful heiress who, he knows, loves him with all her heart. A second tutorship he re-

signs, because he does not succeed at once in turning his rough young pupils into scholars and gentlemen. Then he becomes head of a school where he finds all sorts of abuses established; and these he attacks so recklessly as to call out a general dislike, which at last drives him away on account of his punishing some boys with unlawful severity for an offence committed outside of his jurisdiction. The rector employs him to copy his sermons for the press; but he tries to improve them, and is at once discharged. So he is, by his last employer, a supervising architect, whom he lectures for conniving at frauds of mechanics in building a house. He has no money, no friends, and no prospects left him; and he thinks he has followed Tommy long enough. The ink-injector of the architect's stylographic pen falls in his way. Instead of returning it, he uses it to blow road-dust into people's eyes, as a remedy for all diseases. This quackery succeeds rapidly, and he becomes immensely rich.

Improbable as the whole story is, especially the conclusion, we have only to look around us to see plenty of facts almost as puzzling. We all know poor, honest Flopjohns and prosperous knaves. Useful labor is done for wages reduced almost to starvation limits; while harlots, gamblers, and rumsellers prosper, and wholesale robbery, that barely keeps within the law, makes millionnaires. It is not the hard-working farmer, or mechanic or teacher, but the fraudulent bankrupt, the extortionate contractor, the stingy manufacturer that we see living in palaces and feasting on luxuries. Socrates drinks hemlock; Joan of Arc, Servetus, and Bruno are burned alive; Madame Roland mounts the guillotine; Arnold of Brescia, Savonarola, and John Brown hang on the gallows, and Jesus on the cross; while Cæsars, Borgias, Stuarts, Bourbons, and Napoleons are exalted to the throne. It certainly does not look as if the great unknown power had any strong desire to reward virtue and punish vice. We might almost say that God and man conspire together to persecute righteousness and pamper iniquity. No wonder that Danae, the Epicurean, as she was led to execution for having saved her lover from a tyrant's wrath, exclaimed, "Men do right to despise those gods who let me die for this!"

But let us look more closely at the facts. Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Bonaparte could not have made themselves emperors, if they had not had an unusual power of dealing with men and things. Our American millionnaires became so by being uncommonly shrewd, sagacious, and enterprising. They were more successful than their neighbors in meeting the wants of people who wished to buy goods or travel on railroads. They knew how to furnish the community cheaply and rapidly with what everybody wanted. We should all be in poverty and misery, if we did not reward with riches those who know how to supply our necessities. So the world sometimes wants a strong hand at the helm so much, as to be glad to give a throne to the man who can best keep his seat there. We should all go to ruin, if practical ability were not allowed to succeed. Now, it was precisely the want of practical skill that made Flopjohn fail. All his dealings with his employers show such inability to understand human nature as must have made it impossible for him to succeed anywhere. His attempts to reform his school were carried on with a reckless indifference, not only to his patrons' prejudices, but to the laws of the land, which made his dismissal just. It was not merely because he was a Tommy that he failed, but because he was such a very soft Tommy. The only thing hard to make out is how he could possibly have succeeded by any

means, however wicked. His dusty, dirty scheme must have ended like all his other plans.

But does not this story show that there is some necessary connection between virtue and folly? No, indeed! In the first place, they have no common cause. Vice and folly may both be traced to inability to understand and obey those great laws on whose observance depends all our happiness. Read the records of crime in the *Newgate Calendar* or Dugdale's *Jukes*. These books deal mainly with those indolent, extravagant, short-sighted, self-indulgent fools, who gravitate first into pecuniary trouble and then into crime. For one Carker, or Uriah Heep, or Ralph Nickleby who commits a felony, there are a dozen Dick Swivellers, or Wilkins Micawbers. That such an addlepate as Flopjohn should finally become a professional swindler is just what was to be expected. The strangest thing, next to his succeeding so well in his knavery, is his waiting so long before taking it up. It should be noticed that he ascribes his own ill-success largely to his unpractical education. Perhaps no schooling can give any one worldly wisdom; but, certainly, our high schools and colleges might be made less likely to hinder its acquirement. We should at least take care that the graduates of these institutions are not any less able to earn their own living than when they went in. Train young men and women to support themselves honestly, and there will be little danger of their seeking vicious ways to wealth. Prof. Sophocles used to say: "Why do people praise robbers and pirates? We know better than that in Greece. We say, when a man turns robber or pirate, that he has not sense enough for anything else."

Practical training will make even stupid people useful members of society, provided they are not incurably vicious. I think I have read that

"It takes, as a general rule,
At least half a knave to be wholly a fool."

Flopjohn, though not at first to any extent a knave, was very far from being what I call a good man. Morality requires paying proper respect to the rights of others. He was acting immorally when he altered the manuscripts he had agreed to copy. So he was when he violated the laws which told him when he might punish his scholars, and when he should not. The girl who loved him and offered to marry him, had a right to expect that he should be faithful to her. When he ran away from her, he left, not only his happiness and hers, but his duty also. We certainly cannot say, as I believe Burgoyne did in a comedy acted by British officers in garrison at Boston and New York,—

"A woman should obey the moral law,
Nor dare to marry till she's asked her pa."

Our hero kept trying conscientiously to follow lofty principles; but he had set them so high that, while he was staring at them, his feet were wandering into forbidden paths. He began by recklessly sacrificing real duties to imaginary ones; and, therefore, he ended by deliberately repudiating both. Nothing does more to encourage lax conduct than preaching impossible principles. This is particularly true of self-sacrifice, as it is usually taught and as Flopjohn practised it. He was really too unselfish to be highly virtuous. No one has a right to sacrifice his own happiness except to increase that of some one else. Herbert Spencer shows that, if we all thought only of making sacrifices, there would be no one to take them, and social progress would be at a dead-lock. The actual result of the conventional demand for sacrifices is that some are constantly making them, and others are accepting them without giving any return. But making sacrifices

involves not only physical, but intellectual loss; and receiving them without return is morally degrading. If every one were either offering or receiving sacrifices, we should have one-half of the world ruining itself, physically and intellectually, in order that the other half might be ruined morally. Somewhat of this nature, though not to this extent, is the result of women's generally obeying the pulpit injunctions to self-sacrifice, which men usually disregard. Thus, women are kept half-educated and in bad health, while men remain self-indulgent and oppressive. Wisely did the suffragists vote, eight years ago, as recently mentioned in *The Index*, that the lessons of self-sacrifice taught to women by the Christian Church have been contrary to the duty of self-development and the progress of the race. I do believe in self-sacrifice, but only when the general welfare is thus increased. We are to find our own highest happiness in that of our neighbor's, and we are also to remember that one of the surest ways to make others happy is to keep so ourselves. Universal welfare is the true standard; and among the means to realize it are self-culture, respect for others' rights, and due use of all opportunities to promote our own happiness without diminishing that of any one else. Such virtue does not go without reward.

F. M. HOLLAND.

"AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY."

The publication of Charles Bray's book with this title, and the sub-title, "Phases of Opinion and Experience during a Long Life," is the more interesting from its near coincidence with the publication of *George Eliot's Life and Letters*. The side glimpse of her character and personality is aggravating in its brevity; but, so far as it goes, it is one of many contributions to our fuller knowledge that must be taken in connection with Mr. Cross's admirable book in seeking an impression of her total faculty and disposition. Mr. Bray's mention of her is in connection with Emerson's visit to Coventry in 1848, when his intimate relations with her, which were of nine years' duration, were nearly at an end. The way in which Emerson's visit is spoken of is a fair sample of Mr. Bray's manner, which is frankly egotistic, so frankly that it pleases rather than repels: "A Coventry gentleman, meeting Emerson in the north soon after his arrival in England, invited him to visit the old city. Emerson replied that, if he came to Coventry, it would be to see Charles Bray, the author of *The Philosophy of Necessity*. Emerson was seized by a party of Stratford friends, and carried off to Shakspeare's tomb. Miss Evans was one of the party, and, in one of her letters in the Cross biography, pronounces him 'the first man she had ever seen.'"

Mr. Bray found in Miss Evans (his intimacy with her ended before she was either George Eliot or Mrs. Lewes) the most delightful companion he had ever known. "She knew everything. She had little self-assertion: her aim was always to show her friends off to the best advantage, not herself. She would polish up their witticisms, and give them the full credit of them. But there were two sides: hers was the temperament of genius, which has always its sunny and shady side. She was frequently very depressed, and often very provoking, as much so as she could be agreeable, and we had violent quarrels; but the next day, or whenever we met, they were quite forgotten, and no allusion made to them. Of course, we went over all subjects in heaven or earth." Mr. Bray claims to have laid the foundations of her philosophy. In 1844, when they were both much interested in phrenology, a cast was taken of her head. Her

head was large, twenty-two and one quarter inches round. George Combe, on first seeing the cast, took it for a man's. Mr. Bray's reading of her "bumps" is nearly what it might have been if he had allowed himself to be benefited by his knowledge of her character. "The social feelings were very active, particularly the adhesiveness. She was of a most affectionate disposition, always requiring some one to lean upon, preferring what has hitherto been considered the stronger sex to the other and more impressible. She was not fitted to stand alone." It is not difficult to understand why Mr. Bray and Miss Evans had some fallings out. There was no gradation in his thought, no light and shade. He had none of her ability to see the other side, none of her patience to hear it.

"Rosehill," Mr. Bray's first home in Coventry, must have been a very pleasant place, "when the bear skin was under the acacia," or at any season of the year. For all his dogmatism, he was a hearty, genial spirit. A good many people who were wise and useful in their generation were attracted there, George Dawson among them, the lecturer and preacher, and George Combe, whose devoted wife sometimes dropped asleep in the middle of his discourse, her head inclined toward him in a reverent attitude of attention. Mr. Bray's sympathy with Combe's phrenology does not make it any easier for him to understand how he could have written his *Constitution of Man* in a "fever of enthusiasm." His own faith in phrenology did not wane nor waver with the lapse of years. He disposes of some of the common objections to the system in a satisfactory manner. Some of his phrenological readings are exactly in a line with what we know of the persons characterized from the usual sources, but others are surprising and apparently absurd. Of Dickens, we are told that "his strongest feelings were love of approbation and acquisitiveness, and he literally killed himself in their gratification, unrestrained by the controlling power and higher motives which a larger coronal region of the brain would have given." So much is proved by the last volume of Forster's sad biography of his friend. But what shall we say to the statement that Napoleon III. had a large organ of conscientiousness, Gladstone a small one? "That phrenology is wrong," suggests Mr. Bray derisively. Yes; or that the less conscientiousness a man has, the better. But Mr. Bray was a believer in Napoleon the Little and in the Second Empire to a remarkable degree.

Mr. Bray's account of his opinions and experience is so rapid that it never for a moment wearies us, except for the very reason that it is so rapid. It is never dull. He was not so much older than George Eliot as we imagined from her biography. He was born in 1811. Articled in London at the age of seventeen, he was shortly afterward "convinced of sin." Returning to Coventry, his Calvinism suddenly broke down under the influence of a Unitarian minister who was often in his father's house, but, with it, all supernatural religion. Then came a year of anarchy, and then what he denominated his "reconversion,"—namely, to the "Philosophy of Necessity." His book which bore this title was not published until several years later. This book was his *magnum opus* in his own estimation, and he insists with an amusing frankness on its relative and absolute importance. But his first publication, *The Education of the Body*, met with a more favorable reception than any of his later works. It met a popular need, and it did not obviously run counter to the prejudices of the majority. His second book, *The Education of the Feelings*, was strongly marked by his phrenological opinions. The latest edition of the book was injuriously affected by an additional

chapter on "A Moral System for Secular Schools," which was a plea for absolute secularization. But it was upon his *Philosophy of Necessity*, first published in 1841, that Mr. Bray based his claim to general recognition as a benefactor to mankind. Whatever the value of his system, it brought with it a singular peace to his own mind; and, certainly, it never made him less energetic in good works. It made him a soft creditor and a lenient judge. A more genial optimist it would be hard to find. He speaks of his system as "making known God as the Universal Father, revealing himself in a language that cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted." It is possible that such phrases betray a certain weakness common to all innovating theorists,—a desire to make their theories more palatable than they are likely to be without some spice of old associations. Mr. Bray's most prolific correspondent for twenty years, often writing him two or three long letters in a single month, was Mr. H. G. Atkinson, Miss Martineau's friend and collaborator. Drawn together by their necessarian morality, they differed widely in their philosophy of matter, Atkinson being a materialist and Bray an idealist. We have here one of many illustrations of the comparatively formal nature of this distinction and of its moral indifference.

Mr. Bray's life was one of plain living and high thinking, if not the highest. In 1856, he retired upon a competency of £400 a year, which was afterwards considerably reduced. Nevertheless, it seems to have been sufficient for his purposes. Reading and writing, much "given to hospitality," and deeply interested in all matters of immediate local and larger public interest, he slipped down the western gradient of life with a becoming dignity and grace. His book discourses with good-tempered and serene garrulity of many things,—Mesmerism, Spiritualism, the Organization of Labor, "The Future Life." There is an appendix made up of brief and pointed utterances on a great variety of themes. Death, which he did not fear, and from which he expected nothing but eternal rest, came to him Oct. 5, 1884. Three weeks before, he had written a postscript to his autobiography, in which he had reiterated his confidence in the destruction of the individual and his opinion that nothing better was to be desired. His ruling passion as a writer was for quotation, and it was strong in death. His last quotations were certainly among the best. "We live in the Eternal Order, and the Eternal Order never dies." This is one of them, and the other is from a "Panthéist's Song of Immortality":—

"Yes, thou shalt die; but these almighty forces,
That meet to form thee, live forever more:
They hold the suns in their eternal courses,
And shape the tiny sand-grains on the shore.

"Be calmly glad, thine own true kindred seeing
In fire and storm, in flowers with dew impeared;
Rejoice in thine imperishable being,
One with the essence of the boundless world."

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association will be held in Parker Memorial Building, Boston, Mass., as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 28, at 7.45 o'clock, business session for the hearing of reports, election of officers, etc.

Friday morning, May 29, at 10.30 o'clock, address by the President, followed by addresses from Mr. W. D. Le Sueur, of Ottawa, Can., and Rev. M. J. Savage of Boston, on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" After

these addresses, the subject will be open for speeches, not exceeding ten minutes each, from the floor.

Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Rev. R. Heber Newton will address the meeting on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism." During the afternoon session there will also be ten-minute speeches from Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Giles B. Stebbins, John Orvis, Henry B. Blackwell, George E. McNeill, Frederic A. Hinckley, and others.

The annual festival will be held in the Meisnau, Tremont Temple, Friday evening, commencing at 6.30 o'clock. R. Heber Newton, W. D. Le Sueur, Wm. J. Gill, H. W. Holland, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, Miss Mary Eastman, W. J. Potter, B. F. Underwood, J. K. Applebee, and G. N. Hill will be among the speakers. Music, including quartet and solo singing, will be furnished by the Temple Quartette. Mr. H. L. Bateman, first tenor; Mr. F. E. Webber, second tenor; Mr. H. A. Cook, first bass; Mr. A. C. Ryder, second bass; Mr. Howard M. Dow, pianist.

Tickets, with reserved seats at tables, at \$1.00 each, may be obtained at *The Index* office, No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

ONE who has a grievance, and dwells on it, magnifies it, and talks about it to every friend he meets, is liable to become a bore.

"THE Effects on Society and the Individual of Increasing Specialization" will be the subject of an address, by B. F. Underwood, before the Parker Memorial Science Class, next Sunday at 12.15 P.M.

LILIAN WHITING, in a letter to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, says: "It is vaguely rumored that President Eliot's tour to Europe—where he will remain a year—is to be a graceful way of closing his connection with Harvard University. As I have written you before, President Eliot, while an accomplished scholar and most estimable gentleman, is not up to the times as a Harvard President should be." The general impression, and we think the correct one, is that President Eliot is rather in *advance* of the times.

In a letter to Mr. S. B. Weston, Mr. O. B. Frothingham writes: "Since leaving the profession, I have been more and more convinced that the era of Transcendentalism is passed, and that the social epoch has arrived. The next step, in my judgment, will be the reorganization of society under the action of purely ethical principles, of which Mr. Adler is the leading expositor. If I had the energy and courage of a few years ago, I should throw myself into this new movement; and it gives me pleasure to know that one who has listened to me has struck into this new path."

LEANDER WETHERELL died in this city last week, at the age of seventy-four. He was a teacher in Rochester, N.Y., from 1840 to 1853; editor for several years of the *Amherst (Mass.) Express*; in 1856, he was made assistant secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture; from 1859 to 1866, he edited the *Boston Cultivator*, and for several years has been a writer on agricultural subjects for the *Boston Traveller* and *Post*. He was well known in New York and Canada, as well as in New England, as a lecturer on agriculture. He was fond of discussion, and attended and spoke at liberal meetings held at Paine Hall and other places in this city up to the time of his last illness. He possessed many estimable qualities, and will be missed by his large circle of friends.

MR. MASKELYNE, a well-known investigator of Spiritualism and "crusader against Spiritualistic phenomena," has been interviewed by a representative of the London press. Says the *Week* (Toronto): "Among the Spiritualists, he will acknowledge only two classes,—impostors and dupes. Even Prof. Crookes, who attempts to examine these phenomena with scientific exactitude, receives very scanty indulgence from Mr. Maskelyne. But, amid so vast a mass of deception and fraud, he admits that, after twenty years' experience, he cannot account for 'table-turning.' Everything else, no matter how wonderful, he has been able to produce, and even improve upon, either by leg-erdmain confederation or mechanical contrivance. But movements of the table he has seen produced, and has assisted in producing, which could not be accomplished by the same persons with the utmost exertion of muscular force. He refuses to acknowledge the explanations of Faraday as sufficient; and though, of course, he does not accept the spiritualistic explanation, he believes in some kind of psychic or nerve force hitherto unexplained."

LAST week, Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D., Baptist, Rev. H. L. Hastings, Adventist, and several others, were before the Boston Municipal Court for preaching on the Common without a license, and were fined ten dollars each. Judge Adams said that it was not a crime involving moral turpitude, it was made a crime by the city. The prosecution was made to determine whether the city authorities can have such control as is desired over public grounds. The propriety of such an act can be seen, if the city government has the power to make it, as many objectionable people go on to the Common, and make harangues to disturb the peace. It is advisable to have some restrictions; and it is a simple thing to get a license, if any reputable person desires one. An appeal was taken in each case; and it is understood that in the Supreme Court the proceedings will be *pro forma*, in order that the point at issue may be passed upon by the highest legal tribunal of the Commonwealth. We doubt the wisdom of prohibiting speaking on the Common without a license. Addresses there are not likely to disturb the peace except in rare cases, and then the police can always be called upon.

THE eleventh general convention of the Free Religious Congregations of Germany will be held in Brunswick, June 9, 10, and 11. The first public session will be occupied with the condition and prospects of these organizations; for instance, their decline in membership, their political affinities, their legal rights, and their pecuniary losses through lack of corporate security. In the second session, the relations of morality to religion will be discussed on the basis of the following propositions, presented by the Berlin Congregation: Religion is the conscious relationship of man to what he has considered the highest (God), and which we recognize as the World, or Universal Nature. Morality is the practical realization of this conception of the Divine. Morality, or practical Religion, is a duty which we should strive earnestly to fulfil. Morality first appears in man with that stage of development at which he is able to consider himself personally responsible. Where there is no such consciousness, there can be nothing that is morally right or wrong. The individual is responsible to the community for his moral condition, but only in part; for the community also is responsible for some part of it to the individual.

THE death of La Roy Sunderland at Hyde Park, on Friday last, at the age of eighty-three (lacking three days), removes one who was prominently

before the public, in connection with various reforms, for many years. In early life, he became a Methodist minister, and was a successful revivalist. Thirty or forty years ago, he was well known as a lecturer on temperance, Mormonism, slavery, and especially on mesmerism, or, to use his own word, "pathetism," a new system of mental science, which he claimed to have discovered, and which he illustrated with experiments. He was successively editor of three papers, one of which, if we mistake not, was the first paper devoted to modern Spiritualism published in this country. The names of his last two papers were the *Magnet* and the *Spirit World*. He subsequently conceived a great aversion to Spiritualism, and, regarding it as a baneful superstition, wrote against it. He was a few years ago elected an honorary member of the London Philosophical Society, in consideration of his writings on mental science. Up to within a few weeks of his death, he was a contributor to the *Investigator*, *Monroe's Iron-clad Age*, and other anti-theological papers. Says the *Investigator*, whose editor delivered his funeral address, "He met the final hour with the composure and resignation of a philosopher; and, by all who knew him best, he will be long and kindly remembered."

AS WE suspected, the stories put in circulation by Braden, a Campbellite preacher, in regard to the immoral character of the population of Liberal, Mo., are without foundation. The statements are denied by physicians, clergymen, and others, living in Barton County, who disavow any sympathy with the religious views of the community. Rev. John A. Pool, a Baptist minister, says: "I am a minister of the gospel in the Freewill Baptist Church. I am well acquainted with G. H. Walser. He has lived in this city and county for many years; and he has always enjoyed the esteem and respect of those who know him, his best friends are those who have known him the longest. I am also acquainted with the people of Liberal; and, taking out their scepticism, they are as worthy the respect of the world as any people I know of or have ever known. Infidels as they are as to the teachings of the Bible, they have done what Christian communities in this country have failed in doing,—keeping saloons and places of intoxication out of their town. To this extent, Christian towns could well take pattern of Liberal. The charges of Clark Braden against the people are untrue. I do not believe that Christianity requires such services as rendered by Clark Braden in this respect." The *Liberal*, published at Liberal, of the 21st, contains a dozen or more similar testimonials from men who are evidently disinterested and trustworthy. Braden is an unreliable man, with a propensity for slander and abuse, which has brought him into trouble more than once in his own denomination.

For The Index.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

O rare, fine spirit, from the silent land
No message cometh, e'en from such as thou,
Who wore a crown of light upon thy brow,
And bore on earth a magic, potent wand,
Wielded with delicate and fairy hand.
Yet art thou ever with us still, I trow,
In minds, spell-bound, by fair creations now,
Who sprang to being by thy soul's command.
We call thee dead! but we who live can find
No way to send a token slight to thee,
While thou, with insight keen and matchless power,
Charmeth, through life's dull round, the weary mind,
'Tis thou who livest! Still thy witchery
Falleth on us with golden, precious dower.

ANNA OLCOTT COMMELIN.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 28, 1885.

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

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

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

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For The Index.

The Constitution of the National Unitarian Conference.

Address at the Meeting of the Liberal Union Club, April 25.

BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

In all the editions of Channing, no doubt,—in the edition certainly circulated by the American Unitarian Association, perhaps its most representative book,—appear, as is well known to most here, certain extracts from a letter on creeds. In this letter on creeds,—I know not when written,—Channing declared that his aversion to creeds as bonds of union or conditions of fellowship constantly gained strength. "It has been the fault of all sects," he said, "that they have been too anxious to define their religion." "Who does not see," he asked, "that human creeds, setting bounds to thought, and telling us where inquiry must stop, tend to repress a holy zeal for the truth, to shut our eyes on new illumination, to hem us within the beaten paths of man's construction, to arrest that perpetual progress which is the life and glory of an immortal mind?"

"It is another and great objection to creeds," he added, "that they interfere with that simplicity and godly sincerity on which the efficacy of religious teaching very much depends. That a minister should speak with power, it is important that he should speak from his own soul, and not studiously conform himself to modes of speaking which others have adopted. It is important that he should give out the truth in the very form in which it presents itself to his mind, in the very words which offer themselves spontaneously as the clothing of his thoughts. To express our own minds frankly, directly, fearlessly, is the way to reach other minds. Now, it is the effect of creeds to check this free utterance of thought. The minister must seek words which will not clash with the consecrated articles of his Church. . . . If he

happen to doubt the standard of his Church, he must strain its phraseology, must force it beyond its obvious import, that he may give his assent to it without departures from truth. All these processes must have a blighting effect on the mind and heart. They impair self-respect. They cloud the intellectual eye. They accustom men to tamper with truth."

This is very admirable and very modern. Emerson or Parker, we say, might have said this; Mr. Potter might have said this in his address to-night; Mr. Abbot might have written this to Mr. Clarke.

But this is not the whole of Dr. Channing's letter. The objections to creeds which I have quoted are not by any means all of his objections, nor do they include his first objection. "My first objection to human creeds," he said, in his letter, "is that they separate us from Jesus Christ. To whom am I to go for my knowledge of the Christian religion but to the Great Teacher, to the Son of God, to him in whom the fulness of the Divinity dwelt? This is my great privilege as a Christian, that I may sit at the feet, not of a human, but of a divine Master; that I may repair to him in whom truth lived and spoke without a mixture of error. . . . Shall man dare to interpose between me and my heavenly guide and Saviour? . . . What is the state of mind in which I shall best learn the truth? It is that in which I forsake all other teachers for Christ. . . . Let me go to Jesus with a human voice sounding in my ears, and telling me what I must hear from the Great Teacher, and how can I listen to him in singleness of heart? All Protestant sects, indeed, tell the learner to listen to Jesus Christ. . . . He is told that Christ's word is alone infallible, but told that, unless it is received as interpreted by fallible men, he will be excluded from the communion of Christians. This is what shocks me in the creed-maker. . . . He dares not trust me alone with Jesus. He dares not leave me to the word of God. This I cannot endure. . . . I must learn Christ's truth from Christ himself, as he speaks in the records of his life and in the men whom he trained up and supernaturally prepared to be his witnesses to the world. On what ground, I ask, do the creed-makers demand assent to their articles as condition of church membership or salvation? What has conferred on them infallibility? 'Show me your proofs,' I say to them, 'of Christ speaking in you. Work some miracle, utter some prophecy, show me something divine in you which other men do not possess.'"

Here, then, is a declaration of "aversion to human creeds" as bonds of union or conditions of fellowship, and in the very formulation of the first objection a declaration of belief in Christ as the Son of God, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Divinity, who was not human but a heavenly Saviour, speaking without a mixture of error, infallible. The Bible is the word of God; the apostles are Christ's supernaturally prepared witnesses; the proofs of divinity, or infallibility, are miracle, prophecy, or something else, which man as man does not possess.

These articles of belief are all mentioned quite by the by in an argument against creeds. It does not occur to Dr. Channing, it did not occur to the Unitarianism of his time, that these articles had a "credal" nature. These articles all had place, indeed, in Presbyterianism and Athanasianism; but it was certain extra articles that had place there—articles about everlasting damnation, about the Trinity—which constituted "creeds." When men speak disparagingly of "creeds," it usually means simply disparagement of other people's creeds, of articles of belief in excess of our articles. These beliefs in the superhuman and infallible nature of Christ, and in the general miraculous character of Christianity and of the Bible, were viewed by the

common Unitarianism of Channing's time as simply the natural and necessary beliefs of every well-regulated religious man. I do not doubt that they found actual expression in the written "bonds of Christian union" or "conditions of Christian fellowship" of three-quarters of the Boston Unitarian congregations; and Dr. Channing himself might, very well have ordered them frescoed upon the wall of Federal Street Church, with no thought whatever that he was painting a "human creed."

But, to Theodore Parker and to Emerson, this fresco would have appeared very much of a "human creed." Here were many articles in excess of their articles. And to Mr. Savage and multitudes of our Unitarian friends to-day, multitudes of recognized Unitarian leaders, here is very much that is not natural and not at all necessary to the present well-regulated religious man, that is quite out of harmony indeed with the best religious thought.

This fresco could not be painted to-day in any Unitarian church in Boston. It could not be painted at Saratoga. But what I wish to say is that the difference between Saratoga and Channing, and the difference between Channing and the "creeds" for which he had an "aversion," is not greater than the difference between the way in which what I call the best thought of our time views Christ as the Great Teacher or a great master and Saratoga's view of Christ as "the Lord." This speech, I say, this article of belief, this creed, is not the natural or true expression of the best religious thought of our time. It is a speech native rather to the thought of Channing or the thought of Moses Stuart; and any attempt to make it serve for the thought of Emerson or Parker is to resort to that straining and forcing of which Channing so clearly perceived the blighting effect and which he so manfully condemned. "It impairs self-respect, it clouds the intellectual eye, it accustoms men to tamper with truth."

I do not remember that this club has ever discussed the Thirty-nine Articles. I do not remember that it has ever asked, What changes are needed in the Westminster Catechism? I do not think that it ever will ask that question. I think that, if it did, the Presbyterians might resent it. I think that Dr. Prime might write an editorial in the next week's *Observer*, to say that the Liberal Club had better mind its own business. But Mr. Barrows will not write such an editorial in next week's *Register*. The Unitarians will not resent this discussion. And the simple fact that the Unitarian housekeeping is discussed here to-night in this free manner is evidence sufficient, I suppose, that those who have brought the discussion here feel themselves somehow in the Unitarian household, or closely related to it; Unitarian matters are somehow their matters.

It is impossible that any liberal religious man should not take a special interest in Unitarian matters. Among churches, it is in Unitarianism alone that rational religious thought to-day is legitimate and free; and here—in multitudes of congregations—it is entirely so. Never, too, was Unitarianism so human, so broad, and so progressive as to-day. I do not wonder that here and there some ambiguous word persists, adhered to lest rejection of it seem more irreverence for a truth than reverence for a truth, or adhered to sometimes through the power of sheer tradition. I do wonder, as I read the Life of Parker, at the progress which this year makes Parker's sermons Unitarian tracts, at the perfect freedom of Savage and Chadwick and Hosmer and Gannett, at the impossibility that any Unitarian should tolerate the thought of their exclusion from the fellowship, and at the sense of strangeness with which most thoughtful Unitarians to-day read Channing's

Evidences of Christianity. I have seen very much of Unitarian ministers and Unitarian congregations all through the country; and my own conviction is that a *really religious* man, a man clearly devoted to the upbuilding of his people, and not simply to the salaried exhibition of his own uneasiness and dialectic process, will almost everywhere be given long rope for his radical thought.

Seeing this notable progress and this splendid spirit, I do not doubt the progress and the wise reforms of the future; and I feel, coming here to criticise Unitarians in some sort, very much in the predicament of Balaam, the son of Beor. If ever I make strictures on the Unitarians, I always praise them more. I am heartily their friend, and very much one of them myself. I frankly confess that there is almost no question in which I have less personal interest than one like this. I am the poorest of all churchmen. I am a member of no church or congregation. I have said many times that the dispensation of the Church is ceasing, and the dispensation of the Commonwealth is being born. If I have a Church, it is this American republic. And yet, when I say that, I wish to say distinctly that I am a believer, and a very warm believer, in the congregation. When I say that I am a member of no congregation, I do not say it by way of felicitation, but by way of simply stating that in the crowded and changing years since my withdrawal from the Episcopal Church, of which I was once a member, the exigencies of my own life have made it natural and perhaps necessary for me to get and to give otherwise than in the congregation. I do not doubt that this has been to my cost. I am sure that an isolated religious life is to the cost of most men, that it is not the life for best growth nor most usefulness, not in the line of truest development. I think that none of us is likely to forget Emerson's and Carlyle's lesson of individual integrity, the primacy of righteousness to usefulness, the old truth that "the wisdom which is from above is first pure, then peaceable." But our own time does not look with favor upon the doctrine that religion develops best in the woods. Henry James spoke wisely of "society as the redeemed form of man"; and the primary social form in religion is the congregation. I apprehend that every man would do well to become an active member of some religious congregation,—if not possibly under any steeple, then in the house of Aquila and Priscilla. For my own part, I think I should feel quite at home under many Unitarian steeples in the city of Boston. And, when I say at home, I do not mean that I should always necessarily think exactly with the man in the pulpit,—none of us need ever expect that in a world which is dynamic and not static, and I should take no pleasure in it: I mean that no antique doctrine would be imposed on me as a congregational condition, but that the soles of my boots would be as solid as those of the man in the pulpit or of anybody else in the congregation. I should expect to find myself free in the expression of any thought and in the exercise of any influence, and I should expect to find the general procession moving in the right direction.

I have said so much about the congregation, because I wish to say with some emphasis that I understand the congregation, and not the Saratoga Conference nor any other association, to be the unit of Unitarian fellowship. A Unitarian Church, in the sense in which we speak of the Episcopal or the Presbyterian Church, with a big C, I do not understand to exist. Unitarianism is rooted in Congregationalism, claims expressly to stand there, and repudiates everything else. If it ever fails to repudiate it strongly enough, then it is the duty

of every one who has at heart the interests of rational religion here to put in reminders. If the principle for which Robert Browne went to thirty dungeons, and for which Henry Barrow died, means anything to us; if the principle which carried John Robinson to Holland, and which planted Plymouth, still means anything in New England and America,—then liberal religious thinkers should not easily act on interpretations which allow our most liberal Congregationalism to rob itself of its birthright and initiate a Unitarian Presbyterianism. No Saratoga Conference ever had a right to impose any doctrine upon any Unitarian minister or congregation in America: the notion of such a right is a fiction, equally a fiction whether two years old or twenty. The status of no Congregational minister depends upon his relation to a conference; and he is recreant to his duty, if he views it, or permits it to be viewed, as thus dependent. He has to deal only with his congregation. If his congregation will not sustain him, then indeed he may not remain its minister, and the world is large. If he joins the Conference, accepting its standards, then he has to deal with his own conscience, not as a minister, but as a man. It is not a question between the man and Congregational Unitarianism,—and there is properly no other,—but a question between the man and a conference. A Unitarian Conference—this, of course, is what I am emphasizing—is always a thing of convenience; an accident, not an organic thing, not a unit, not a court of appeal for Unitarian ministers and congregations. If any minister or congregation is acting at any time as though it were such, it is under a fiction, which it is a right and a duty to end. No true Congregational minister will drag around the shackles of a synod. Let him not be compelled or permitted to do it.

The constitution of a conference cannot be made the authoritative test of any Unitarian church. It should have been as unnecessary to say this in Article X. as it would have been vain and ineffectual to say the contrary.

With this point clearly settled, some words may be said expressly about the articles of the Saratoga Conference. Mr. Gannett has recently compared these clumsy articles to a pyramid standing on its apex, with its broad base in the air. The Tenth Article really makes all that goes before amount to nothing, so far as matters of controversy go. This article, as Mr. Gannett well suggests, should properly be the Preamble; its purpose, that is, should have been somehow expressed in the Preamble. This was precisely what Mr. Abbot demanded at Syracuse,—this statement that the doctrinal language of the Preamble simply represented the opinions of the majority, and was in no wise a test of fellowship binding the minority. Had there been as much wisdom at Syracuse in 1866 as at Saratoga in 1882, a vast deal of bad feeling and of practical mischief might have been saved. In 1882, of course, the old Preamble could not have been adopted at all. I do not suppose that it could have been adopted at the time of Article IX., whenever that may have been. This article—rather a stepping-stone, I take it, than a stumbling-stone in the way to Article X.—is the clumsiest of the clumsy pyramid. That a conference with a Preamble affirming a certain obligation and devotion should adopt a special article to “reaffirm” its devotion would appear to be a very remarkable work of supererogation. But the allegiance of the Preamble is to “the Lord Jesus Christ,” and that of the later article to “the gospel of Jesus Christ.” A chance for this changed phrase is what I take it the article was manufactured to afford,—though I am very insecure in these Syracuse and Saratoga chapters of ecclesiastical

history,—and thus it seems a bridge. To be a disciple of Jesus Christ is certainly a very different thing from being a disciple of “the Lord Jesus Christ.” I am myself, certainly, a disciple of Jesus Christ in precisely the same sense in which I am a disciple of Emerson. I am certainly not a disciple of “the Lord Jesus Christ.”

About the term “Christian,” which has been so much talked of in this time, much talked of in connection with this present subject, it has seemed to me that there is often a shyness of it as superstitious as very much superstitious use of it. Let the term be used in the same free and rational manner as any other similar term. To single out Christ, whose life and thought have stamped themselves upon our line of civilization as no other, as the one great man who is to be denied his adjective, seems to me as silly and arbitrary as, in the nature of things, it must prove vain. “I see no objection,” Emerson said, “to being called a Platonist, a Christian, or any other affirmative name, and no good in negation.” And, again: “Always put the best interpretation on a tenet. Why not on Christianity?” But I should not think it wise for the liberal churches of the future formally to call themselves Christian churches. Such general use of personal names in the things of religion seems incommensurate.

Since the Tenth Article of the National Unitarian Conference distinctly disclaims the test character of the Preamble, and makes the basis of fellowship simply a general sympathy with the purposes and practical aims of the Conference, I do not see why, so far as conscience goes, any may not join the Conference who feel that sympathy. None others, certainly, will ever wish to; and none, certainly, who do not wish to, none who for some serious and sincere reason do not desire this fellowship, would seem to have any business to meddle with the Unitarian housekeeping, since, as I say, the world is large and the ways of service in it very various and numerous.

I do not see how the left wing of this Conference is properly subject to any present animadversion. Mill spoke somewhere of the duty of men in churches not to leave them the moment they felt a doubt as to the soundness of a doctrine. And proper patience, common sense, in dealing with organizations, is necessary, if enlightenment and liberality in organizations are ever to be hoped for. A pistareen liberalism is not Puritanism. Slavery is still mentioned in the Constitution; there has not been a rewriting with each amendment. These men have now a clear and honorable technical foothold; and it seems to me that their reading of the tendencies of the Conference is correct, and that they have good ground to hope for a consistent body of articles satisfactory to themselves. Should it prove otherwise, they must deal with that contingency; and I cannot imagine the going to any conference or the staying away from it to be a very vital matter with any very vital man.

The history of these twenty years has shown the folly of attempting to make the doctrinal basis or language of a conference narrower than that of many of the churches represented in it. Such an attempt is untrue to the genius of that Congregationalism to which liberal religion in our time is necessarily committed. The minimum of common doctrine is all that is ever legitimate or long possible for such a common conference. In the case of such an organization as the National Unitarian Conference, I think that no doctrinal statement at all is wiser. No doctrine is prejudiced by such silence, as certainly none has been helped by the course we have seen.

I wish that our Congregational churches may not forget the Puritanism of which they were

born. I wish that they may mean what they say, and say what they mean. I wish that they may have done with lumber and old clothes. I wish that they may have “spring cleanings.” Dean Stanley rejoiced that the judgment of the Privy Council in the famous “Essays and Reviews” case made it impossible to put men out of the English Church for denying the doctrines of plenary inspiration, imputed righteousness, and eternal punishment; and, fortified by this judgment, the Broad Churchmen went on preaching against the doctrines from their pulpits, while praying from their prayer-books to be delivered from everlasting damnation, through the merits of one who had made full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,—content, when the inconsistency was urged, to point to the Privy Council judgment. There has been too much of this in New England as well as in Old, too much among the followers of John Robinson. It is to be hoped that we shall not see a Privy Council Broad Churchism in our American Unitarianism. Then let Unitarianism beware of articles of shreds and patches, dovetailed documents, nullifying, modifying, and mollifying. Let Unitarianism, if it expects to hold the reverent rational thought of the time, and occupy the ground, have the moral courage always to unsay unwise words, and to talk as little as possible of majorities. I should hope that the National Conference would quickly cease to talk at all, in official documents, of “the Lord Jesus Christ,”—not cease to tolerate and heartily welcome those who do talk so, but cease to welcome simply by supplementary articles those who do not. “By the irresistible maturing of the general mind,” said Emerson, “the dogma of the mystic offices of Christ is being dropped, and he stands on his genius as a moral teacher.” “The history of Jesus is the history of every man, written large.” “The Christian Church has dwelt with noxious exaggeration about the person of Jesus. The soul knows no persons. It invites every man to expand to the full circle of the universe.” Let Unitarianism, so quick to paint the tomb of Emerson, respect his thought and receive it. If it cannot do this, then, whatever else it has, it does not have the future. If it can stickle about names instead of things, it has not the future. “The name, the name is all their pride,” says Lessing, in the *Nathan*,—“Christianity, not manhood.” If it refuses fellowship to any man who loves and labors for the things which it calls Christian, but which he calls by other name, it has not the future. If it has not place for Francis Abbot, it has not the future. The future will pronounce Mr. Abbot’s last article, in our *Journal of Philosophy*, worth more for the cause of good religious thought in America than everything likely to be said this year by all the Unitarians who would vote to-morrow, for the first time, for this Conference Preamble.

I deem it well to say here that there are points upon which I do not agree with Mr. Abbot in the late correspondence in the *Christian Register*. I do not view the object of the soul’s supreme allegiance as an impersonal Law; I do not believe that the congregation based on that will be the best congregation of the future; and I do not view the Roman Church as the true development or expression of Christianity. If I should apply the canon which yields this to other men or movements, my work in history would, I fear, show strange results. These matters cannot here, of course, be discussed; but so much it seems prudent to me to say.

I attended recently the centennial of King’s Chapel Unitarianism. It was the celebration of a liturgy,—one of those liturgies that came into

shape by the mollifying process,—an emasculated Te Deum, rhetorical doxologies, all corners rubbed down, pronouns well shifted into harmlessness, and “the world, the flesh, and the devil” mollified into “the deceitful allurements of this transitory world,” something not so likely to disturb nervous people in the mention. But it all started with a saintly man, and a heroic one,—it stood for advanced thought in its day, galvanic as it seems in ours,—and so all honor to it! I refer to this celebration of a species of Unitarianism which I do not think has much life left in it only because it was the latest occasion where I heard said what I have heard said very often in this time,—that, with all manner of old sanctions tumbling about us, many were coming to see that the way to keep hold of religion, the way not to let religion go, was to go back to Christ,—beyond and below and behind Church and doctors and apostles and evangelist, directly to Christ. Well, I do not think that anybody can go back to Christ too often, I do not think that anything can be better for any of us than to keep in the closest contact with the mind of Christ. But let no man think that any such *renaissance* as that meditated by these “Christo-centric” men is the cure for the sick theology of our time, or the key to the religious situation. The future does not lie in retrospect. “The cure for false theology,” said Emerson, “is mother wit.” “Forget your books and traditions, and obey your moral perceptions at this hour.” The future lies with those who, with reverence for the great past, with love for the great masters, with the spirit of Christ and the saints in their midst, are standing on their own feet and going forward. “Thank God,” said Emerson, “for these good men, but say, ‘I also am a man.’” “The foregoing generations,” he said, “beheld God and nature face to face; we through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe?... The sun shines to-day also. There is more wool and flax in the fields.”

Men talk of letting religion go. Religion will not let us go. Religion is of the constitution, the preamble to healthy, efficient, and true life. If ignored to-day, it will force itself to be remembered to-morrow. It will assuredly take care of itself; and the fewer “turbid media” and “phantasms,” the clearer the shining of the Inner Light. “Hast thou reflected, O serious reader, Advanced Liberal or other, that the one end, essence, use of all religion, past, present, and to come, was this only: To keep that same Moral Conscience or Inner Light of ours alive and shining! All religion was here to remind us, better or worse, of what we already know better or worse, of the quite *infinite* difference there is between a Good man and a Bad; to bid us love infinitely the one, abhor and avoid infinitely the other,—strive infinitely to be the one, and not to be the other. He that has a soul unasphyxiated will never want a religion; he that has a soul asphyxiated, reduced to a succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion, though you rose from the dead to preach him one.”

In saying what I do of the Constitution of this Conference, I am in no wise commending religious indeterminateness: I am simply asking Congregationalism to be true and self-respectful. I believe that men will never rally to any purpose around anything but ideas. I believe that the liberal congregations of the future will be more “credal”—if you will dignify the word aright—rather than less “credal” than to-day. They will have a clearer self-consciousness, a truer solidarity, and a more definite aim. I believe in conferences: this is a conference. It is well for men to meet to compare views. But I take it that the function of the

congregation, the function of a church,—it is a good word,—is different and more. The Church is not alone for excitation, but for inspiration and for nurture and for bringing things to pass. It will fulfil its function as its members are informed by a common idea, and that congregation will fulfil its function best which is informed by the best idea. I do not think that the best religious congregation of the future will chiefly meet to read the Journal of Paleontology, and I do not think that its hour will be spent in indeterminate “yearning” to the soft music of the organ or the harp. I do not think its basis will be jelly, and I do not think it will be sand. It will act more energetically, it will think more energetically, and it will believe more energetically than the Church of to-day; and, whatever else it believes, I think it will believe that “the Author of Nature has not left himself without a witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made; and that there is a force always at work to make the best better and the worst good.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CREATIVE RELIGION.

Editors of *The Index* :—

We are not to-day ignorant regarding the various forms and doctrines of the religious beliefs, both Pagan and Christian, which find expression in civilized and uncivilized countries the world over.

The sacred books,—the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, the Hindu Shastras,—the authority upon which religions are based, are open to all who desire to learn from their printed pages. Religious books, magazines, papers, tracts, are accessible to whomsoever will read them. Preachers and scholars proclaim from pulpit and platform, through the press and through manuscript, the word of religion that has been revealed to them. Students and travellers have opened to us a knowledge of religions other than Christian, which allows us to draw comparisons and enlarges our field of conception. With all this, yet are we looking for a creative religion,—a religion which shall create a character,—else is religion vain.

Unless the religion a man professes becomes a vital principle of his life; unless it can create that within him which shall force him to express his religion, not in words, but in deeds; unless it can lift him above the sordid hopes, selfish purposes, injustice, insincerity which everywhere abound; unless it can make him absolutely true,—he were better without a religion. A man's character is an expression of his religion,—his life is his religion. Tell me not that righteous men are found among all religious sects; that Christianity has been an inspiration, and has guided many a noble soul onward through its earthly career; that men and women have lived and died nobly in its cause: it was not the religion, but the man and the woman whose lives became ennobled in spite of their religion, that created the character within them.

We are seeking a creative religion. Is our search in vain? Nay: those who are giving voice to their religion in ethics, who hold that a man's religion should make him moral in every sense, should make him deal justly and kindly in every pursuit of life, should make him take upon himself the responsibility of his own actions, should lift him above the selfishness which is the cause of so much human misery,—in short, should make him see his whole duty to his brother man, and do it, because their religion is nothing, if it does not express itself in action,—they it is who have found that principle of life, call it religion, if you will, which makes it possible for the ideal man to exist. As yet, but few have found it: if there are more, they do not give it utterance. But those few who, leading and belonging to the Societies for Ethical Culture, have become workers in the Ethical Movement of to-day, are the nucleus of a great religious body that is to be, are pioneers in the field of a creative religion which shall at last conquer the world.

Devoid of outward form, of show, of poetic garb; devoid of all that tends to hide the real purpose of its working by its appeal to the emotions or sense of

beauty,—it proclaims in noble words and deeds its creative power, and bids men drink freely of its waters,—the waters of a religion pure and undefiled. The world calls such religious believers atheists, infidels. Blessings on their atheism, their infidelity! They shall light the world.

Christians will say that the fundamental principle of their religion is to make men pure and holy, just and merciful, true and good. We do not deny this; but the principle is so wrapped up in forms and doctrines, so urged upon men by hopes of future rewards or promises of future retribution,—fabrications of the mind, which *knows nothing* of the future,—that it is almost lost sight of, and the creative power is destroyed: else, in the eighteen hundred years that the Christian religion has been taught and preached, and with its millions of professed followers, should we not find more characters like unto that of its great Founder? Should we still see the vast amount of human suffering and misery, arising out of selfishness, which darkens so many Christian homes? should we hear of bank defaulters, of trusts betrayed by men professing the Christian religion,—if, as a religion, it can create an upright and noble character? No: it is because that religion, as it is, is not creative, that a few have broken from its bonds, and are trying to show men the reality of a religion so simple, so untrammelled, that no one need mistake its teachings; no sects arise within its domains to war among themselves in heated controversy regarding creeds and dogmas, regarding this or that form of worship, and the essentiality of this or that church rite.

The Ethical Movement, like a clarion note, in accents loud and clear, invites all men to its fold, and, holding out the possibility of an ideal life, makes that possibility real through the teaching of its religion,—a grand creative power to make man divine while yet he is human.

E. H. B.

THE *Congregationalist*, in its opposition to woman suffrage, seriously appeals to “the rib story” in Genesis, and declares that Eve was created from the rib of Adam to be his helpmeet; that the word *ezer* (“to bring aid or succor”) “involves a certain natural implication of secondariness and subordination.” It says, Adam, having seen “by actual survey the ranks of created beings below him,” “was prepared to feel the need of what the Lord was about to do, when, causing deep sleep to fall upon him, he builded a woman from one of his ribs. As to this transaction, Dr. Murphy says,” etc. The *Christian Register* is moved to comment in the following humorous manner: “The *Congregationalist* does not tell us who Dr. Murphy is; but, from the general antiquity of his argument, we may safely presume that he was the surgeon in attendance when Eve was created. His opinion on this ‘trans-action,’ as the *Congregationalist* with great felicity calls it, commands the respect which is due to age. Dr. Murphy does not say that this Adamified, sleep-born, rib-built woman must not vote; but it would not be strange if he believed so. The argument of the *Congregationalist*, then, simply amounts to this: Adam was an ‘original [our neighbor means *aboriginal*] unit.’ As an original unborn unit, he had a right to vote in the Garden of Eden, provided that he voted before the polls were closed and did not vote too often, as the old Adam in men sometimes leads them to do. Eve, on the other hand, being born of Adam, was not an ‘original unit,’ but an original cipher. As such, her political privileges may be reckoned as naught. Let it be conceded, then, that a woman who is born from a man is his inferior. It follows that every man who is born of a woman is her inferior. As the woman who is born of a man has no right to vote, so no man who is born of a woman has a right to vote either. The *Congregationalist* has thus succeeded in disfranchising, theoretically, the whole human race with the exception of the ‘original unit,’ who long since passed off the field of action. The logic of our neighbor reminds one of the logic which built ‘the one-horse shay’: it goes to pieces with the same dilapidated unanimity. The *Congregationalist* claims for this rib argument the lucidity of ‘common sense.’ ‘Common’ the argument certainly is, but the ‘sense’ of deciding a modern political question by an appeal to an old Assyrian legend is not so readily apparent.”

THERE is nothing so strong or safe in any emergency of life as the simple truth.—*Dickens*.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATED WOMEN. By Helen Ekin Starrett. Men, Women, and Money. By Frances Ekin Allison. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. Price 50 cents.

We have here two bright essays by Mrs. Starrett late editor of the *Chicago Weekly Magazine*, and her talented sister, Mrs. Allison. Both treat on subjects of great importance to the women of to-day. The purport of Mrs. Starrett's paper is outlined in the statement that "the environment of woman has changed entirely with the progress of civilization. The law of organic life is that the individual and the species constantly adapt themselves to their environment. May it not be that this law of adaptation is so mightily at work in a plastic, social condition that the changes effected by it are constantly apparent to the most casual observer? If there is a natural law of adaptation at work attempting to harmonize woman's nature with progressing and changing intellectual and social conditions, let us learn, if possible, what it is." She believes that, the sooner women's at present underpaid and unpaid labor is recognized at its proper pecuniary value, the better it will be for the race, giving men more genuine companions and better housekeepers in the wives who will be incited to understand financial economy more clearly than the majority of women now do, and to aim at better work, when such work has a distinct money value.

Mrs. Allison's essay is somewhat in the same direction as that of Mrs. Starrett, but treats solely of the differing position held by men and women in their relations toward money, and its equivalents of property and wages; the injustice and inequality of those relations, the causes thereof, and some possible remedies. Both essays are written in vigorous, earnest style, marked by good sense, and in a spirit of fairness and with moderation of statement. U.

WORKS OF JOHN RUSKIN: The Seven Lamps of Architecture; Lectures on Architecture and Painting; The Queen of the Air; The Ethics of the Dust. New York: John B. Alden, publisher.

Mr. Alden is publishing a handsome edition of Ruskin's complete works, to be sold at the low price of \$18 per set of fifteen volumes, and offers this one specimen volume, containing over six hundred pages, until June 1, 1885, at eighty-five cents. Purchasers of this volume will of course be allowed to complete their sets, but not at this price. This offer is made only for the purpose of making widely known the superb quality of the work. He will also publish for those who cannot afford to possess Ruskin's complete works, even at these low rates, an edition of his select works, for the net price of \$9.60 for the set. Although we don't understand in what way Mr. Alden can be making any profit from his remarkable series of cheap publications, yet we can understand that he is doing a good work in popularizing the best literature of the age, by making it possible for people with limited incomes to become purchasers. With all the advantages of our modern free public library system, a person who owns his books is much more likely carefully to read those books which belong to him than to consult them, if only accessible in libraries. Ruskin, for instance, is so voluminous a writer, and so discursive in style, that comparatively few of the readers who depend on the public libraries for what literature they need would care to call for his works from that source; yet he is so suggestive, so thought-inspiring and instructive a writer that the possession of his works, to read at leisure or to refer to, would be an unfailing source of pleasure, profit, and intellectual uplifting to their owner. Most of Mr. Alden's publications are of the best standard literature of the age. U.

In the *Popular Science Monthly* for June, Henry Gannett opens with a brief article, in which he returns a negative answer to the question, "Are we to become Africanized?" Prof. Benedict, after his preliminary discussions on "The Nervous System and Consciousness," develops his interesting conclusions on the correlations of thought and organization; M. de Laveleye, the Belgian socialist, writes at much length on "The State vs. the Man," in answer to Spencer's "Man vs. the State." Spencer replies briefly, but very effectively. The eminent London biologist, Prof. Flower, expounds "Whales, Past and Present," with illustrations, giving much freshness to an old topic. "The Fuel of the Future," "Sulphurous Disinfectants," "Concerning Kerosene,"

and "The Mediterranean of Canada" are very readable papers. "The Ways of Monkeys" is an entertaining study in a fascinating branch of natural history, and Prof. Grote's "Moths and Moth-catchers" is a timely paper by one of our first entomological authorities. Mattieu Williams closes his valuable series of papers on "The Chemistry of Cookery," by giving us the chemical story of maltose and the science of puddings and porridges. There are a sketch and portrait of Dr. Alfred Brehm, the distinguished German naturalist and traveller, recently deceased; and the closing departments are full of critical discussion and varied miscellaneous scientific information. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

ONE of the most entertaining articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June is called "Dime Museums: From a Naturalist's Point of View," by the Rev. J. G. Wood, the English naturalist. Kate Gannett Wells gives a graphic description of Passamaquoddy Island and its hermit. There is an account of six months spent at Astrakhan, by Mr. Edmund Noble, and a paper on "Modern Vandalism," by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, about Staple's Inn, London, and the church of Ara Caeli, Rome, both to be destroyed. A statement as to government by committee, at Washington, by J. Laurence Laughlin, and "The Forests and the Census," by Francis Parkman, will interest students of politics. The three serials—Mrs. Oliphant's "Country Gentleman," Miss Jewett's "Marsh Island," and Charles Egbert Craddock's "Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains"—have all their usual interest. Dr. Holmes' "New Portfolio" is also as bright as ever. The literary papers of the number are led by a sterling piece of criticism upon Mrs. Oliphant, by Miss Harriet W. Preston; and there are reviews of Baird's *Huguenot Emigration*, Allen's *Religious Aspects of Philosophy*, and recent novels. Celia Thaxter contributes a poem; and there is also some other good verse, together with the usual departments. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

In the *Andover Review* for June is continued and completed the series of "Sermons on Social Problems," by Dr. Newman Smyth. Rev. S. W. Dike writes on "The Religious Problem of the Country Town." Prof. Everett gives a penetrating analysis of George Eliot's personal and literary characteristics. The opening article is a review of the work of the Old Testament Revisers, prepared by Dr. C. M. Mead, a member of the American Company of Revisers. In the Biblical Department there is also a *résumé* of critical discussions of "The Song of Solomon," and an able contribution to its interpretation. The editorials continue the series on "Progressive Orthodoxy," and under the title "The Needless Disparagement of a Noble Profession" treat of certain customs and habits which diminish the attractiveness of the Christian ministry; and, under that of "England and Russia in the East," of the present position and relations of these two powers, and of their distinct offices in the work of civilization. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its head-quarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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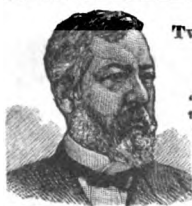
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All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

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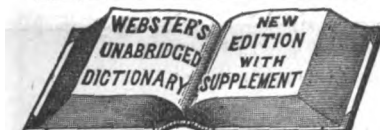
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE everlasting question in England regarding marriage with a deceased wife's sister will come up again in Parliament June 11, by a motion of that persistent nobleman, the Earl of Dalhousie.

REV. W. F. CRAFTS, who is in favor of a compulsory Puritanical observance of Sunday, says in a Pittsburg paper, "There is no one thing the anti-Sabbath people rejoice so much in as in Sunday papers." This is an indication that the "anti-Sabbath people" are generally intelligent and sensible people, who appreciate the superiority of the Sunday paper to ordinary orthodox sermons.

THE *Journal de Rome* is much disturbed by the announcement of the Free Thinkers' Congress in that city, which was to open May 30, the anniversary of the death of Voltaire, and to close June 2, the anniversary of the death of Garibaldi. It says that his Holiness the Pope, since losing his temporal power, has suffered many indignities; but that "the party of Satan" should hold, in Rome, a congress of the enemies of the Church "is the most odious and revolting outrage yet imagined."

SAYS an exchange: "It sounds a little queer to read that the worshippers at Dr. Sunderland's church, which the President attends, were 'indignant' and showed 'considerable feeling' when it was discovered that Fred Douglass had hired the pew usually occupied by the tenant of the White House, President Cleveland preferring one less conspicuous." Fred Douglass is entitled to any pew in Dr. Sunderland's church he can hire and pay for; but those who are acquainted with his views will wonder why all of a sudden he desires a conspicuous pew in an orthodox church, whose creed he outgrew years ago.

SAYS the *Springfield Republican*: "Clergymen and other citizens have petitioned the grand jury to indict the Boston and Albany Railroad for running trains on Sunday, and there is some probability that an indictment will be found and presented to-day. The corporation claims to operate only the through Western train, destined for Boston, and one express each way between Boston and New York, and such freight trains as are under necessity of being moved. The trial of a case of this kind will be important. Judge Gard-

ner is holding the present term of court. We do not understand that the horse-car company was also presented for indictment."

ON April 5, at the Widyoda Buddhist College, in Columbo, a young and accomplished English lady, well known in Bombay, became a professed follower of Lord Buddha, taking the "five precepts" in the presence of the Buddhist high priest. Says the *Times of India*: "It was a curious sight to see an English young lady, dressed in an elegant robe of black silk, sitting in the midst of a crowd of yellow-robed Buddhist priests, and repeating the Pansil. The ceremony began by the high priest examining the fair candidate as to the reasons that led her to desire to accept Buddhism as her faith, to which Miss Flynn answered that, after having studied the various religious systems of the world, she found the Buddhistic esoteric philosophy as being most in accordance with her own reason and common sense. Other questions having been satisfactorily answered by her, the high priest administered to her the 'five precepts,' which Miss Flynn promised to observe. The ceremony ended by the chanting of 'Ratana Sutta' by all the priests present. Besides the large number of priests, there were present at the temple where the ceremony took place many of the most prominent Buddhists of Columbo, the captain and several officers of the screw steamer 'Tibre,' of the Messageries Maritimes, and several European passengers that had arrived by that vessel."

THE eighteenth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association, held in this city on the evening of last Thursday and the morning, afternoon, and evening of Friday, was largely attended, the themes discussed were of current interest, the addresses were worthy of the subjects and the occasion, and the proceedings throughout were marked by most earnest enthusiasm. A report of the business meeting by the Secretary this week takes the usual place of the leading essay in *The Index*. The opening address by the President, printed on another page, will be read with interest. The names of Mr. W. D. Le Sueur and Rev. M. J. Savage are a guarantee of the excellence of their papers, of which, however, our readers will have a chance to judge for themselves next week and the week following. Dr. R. Heber Newton's address on "The Religious Aspects of Socialism," by its bold and radical thought as well as by its learning and eloquence, made a marked impression. It is expected that this, too, will appear soon in *The Index*. The short speeches on Socialism and Co-operation, by Mr. F. A. Hinckley, Mr. H. B. Blackwell, Mr. John Orvis, Mr. G. B. Stebbins, Mr. John McNeal, Mrs. A. M. Diaz, and two Shaker women who joined in the Friday afternoon's discussion, and whose picturesque appearance and earnest words made them objects of special attention, were brimful of thought, earnest and eloquent, and were listened to with the closest attention. At the Festival held in the Meionaon, Tremont Temple, Mrs. E. D. Cheney presided with her accustomed dignity and grace. A

sumptuous repast and an hour's social converse were followed by brief speeches. Tributes were paid to prominent friends of the Free Religious Association who had died during the year, and whose portraits were displayed in the hall. Mrs. Cheney referred to the death of Hon. Charles W. Slack; Mr. Potter related reminiscences and spoke of the exalted character of Rev. W. H. Channing; Miss Mary F. Eastman recalled the virtues and services of Miss Emily J. Leonard; and B. F. Underwood spoke of the genius and courage of Miss M. A. Hardaker. R. Heber Newton had some very pleasant words to offer in praise of the Free Religious Association and *The Index*. Kristofer Janson, author of *The Spell-bound Fiddler*, expressed in poetical and eloquent language his sympathy with the work of the Association. Mr. W. D. Le Sueur told the audience about liberal religious thought in Canada. Rev. William I. Gill showed how a Methodist minister, if he were a broad and progressive man, could be deeply interested in the Free Religious movement. Mr. G. N. Hill, president of the Ingersoll Secular Society, commended highly the efforts of the Association to secure justice to atheists in our courts, and its work in favor of taxing church property. The concluding speeches were by Mr. F. A. Hinckley and Mr. F. M. Holland. The music, furnished by the Temple Quartet, and the magnificent floral display, due largely to the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. J. Wilcox, contributed to the pleasure of the occasion, which was one long to be remembered. Everything considered, the eighteenth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association was one of the most interesting and successful ever held; and, if we mistake not, it will serve to encourage the friends of the Association to renewed efforts in its behalf.

THE Panthéon in Paris, which was secularized by the French ministry for the purpose of burying Victor Hugo in that church, corresponds in some degree to Westminster Abbey in London. It was originally the Church of St. Genevieve. It was consecrated by the National Convention, in the days of the French Revolution, to distinguished men, irrespective of their religious beliefs. Although its "sacred" character was afterward restored by the action of the State government, the crypt beneath the edifice was permitted to retain the tombs of illustrious Frenchmen including Rousseau and Voltaire who were hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, on account of their public services. Still, the priests in charge of the Panthéon, it was known, would not have permitted the burial in that edifice of Victor Hugo, who opposed Catholicism while living and refused the last offices of the Church in his dying hours. Hence, the secularization of the edifice by the official order of the ministry, which was approved by the Chamber of Deputies by a large vote. Last Saturday, a motion in the French Senate to censure the government for secularizing the Panthéon was defeated by a vote of 189 to 67. The incident shows how the influence of the Roman Catholic Church has declined in France the last few years.

WORK AND AIMS OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Address at the Opening of the Annual Convention, May 29, 1885.

BY WM. J. POTTER.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure to announce the opening of the proceedings of this Convention. It is also one of the duties, not so pleasant, devolving upon the presiding officer of this meeting, to make remarks during the first quarter or half hour, while people are coming in and getting still. This is our eighteenth annual meeting. Eighteen springs have come, eighteen harvests have been gathered, since that crowded assembly was held in Horticultural Hall, on Tremont Street, of which "the remnant" that survived the long session and the subsequent dinner organized the Free Religious Association. From that time, our conventions have been adopted into the regularity of nature, coming with the seasons in their order, and as punctually as the leafing of the trees and the blooming of the dandelions on Boston Common. In late years, I have noticed, by the way, that the *scavengers* of the public grounds in this city—if that be the right name for those diligent officers—carefully mow down the dandelions and set out imported flowers in artificial beds. But the Free Religious Association has not been deceived by any of these interferences with the laws of nature. Every spring-time, it has blossomed, in the natural way, into Convention and Festival.

But what have the harvests been? will perhaps be asked by some of its critics. What results has the Free Religious Association to show, to justify its existence. The Association, like any organized body, must be judged by its fruits; and it is perfectly proper that that question should be asked. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is a good test to apply to the character of any society or any person. And I know not where that doctrine has been proclaimed with more emphasis for the last eighteen years than upon this platform. But, when this question concerning results is asked, a rational and just discrimination must be made in the answer. No reasonable man expects figs from a grape-vine or a crop of corn from grass-seed, nor will he expect any fruit until the proper season of fruit. I think the biographers of Jesus in the New Testament must have got things badly mixed in that story of his cursing the fig-tree which had no figs, when the time of figs had not yet come; or else he was not the man the world has taken him for. So, in considering the results of organizations, regard must be given to their aims and objects and their methods of operation. Do they accomplish that which they set out to do? And is that which they set out to do a good and desirable object? These are the questions which must be asked and answered before the more general question as to the fruits of any organization or movement can be determined. Judged by the standard of a sectarian religious organization, the Free Religious Association, it must be frankly confessed, has little to show. It has no long treasury account of missionary funds to present, no list of societies that it has founded, no paid agents in the field, no reports from subordinate and auxiliary associations, no denominational book-publishing concern that rolls up the dollars into the scores of thousands, and possibly needs public ventilation, no large list of members even, which holds together with any strong coherency from year to year. In all such material for statistics, the Free Religious Association is wanting. In some of these particu-

lars, it is more defective, perhaps, than is good for its interests. But I name these things to indicate that this Association has not aimed to build up a new religious sect, and is therefore not to be judged by any of the ordinary standards of denominational prosperity and achievement.

The Free Religious Association is a society organized, fundamentally, in behalf of the perfect freedom of human thought in all matters pertaining to religion, and in behalf of certain subsidiary objects allied with that fundamental one; and its method is that of general agitation. Now, of a society with such objects and such a method, it is not always easy to say at any particular time just what it has accomplished. It is a general religious reform association, working for certain very radical reforms in religion; and it aims at its results through moulding public opinion. The real statistics of its results at any time are to be found in the record of public opinion, as it may be slowly affected and shaped by the utterances of this and kindred platforms. This record may have to be long waited for. I suspect that there was a time, a few years after Jesus' death, when Christianity, if asked for its statistics of progress, would have had little to offer. Wide-reaching reforms are not carried in a day. The American Anti-slavery Society, for a good many years after its organization, was not able to report any very encouraging progress in the nation at large. Yet it did not cease to agitate. *Agitation*,—that was Wendell Phillips' favorite word: if you have any object of reform at heart, do not let public sentiment go to sleep upon it. Keep it stirred up. *Agitate*. The shaping of public opinion, in the early stages especially, may seem very slow, but little by little it yields to any genuine truth earnestly urged; and, by and by, when little expected perhaps, the changed public opinion may break forth on occasion, and take a stand that tells to all the world what has been done.

Now, we might be content to say that the Free Religious Association is not old enough yet to have its history written, that no one can tell just what its contribution has been or is to be to the elements of thought that are shaping the religion of the future. But I think we may also rightfully consider certain signs as marking a progress which this Association has helped to effect. The Unitarian body is certainly moving in the direction of the principles of this Association. There seems to be, indeed, in some quarters an apprehension lest Unitarianism is going to swallow this Association, body, soul, and all. Again, it was a novel idea, when this platform was established, to see Christian and Jew standing upon it side by side as speakers, with mutual respect and as equal officers of the society, and to hear a letter read here from a native Hindu concerning reform movements in the old Brahmanistic faith of India. But when Mozoomdar was in this country, eighteen months ago,—the eloquent preacher of the Brahmo Somaj,—he was in such demand for Unitarian pulpits, and even for orthodox pulpits and meetings, that the Free Religious Association was unable to get hold of him for any meeting of its own; and Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahmo Somaj leader, was, just before his death, the sought and welcomed contributor of a number of articles, delineating his religious views, to an orthodox journal in New York, the *Independent*; and, more recently, a Chinese scholar has been giving in the same journal a native view of Confucianism. Who shall say how much the example and teaching of this platform, with the special emphasis it has placed on the idea of the sympathy of religions, has contributed to results of which these facts are the sign? or that there was not some genetic rela-

tion, though it may not be acknowledged, between the breadth of this Association and that Congress of Christian Churches, including Unitarian, Universalist, and Swedenborgian, as well as regular Evangelical, which recently met in Hartford? That was a narrower platform than this, which does not confine itself to the Christian faith and name; yet fifteen years ago no such meeting as that Congress would have been possible among Christian churches. Even the Evangelical Alliance was looked upon with some hesitating suspicion by the stricter sectarians of Evangelical churches. I think it must be admitted, too, that creeds are not holding the same authoritative place, even in orthodox churches, which once they held, and that every year the churches are increasingly taking up works of charity and philanthropy as a part of the object of their existence. And who, again, shall say how much the Free Religious Association, which from the beginning has subordinated creed to deed, has contributed to this result? For it should be said, too, that, though this Association, being a general and national body in its plan, has not of itself established philanthropic and charitable institutions, it has aimed to inspire its constituency everywhere with a sense of not merely the importance, but the necessity of putting free religious ideas to practical work in all feasible and honest ways for the amelioration and elevation of human society. Not only has the Association sought to affect public opinion at large, but it has sought to make every member a special missionary for human welfare in whatever community he may live.

This method of general agitation for affecting public opinion is one of degrees. With more zeal, with more workers, with more money, the Free Religious Association might doubtless have accomplished much more than it has in this direction. It might have held more conventions; it might have continued and multiplied its courses of lectures; it might have issued more publications; it might have increased the efficiency of *The Index*. Give the means, and this kind of work may be indefinitely increased. Nor, because this is the general method by which the Association has hitherto worked and now works, are certain more directly practical methods of work excluded,—as, for instance, the efforts which the Executive Committee have made the past year before the Massachusetts Legislature to secure the repeal of the law exempting churches from taxation, and for rescinding that clause of the law concerning evidence in courts which permits a witness to be discredited because of his religious opinions. Increased activity of this kind, and possibly in other ways, may come in the future. But, whatever changes of method or of emphasis of methods may be adopted, I, for one, earnestly hope that the Association will never diminish by one jot or particle the emphasis it has always placed upon *thought* as a dominating element in the solution of all religious and of all social problems. There is a tendency in these days, in religious organizations and conferences (except when a body of ministers get together by themselves), to ignore the problems that require close thinking, because such problems bring up dividing issues, and to keep upon the ground of sentiment and practical work. But let there be at least one platform left in Boston in Anniversary Week that shall not be afraid of any problem of thought; one platform that shall dare to present to a popular assembly such a probing question as that which is to be discussed here this morning concerning the basis of religion. Whatever is to be said of the needs of practical work, and of the supreme importance of character and of moral and philanthropic action,—and I, at least,

would bring no disparagement upon these high aims,—let it not be forgotten what a leading place high discussion and high thinking have held in the world's history. Let it not be forgotten that this Association stands, not only for freedom in religion, but for thought in religion. Thought has been predominant in all the great reform movements of mankind. Sentiment may be the motive-power behind movements and at the bottom of institutions; but thought is the director, the controller, the builder. To thought, deep, lofty, free, daring, let this platform still stand. Let the thought which clergymen whisper to each other secretly in their libraries, which esoteric students declare in their select circles, which a bishop admonishes a too frankly speaking preacher for proclaiming in his pulpit,—let such thought have course here as free as the air of heaven, and go untrammelled and unsmothered to ears that are also free.

But some one may here say that the Association is only, therefore, a free platform, where representatives of various beliefs may freely utter their views, but that it has no aim, no distinct view and purpose of its own. Now, such a free platform may be worth having even in this advanced day of a free press. But, speaking for myself, I have never been able to define the scope and meaning of the Association as nothing more than this; nor does it seem to me that one who finds no more than this in the Constitution of the Association can have read that document very carefully. That document, for one thing, applies the method of absolutely free inquiry and thought to all the religions of the world. What happens under that treatment of the religions? What is happening as that treatment is being applied to the study of comparative religion by the scholars of the age? A body of knowledge is being gathered under which the old theories of religion as a miraculous gift to mankind from the skies are being revolutionized. Not only are we learning the sympathies and agreements of the religions, but we are learning also that their antagonisms—antagonisms which have often been the cause of bitter persecutions and wars and bloodshed—are the result of false and superstitious claims. These claims and antagonisms are accordingly falling before the searching light of free inquiry and are destined to disappear. The special religions are moving on converging lines toward a religion of universal unity. Truth, right, brotherhood—these are coming to the front as greater words than any that are stated in church creeds, and as representing a stronger power than any sectarian walls. To state it in another form, human society in respect to religion is passing through a process of organic evolution, and every organic movement is purposive. It carries its aim in its own bosom. Now, the Free Religious Association voices this progressive organic movement of the vital elements of all the specific religions forward to some finer achievement for truth and human welfare. It does not attempt to manipulate these vital elements. It seeks to put them into no close corporation. Rather does it hold itself plastic to their power. It establishes a free platform, but a platform that faces the future,—a platform which not only accords hospitality to all earnest present views, however differing, but which distinctly prophesies the downfall of the power of creeds and of the antagonistic claims of ecclesiasticism, and the coming in of the era of the commonwealth of man. Toward that end, the vital forces of religion, under the shaping constructive power of emancipated thought, are moving; and this is the significance of the Free Religious Association to at least one of its members.

ALTRUISM.

"This altruism that assumes for itself a loftier morality in its willingness to part with personality and live on simply as influence and force, sweetening human life and deepening the blue of heaven,—a view that colors the pages of George Eliot and also some unfortunate pages of science,—is one of those theories that contains within itself its own refutation."—*T. T. Munger, May Century.*

Mr. Munger has judged rashly the state of mind which he terms altruism, the disciples of which have never assumed much for it or themselves, have put forth no claim to a "loftier morality," and have been content with a waiting attitude, while patiently endeavoring by example and precept to work out the salvation of the soul, not in fear and trembling, but in the hope of good accomplished.

Theology had imbued the prose and poetry of the Old and New Testaments with its own arbitrary meaning, had wrested it from the domain of spiritual insight into that of dogmatic diction, so that the comforting and ennobling sentiments of the Christ and his followers had taken on an evangelical tone to most minds. The eternal truth of the saying was vindicated, "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." The world had long been watching for a new gospel; for a prophet strong and able to interpret the meaning of birth, life, death, to answer the questions of the anxious and doubting soul.

Science came to direct man's thoughts to the universe and its undreamt-of wonders. It tried with honest endeavor and in single-heartedness to assist in the solution of present mysteries, to answer the soul's cry out of darkness; and nobly has it accomplished its work, in the face of ridicule, invective, and contrary forces. Neither has nature as yet called a halt, and one of the great hopes for the world lies in the direction of what science can accomplish for the material good of humanity.

This new power to be exerted for the development of the world naturally exercised a tremendous influence over the best intellects of the day. It is not to be wondered at if a reaction took place against the form of education, from the effects of which the world is still suffering, that was manifested by an almost morbid desire to be no longer deceived, but to face the truth and accept realities in place of illusions. Goethe, John Stuart Mill, Prof. Seelye, Darwin, Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Mr. Browning, Emerson, George Sand, and George Eliot were of one mind on this point; and it is they who by their high ideals and courage have made smooth the path for Mr. Munger and his *Immortality and Modern Thought*. On the strength of their words and works, he has built the bridge over which he has crossed to the serene heights "where lies repose." Altruism led the world away from personality, with its hopes of reward and its longing for certainty, into that state of mind which waits patiently, humbly, and earnestly for the solution of its difficulties, and strives to live for posterity. Neither does it deny immortality. It does not dream dreams; but it has seen visions of progress, of unselfishness, of the future advancement of the world along the path of righteousness.

At the present period of the world, altruism is the only resource of many people who are pressed by their work and have but little leisure to devote to abstract considerations; and the day has long since passed away when people are content to see visions at second-hand.

Many men and not a few women live happily and die calmly in the belief that annihilation is their fate; and, as far as the influence of personality on society is concerned, if their deeds and words tend to morality, this belief has no effect.

Witness George Eliot,—how little weight do her personal beliefs on immortality exert, while her ever-living words are more potent for good than while she was yet alive.

The noblest thoughts of every land and of all times are being gathered together to-day, and the prophets of the past are exerting an ever-increasing power over the thought of the present. Here comes in a point which cannot be termed a minor one,—the survival of the fittest. If immortality is conceded, it must be so from the highest spiritual point attained by the human soul. What part in such a plan of creation would the bush-boy of Australia occupy? Obviously none.

The best intellects of the century have been believers in this form of altruism, with but a dim hope of a hereafter; and many among them have none. They have yet had the bravery necessary to labor for posterity, to merge their personality into the universe of which they found themselves a part. They have accomplished for the intellectual and material world what the believers in immortality were powerless to do.

Dinah has led many a soul into the light of self-conquest; "Romola, with her noble perplexities," has taken many a tempted and suffering woman into the calm of renunciation; Maggie Tulliver, sinking beneath the Floss, had many a forbidden love drowned with her; and Dorothea has made smooth the crooked path of many a despairing bride.

The world can be none the worse for such altruism. It is but honorable that the prophets of the future should acknowledge the devotion, faithfulness, and courage of the devoted few whose renunciation has rendered it possible for them to lead others up to the serene heights of certainty.

ELLEN N. HENROTIN.

FOURIER AND FOURIERISM IN FRANCE.

The anniversary of Charles Fourier's birth was, as has been the case for many years in Paris, celebrated last month at an interesting banquet held in one of the numerous restaurants that look out on the famous garden of the Palais Royal, where the French Revolution was born. Gathered around the table were about fifty men and women, all holding advanced ideas on social and political questions, discussing with the old enthusiasm and the same conviction the old problems and the same subjects as did Camille Desmoulins and his companions in the garden below during the spring and summer of 1789. The French reformers and revolutionists of to-day say to you, "Yes, we have a political republic; but what we want is a social republic." And was not this the programme of the Jacobins of the convention?

But these radicals of 1885 had not assembled at the Palais Royal to conspire against "the powers that be," but to rejoice over the good time coming when Charles Fourier's dreams shall have become realities. The bust of the noble socialistic philosopher was enthroned on a side table, and surrounded with vases filled with his favorite flower, the crown imperial (*Fritillaria imperialis*). "Did you ever hear Fourier's beautiful symbolization of this flower?" asked my right-hand neighbor, Mme. Griess-Traut, who has devoted her long and well-filled life to advancing the interests of international peace and woman's emancipation. "No," was my answer. So a waiter was told to set one of the vases before us; and, between courses, Mme. Griess-Traut repeated these words of the master: "This flower represents the patient and unappreciated *savant* and inventor who pass their lives in discovering some new law or machine, who labor in isolation and die in poverty. You notice that

the corolla, instead of standing erect as is generally the case, hangs down. This typifies modesty and a retiring disposition. The flesh-like hue of the petals is the glow of human enthusiasm. If you look into the flower, you will observe four tears at its base; and, if you touch them, your finger will indeed receive a lachrymal deposit. This signifies that in moments of despondency the neglected *savant* weeps. The corolla has no calyx: the inventor is unprotected and alone in the world. That tuft of sharp-pointed, sturdy leaves which crown the plant stands for fearlessness, activity, labor,—the best characteristics of the life of the true investigator."

This beautiful revelation of the hidden meaning of this rather coarse and gaudy lily was a new and delightful lesson to me in the language of flowers; and I was not a little sorry to have Mme. Griess-Traut's poetic narration interrupted by the announcement from the lady president of the banquet that the post-prandial oratory was about to begin.

The first speaker was M. Courbebaisse, a distinguished State engineer and ardent phalansterian of the old school, whose toast to "Charles Fourier, the most fecund creative genius the world has ever seen," was such a clear and concise statement of the doctrine that I give it in full from notes kindly furnished me by the author.

"Fourier discovered the grand law of happiness," began M. Courbebaisse, "which he proclaimed to be the accomplishment for every human being of the cycle of his destiny during his lifetime. The development and employment of all our aptitudes, both physical and moral, from the moment we enter the world until we leave it,—such is the true formula of earthly happiness. Considering man an eminently social being, who can be happy only in a society that is happy, Fourier deduced this first principle of human happiness from social science.

"The structure of society ought, therefore, to be in harmony with the human organization. Fourier, throwing aside all preconceived ideas, gave himself up to a profound study of the constitution of the human organism both in the past and present life of humanity, and derived from this fundamental examination the laws that should govern the creation of a harmonious society. This inquiry, I am ready to admit, is not complete: much still remains to be done to render it perfect.

"Fourier has characterized as follows the successive social forms of the past of humanity: Edenism, Savagism, Patriarchism, Barbarism, and Civilization. We are now in this last stage, which is to be followed by two others called by Fourier Guarantism and Harmony. We have already begun to enter upon the first of these phases.

"Carried away with his wonderful discovery, and impatient to introduce humanity into the happy stage of Harmony, Fourier believed that man could pass over Guarantism and attain Harmony through a social graft in the form of a harmonious phalanx which would permit of the immediate realization of the new existence. Fourier always entertained this hope, which was never realized, and which caused him, unfortunately, to suppress in his works everything relating to Guarantism and the social reforms that are being slowly introduced among us to-day. For do not be deceived, my friends: our disorganized school seems to have almost disappeared, and yet never before have our ideas made such rapid progress. They have forced themselves on an unconscious society, quite independent of our feeble efforts. In this fraternal gathering, for example, many of you who do not imagine that you are phalansterians are such without being aware of it and without

having suffered the bitter disappointment of those phalansterians who hoped for the prompt realization of Harmony. But, however ignorant we may be concerning the ways and means to be employed, and the time necessary for reaching Harmony, rest assured that its coming is as certain as the natural development of an organic germ.

"Permit me now to describe briefly the life of a man in Harmony. Every new-born child will be welcomed with love, cared for and brought up in the way that will best develop, integrally, all his faculties and aptitudes, both physical and moral. Growing up happily in the society of children of his own age and in the midst of the caresses of his family, he will soon be able partly to support himself by participating in the well-planned and attractive labors of his phalanx. His co-workers will be his friends, the hours of labor will be short and varied, and his industry and talent will be justly compensated. This agreeable and methodical system of work will produce a general abundance, that will make it possible to come generously to the aid of those who, by accident or sickness,—and the number will then be much smaller than to-day,—are prevented from contributing their share to the common welfare, and will guarantee to every one almost absolute liberty,—a necessary condition, if all the members of society are to enjoy a happy and normal existence.

"But, it may be asked, how many centuries must pass by before the coming of this millennium? and of what interest is it to us, if we are not to rejoice in this Harmony? The admirable cosmogony of Fourier answers these questions. It teaches us that just as our terrestrial life is composed of two alternate series of wakings, characterized by memory and motion, and sleepings, characterized by oblivion and repose, so our existence in the universe is composed of two alternate series of superior lives, characterized by memory and an untrammelled going and coming throughout space, and inferior planetary lives, characterized by forgetfulness of preceding ones and movements limited to our planet. Now, our conscience tells us that we will be treated in this double series of alternate and successive lives according to our merits, and that thus we will enjoy the happiness that we shall have prepared for ourselves, and suffer the wrong that we shall have committed, so that we will be punished and improved thereby.

"After this rapid glance at our future life in Harmony, I will close with an All Hail! to the great prophet of human happiness, the founder of social science, the inventor of the laws of universal attraction, of organized and attractive labor, of the grand law of solidarity sanctioned by his cosmogony,—to Charles Fourier, in a word, the greatest genius the world has ever seen, still, perhaps, the most misunderstood, but who will be, unquestionably, the most glorious in the most distant future."

The next speaker was M. Charles Lemonnier, one of the few living original Saint-Simonians, and the well-known advocate of peace and international arbitration. While, as a follower of Saint-Simon, M. Lemonnier could not accept Fourierism, he could, nevertheless, drink to the memory of a great and good socialist. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, of London, the Alfred H. Love of England, followed in an eulogium of Robert Owen, who, he said, drew his ideas from Fourier,—a statement, by the way, that may be questioned. All the praise that Mr. Pratt bestowed upon Robert Owen was quite deserved; but he forgot to mention what was perhaps the grandest feature of Robert Owen's life, that of having been the father and educator of Robert Dale Owen. Mme. Griess-Traut next made a warm appeal in favor of peace, although her words seemed a cry in the desert at a moment

when the most civilized nation in Europe was about to come to blows with the most uncivilized. M. Morin, the aged anti-clerical, ex-municipal councillor, stated that Col. Roudaire, the originator of the inland African sea, who died this past winter, was a phalansterian, and expressed regret that the veteran socialist, Victor Considérant, one of the earliest disciples of Fourier, felt constrained in his old age to abandon the doctrine, because its theism clashed with his materialism. M. Charles M. Limousin, the editor of the *Mouvement Social*, closed the series of speeches with a spirited description of how Fourierism is slowly, but surely making its way into French legislation. "We are entering upon Guarantism," exclaimed the orator: "our school may be disappearing, but our principles are being accepted by the political world."

The fraternity, solidarity, noble enthusiasm, and firm belief in the good time coming, which pervaded this unostentatious banquet, awakened in me a new interest in Charles Fourier; and a few days later I visited his tomb in the Montmartre Cemetery and his portrait in the Luxembourg gallery.

It was a calm, partially clouded afternoon—one of those April days when the sky is uncertain, and you cannot tell whether rain or sun is to come forth—that I wended my way through this densely peopled city of the dead. The weather seemed in keeping with the system of the philosopher whose tomb I was trying to find. At last, I discovered the broad, low-laid slab, surrounded by a simple little iron railing, with these words—which I shall not attempt to translate—boldly cut into its surface:—

Ici sont déposés les restes
de

CHARLES FOURIER.

La série distribue
les harmonies.
Les attractions
sont proportionnelles
aux destinées.

A bust of the defunct stood on a low socle at the head of the grave. The soft brown stone out of which it was made reproduced but roughly the delicate and striking lineaments of this remarkable physiognomy. The plaster copy at the banquet hall gave one a more correct idea of Fourier as he must have appeared in life. The top of the head is very broad, and the forehead wide and high. It is evident that you are gazing at a profound thinker. The lower part of the face is narrow, and comes almost to a point at the chin, this tapering effect being exaggerated by the cranial largeness. The compressed lips betoken firmness, and did indeed belong to a man who always had the courage of his convictions. There is spirituality in all the features of this face; there is nothing coarse in it; poetry shines out from it. You now understand how Fourier saw such deep and tender meaning in the crown imperial, a cluster of which flowers some affectionate hand had recently arranged droopingly over the shoulders of the bust. They were still fresh.

This touching tribute reminded me of something told me at the banquet,—how an old phalansterian, coming up a few weeks ago for the first time to Paris from the provinces, had wished to meet with some of his fellow votaries; how he took out his visiting card, and wrote these words upon it: "If any phalansterian find this card, I should like to have his city address. I shall return here in a few days, and shall hope to find his card on the tomb of the master"; how he laid the visiting-card on Fourier's grave; how he did come back again; how he did find another card there; and how, by this means, a complete stranger

in the big city, he soon made the acquaintance of all the leading Fourierites.

The day after my pilgrimage to Montmartre, I went to the Luxembourg gallery, to examine more carefully Gigoux's portrait of the founder of the Phalanstery. The well-known portrait painter has treated his subject at full-length and life size. He has placed him out of doors, seated on a bank in the very midst of that nature which the philosopher loved so dearly. The hat is off, so that the features stand out clearly. The contour is the same as in the bust at the cemetery, but the delicate brush has given color and animation and expression that the chisel cannot render. The face is turned toward you with a half-inquiring look, and a slight cloud of sadness seems spread over it. Charles Fourier must have been tall and slender, of graceful and urbane presence, with a strikingly noble, kind, and thoughtful face,—in a word, those who have learned to love him through his writings could not have received the slightest shock of disappointment or repulsion on meeting him for the first time face to face. There could have been nothing of the Dr. Johnson, Carlyle, or Alfred Tennyson in Charles Fourier. He not only practised what he preached, but he showed what he preached.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, May, 1885.

NATURE AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

It seems to me that any one who to-day professes to believe in the perpetuity of the individual consciousness after death allows his or her sentiment to get the better of the intellect. Perhaps we all have occasional "weird seizures," in which, by a flash of thought, the enormous bulks of the whirling galaxy seem imponderable and immaterial as thought,—a living phantom, many-colored Being, a terrible foster-nurse; not unbeneficent,—a lion glare in its eyes, yet in its heart a mother-yearning for its whelps, its goal and end sunk beyond thought in the depths of infinite space. If we do ever have these seizures, it is then, and then only, that there comes into our mind a dawn-gleam, a meteor-flash of thought,—no, it is too brief to form an actual thought,—that, when we fade away like a wreath of mist, when, as if at some fearful summons, we grow pallid, drop our toys, and hurry away into the dark, we fade and dissolve into a substance, a something higher than our own consciousness, and yet of it. Nature is a box with false bottoms, or slides, as Emerson deftly suggests. But he might have added that it is a magical box, that only reveals its actual contents when the right key is turned. Magical? Yes, indeed! You have no name for its enchantments. You cannot degrade them by calling them miraculous, that word is so associated with wormy humbug and ghastly mummery. Do but turn the key, and peep through the aperture. What rapture, what amazement!—illimitable distances, green landscapes basking in light that streams in through the top of the box, and out of the myriad tiny granules sprinkled on the floor a thousand exquisite things rise up. Here a cell puts out wings, and flies away a brown thrush with delirious song. Here is a precisely similar cell that starts up a man. Another puts out delicate leaves: the vine spreads, it blossoms, the delicious fruit ripens before your eyes.

'Tis passing strange; yet can you find one grain of proof in it all of the survival of consciousness after dissolution? I cannot, and I think the time has come to say so boldly and unequivocally. A noble friend, our neighbor, died this winter of pneumonia. We hurried him away on a bitter day to a wintry summit. His friends were Catho-

lics, although I know him to have been an *esprit fort*. They went through their pretty and affecting little superstitions,—the sprinkling of holy water, kissing the face of the dead, the service by the shivering priest, the throwing of a handful of earth each into the grave by the relatives,—and then we came away. The noble brain, the warm heart, the cunning artist hand, they are still, still, and very white now. The curtain was rung down very suddenly. The play is ended. The plant has reached its utmost growth: the sap of life withdraws from the veins back into the ground. And it is well. Life is not dead, but surges anew in a thousand forms. What god is this imperial heat? From its hot loins the teeming fiery sparkles spring that form the world anew and anew and ever new. Let the dead leaves fall. How ridiculous they look clinging there on that old bough all a-gleam with the tender tint of the fresh-born leaves of this year! Let them fall, let them moulder. Life has not forsaken them, however: it is only latent.

"There was the Door to which I found no Key;
There was the veil through which I could not see:
Some little talk awhile of Me and Thee
There was,—and then no more of Thee and Me."

If we believe this, why should we not be brave enough to say so? Are we not men enough to go and lie down alone in our sweet sleep of death, when the time comes? Can we not bar the door upon whimpering women and sophistical priests, and go forth undiminishedly to meet our fate? I admire that lioness woman—a New England woman, I believe—who turned everybody out of her room when she was dying, that no one might make a spectacle of that sole moment of weakness in her brave life.

The most comforting text I know of for one who is, on this subject, perplexed by doubt, and cannot beat his music out, has been spoken by Marcus Antoninus:—

"THAT IS GOOD FOR EVERY PART OF NATURE WHICH THE NATURE OF THE WHOLE BRINGS, and what serves to maintain this nature. Now, the universe is preserved, as by the changes of the elements so by the changes of things compounded of the elements. Let these principles be enough for thee, let them always be fixed opinions. . . . For to be vexed at anything which happens is a separation of ourselves from nature, in some part of which the natures of all other things are contained."

In brief, if the individual consciousness passes into some other form of life, what of it? We can have the simple faith that, if such is the nature of things, it will all be for the best. I do not wish to separate myself from the nature of things. I am willing to share the destiny of the trees and the birds that build in them. Let those who like it solace themselves with the hot-colored rhetoric and stagy strut of priests with their infernal hell and the mild idiocy of their heaven: I stand by the rocks and grass and trees; I will cast in my lot with them. Rather I would that the sighing mounds of the heaving sea be my passing bells for aye, or that my body be filtered by change into the withered roots and strengthly limbs of a tree, than that I should sneak into a heaven ruled by an ogre-despot, and spend an eternity with It (the sexless monster) in gazing upon the writhings of the damned whom It had itself created.

*As a proof that there is not lacking moral support for him who speaks what he thinks on this subject, one might instance the fact that the battle of Shiloh—one-third of it—was fought on a Sunday. No army of men that actually believed in Christianity and its doctrines would so have fought, or indeed would have fought at all. The Anglo-Saxons are the greatest canters in religious matters in the universe. Two-thirds of Anglo-American men, as well as of French male peasants, are thorough sceptics, but conform or dissimulate on account of their women. (Cf. F. G. Hamerton's *Round my House*.)

To that vast, that countless crowd who fall forevermore into the black abyss of death, and think it the vestibule to a life which is a vague and undefined continuation of this, we can say, *Morituri saluamus*, and say it with a kind of noble sarcasm,—“We who are about to die salute you immortals.” Our hope is in the sweetness and sanity of nature. If you join our band, we promise you nothing. We ourselves are still in search of the first trace of a clew. We have come to the dark tower, but cannot find the door. (“God is a tower without a stair.”) Yet with us there is peace and happiness. We assume nothing: we are satisfied with nature. We believe in her, and we can live and die with her in all her metamorphoses. And some time the door may be found.

“Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson wearied over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

“All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

“O to die advancing on!

Are there some of us to droop and die? has the hour come?
Then upon the march we fittest die, soon and sure the gap is filled,

Pioneers! O pioneers!”

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE annual Convention of the Free Religious Association proved to be one of the best of the whole series; and the Festival, it was the common opinion of all present, reached the high-water mark among festivals, pleasant as they have been in the past. Had our friend, the editor of the *Christian Register*, been present at the latter, and heard the speeches of Dr. Heber Newton, Episcopalian, Rev. Mr. Gill, Methodist, Rev. Mr. Janson, Unitarian, Mr. Hill, of the Ingersoll Secular Society, together with other voices from theists and agnostics of various shades of thought, every one true to himself, yet all, without exception, striking the keynote of a common sympathy and fellowship, he would have seen that the Free Religious Association “can play together the same tune in the same time,” and that, whether “the world can be made to listen” or not, he that hath ears to hear will hear.

W. J. P.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE Free Religious Association was not dead, but only taking a nap.

AN editorial in the *Boston Herald* says that “Mr. W. J. Potter, in a volume of sermons fresh from the press, which contains the finest and best expression of his thought, reveals himself as a constructive religionist of a high order.”

ALL the subscribers of *The Index* who are in arrears on their subscriptions are urgently requested to send to this office, with as little delay as possible, the money due, which in the aggregate amount to a large sum, and is needed to enable us to meet current expenses.

CROCODILES, supposed by the native of Java to be animated by the souls of his ancestors, are never molested by him; but, whenever there is a wedding or a funeral, a roast chicken is put on a little boat garnished with flowers, burning tapers, etc., and sent adrift to keep up the supply of these pernicious monsters.

THE wish expressed by Rev. Francis G. Peabody at a meeting in this city last week, that the Unit-

rians would "learn more of the fear of hell and the fear of ministers," is not likely to be gratified. Nothing so suggestive of warmth as hell will ever find favor among Unitarians. A gentleman was asked last week where and how he had taken a severe cold, from which he was suffering. "Why," he replied, "I attended a Unitarian meeting a few days ago, and was chilled through." Perhaps a little "fear of hell," as Dr. Peabody suggests, might have a wholesome effect on some of the more frigid Unitarians,—and some of our Free Religious friends also,—although the excitant is one we do not encourage. Stimulants of a less fiery nature are in every respect preferable if they will accomplish the purpose desired.

A WESTERN liquor dealer advertises as follows: "Having experienced a change of heart through the blessed efforts of Brother B. and Sister S., I desire to state to my numerous friends and patrons that at the end of the current month I shall retire from the accursed liquor traffic forever. Until that time, my stock on hand will be offered at greatly reduced rates. Come one, come all!"

Of Victor Hugo's rank and genius, the New York Sun says: "On the artistic side, unquestionably, Victor Hugo was greater than Voltaire; and, on the moral side, he was a better man than Goethe. But, rich and various as are the garnered fruits of his long life, they include no single composition worthy to be ranked with *Faust*; nor has Victor Hugo ever exercised a tithe of Goethe's influence over those who are themselves among the pioneers of thought and the shepherds of the people. But his name is known in millions of homes that Goethe's never reached; he is loved as Goethe never was. For there is nothing esoteric, exclusive, oligarchical in his intellectual posture. There is room for all his brethren in the chambers of his heart. No voice sent forth in this century, whether in prose or verse, has been more instinct and tremulous with the quick and tender sympathy that makes the whole world kin." Victor Hugo's last words were words of affection,—*"Adieu, Jeanne, adieu,"* addressed to his favorite grand-daughter.

THE editor of the *Investigator*, who sometimes reminds us of Benjamin Franklin in his practical way of looking at theological questions, thus sensibly answers an inquiry from a subscriber:—

No: there is no mention of masses being required for the dead in any of the teachings of Jesus, so far as we remember, or, if there is, he didn't charge \$25 for low mass and \$50 for high, as the Catholic Church does to-day. That is sheer priestcraft, and we advise you as a friend who wishes to help you to have nothing to do with it. Save your hard-earned money for yourself, wife, and children, and do your own praying; for Jesus says it is a personal or individual duty, as of course it must be, if there is any merit in it. A man might as well attempt to eat or sleep for another as to pray for him, because prayer is a private or personal matter, and hence each one must pray for himself; and very likely his prayer for the dead is just about as good as that of a priest's, if not a good deal better. For, when a man prays in his closet with the door shut, he is no doubt sincere; but, when he prays in public, "to be seen of men," as Jesus said, there is no knowing whether he is sincere or not. Praying is evidently an individual and private affair, and he is a careless and a lazy Christian who gets his praying done out by proxy.

ONE of the leading Catholic priests of Detroit, in a recent sermon, said some unhandsome things about the secular press, afterward repeating his charges in the *Detroit Post*, against editors and reporters in general. The same paper publishes a reply from Mr. Thomas Harding, of Sturgis, Mich., from which we take the following paragraph: "Mr. Ryan says, 'There is a great demand in this age of advanced thought for a new way'; and he complains that 'editors and reporters often enter

the field of theology.' That is part of the price which he pays for living in a free country and in the nineteenth century. If there is a 'demand for a new way,' it is because the people 'live in an age of advanced thought' that they 'inquire for it.' 'One-half the contents of penny newspapers,' he says, 'is made up of lies, one-half of the other half mistakes, and half of the remainder is guessed at.' It might not be quite polite to ask the reverend gentleman whether there are any 'lies' in his theology; but it is admissible to inquire how much of it is 'made up of mistakes,' and what proportion of 'the remainder' is 'guessed at.' The people 'of this age of advanced thought' are asking these questions; and, if Mr. Ryan will not or cannot answer them, they will answer them for themselves, and act upon their conclusions, too."

A FRIEND requests us to give what we deem the correct definition of religion. We cannot do better than reproduce the following extract from our editorial in *The Index* of Nov. 22, 1883:—

One of the most popular objections to this Agnosticism is that it involves the denial and destruction of religion. Religion is commonly assumed to be belief in, and the worship of, a personal Deity,—a being very much like man, but greater; a being in whose image man was made. But, with the progress of knowledge, men may come to see that the popular notions of religion are narrow, and that they must in time be modified and superseded by broader conceptions. . . . Our own conviction is that religion is based fundamentally upon the recognition of a Power of which, as Spencer says, "humanity is but a small and fugitive product,—a Power which was in the course of ever-changing manifestations before Humanity was, and will continue through other manifestations when Humanity has ceased to be"; a Power of our relations to which all religious dogmas, forms, and ceremonies are expressions containing, with much error, some essential element of truth. The germinal conception of religion is that of a mysterious Power behind phenomena. Superstition commences when the mind begins to form and fashion this Power in its own image. But the recognition of the Power will remain, when all existing forms under which it is contemplated shall be regarded as we now regard the mythologies of Greece and Rome. "No one need expect then," says Spencer, "that the religious consciousness will die away or will change the lines of its evolution. Its specialties of form, once strongly marked and becoming less distinct during past mental progress, will continue to fade; but the substance of the consciousness will persist." "No more in this than in other things will evolution alter its general direction: it will continue along the same lines as hitherto. And, if we wish to see whither it tends, we have but to observe how there has been thus far a decreasing concreteness of the consciousness to which the religious sentiment is related, to infer that hereafter this concreteness will further diminish, leaving behind a substance of consciousness for which there is no adequate form, but which is none the less persistent and powerful." As fast as men come to accept, understand, and assimilate this scientific conception of religion, which is logically a part of the theory of evolution, they will see the superficiality and absurdity of every species of theological anthropomorphism and the groundlessness of their foolish fears that iconoclasm will obliterate from the human mind anything that is essential and valuable in the religious systems of the world or in the religious sentiment.

THE concluding lecture of the course for the present season, before the Parker Memorial Science Class, will be delivered next Sunday at the usual hour, 12.15 P.M., by Mr. D. H. Clark, on "Joseph Priestley." This organization, which numbers some seventy members, has during the season now drawing to a close, under the presidency of Mr. John C. Haynes, done most valuable work, due in a large degree to the efforts of Mr. D. H. Clark and Miss Agnes Burke, of the Executive Committee, Mrs. Buchanan, the efficient Secretary, Mr. S. H. Roper, and Mr. Peter Annet, among others. The attend-

ance has been good, and the average quality of the lectures equal perhaps to that of any course of the same number given in the city. The following list of topics with the names of the lecturers, a number of whom brought to the treatment of their subjects the thorough knowledge of specialists, has been furnished us by the Secretary; and it will give some idea of the variety and scope of the thought which has been presented to the class since last November: "The Mechanics of the Flight of Birds," by Prof. Maynard; "Underground Wires relating to the Telephone and Telegraph," by Mr. Carey; "Swedish Bric-à-Brac," by Miss Anna Wallberg; "Electric Light," by Mr. Richards; "Atavism, or Reversional Heredity," by B. F. Underwood; "The Education of the Blind" (two lectures), by Mr. Anagnos; "The Starry Heavens," by Peter Annet; "Modern Palestine," by W. Spear; "Structure of the Organs of Digestion," by Dr. Caroline Hastings; "Is Man a Mere Organism or Something More," by Wm. Mitchell; "Our Rivers as they are and as they have been" (three), by S. H. Roper; "Sleep," by Dr. Louise Cummings; "Amateur Photography," by J. A. J. Wilcox; "The Sandwich Islands," by G. H. Brown; "Our Sense of Form by the Eye," by Dr. B. J. Jeffries; "A Constellation of Fair Astronomers," by Mrs. S. A. Underwood; "Color Sense and its Defects," by Dr. B. J. Jeffries; "The Guilds of England and Continental Europe," by S. H. Brackett; "Some Forms of Energy in Matter," by Prof. Dolbeare of Tufts College; "Missing Links," by Peter Annet; "The Southern Problem," by Archibald H. Grimke; "Mystery of a Rivalry," by Peter Annet; "Instantaneous Photography," by Prof. W. H. Pickering; "A Voyage around the World," by Miss A. E. Newell; "The Effects on Society and the Individual of Increasing Specialization," by B. F. Underwood. The only death among the members of the class the past year was that of Miss M. A. Hardaker, one of the most gifted and useful members, and whose loss is keenly felt.

ILL can he rule the great that cannot reach the small.—Spencer.

THE secret of success in life is for a man to be ready for his opportunity when it comes.—Disraeli.

IRON endurance and uncomplaining renunciation are the two poles of human force.—Marie Eschenbach.

NATURE is upheld by antagonism. Passions, resistance, danger, are educators. We acquire the strength we have overcome.—Emerson.

EVERYTHING is good which takes away one plaything and delusion more, and drives us home to add one stroke of faithful work.—Emerson.

THE main token of a strong character is not to make known every change and phase in thought and feeling, but to give the world the finished results.—Auerbach.

BUT very late in life, and that after experiencing many trials, a man learns to sympathize with a fallen, feeble brother; to help him without inwardly enjoying his own goodness and strength; to humbly understand and appreciate the naturalness, nay, the unavoidableness, of committing a wrong sometimes.—Turgenev.

STELLA AMICA.

With weary feet I passed the city wall:
The night was near, the mountains far away;
And, as the glow of full-blown rose, the day,
Too beautiful, was blushing to its fall.
I paused to rest,—the dark was over all.
Lo! one by one, from out her sable cloak,
The bright-eyed children of the night awoke,
And answered gleaming to my silent call.
Like stars of hope,—the stars that ever lift
The soul from doubt and darkness into light,—
So thou, my friend, shin'st through the woodland rift,
And, lo! I stand upon the mountain height.
Below, the valley glimmers as the deep,
Where ships at anchor ride and sailors sleep.

WILLIAM ORBWAY PARTRIDGE.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 4, 1885.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday, at No. 44 Boylston Street, Boston, by an incorporated Board of Trustees nominated by the Free Religious Association. Terms: Three dollars per year, in advance.

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

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

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

ALL communications intended for the paper and all business letters should be addressed to B. F. UNDERWOOD, the Business Manager, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, to whose order all checks and drafts for THE INDEX should be made payable. Letters for Mr. POTTER should be addressed to him, at New Bedford, Mass.

PAPERS are forwarded until an explicit order is received by the publishers to discontinue, and until payment of all arrearages is made. The change of date on the address label is a receipt for renewal, and no other receipt will be sent unless specially requested.

For The Index.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Free Religious Association for 1885 opened with a business session Thursday evening, May 28, 1885, in the Parker Memorial Hall, Boston. The President, Mr. Wm. J. Potter, occupied the chair, and Mr. F. M. Holland acted as Secretary. The record of the last annual meeting was read, and approved.

The Treasurer, John C. Haynes, presented his report, as follows:—

Report of Treasurer.

Receipts.		
1884.		
May 29.	Balance on hand as per last year's report	\$24.88
" 30.	Membership and patrons' fees, and donations collected at the business and convention meetings	167.71
June 20.	From sale of tickets to the Festival	206.59
Oct. 4.	Receipts from Social Supper, above expenses	.39
Nov. 24.	From F. A. Hinckley, collections at Florence Convention	39.93
1885.		
May 28.	From sale of reports and tracts at office during year	4.70
" 28.	From memberships and patrons' fees, and donations during the year	222.10
" 28.	Dr. W. A. Rust, special donation	\$66.30
		18.51
		\$684.81
Disbursements.		
1884.		
June 2.	Travelling expenses of Convention speakers	\$82.58
" 9.	Rent of Parker Memorial, for Convention meetings	50.00
" 10.	New England Woman's Club, charge for two business meetings	4.00
" 20.	Rent of Melonaon, expense of caterer, and cost of music for Festival	206.50
July 29.	Advertising expenses of Festival	42.30
Aug. 13.	Salary of Geo. H. Foster, for May and June	66.66
Nov. 8.	J. M. W. Yerrington, for reporting	14.00
" 24.	Expenses of Florence Convention	51.00
1885.		
Jan. 8.	Rent of Woman's Club Room, for meeting	3.00
" 22.	Expense of social supper given in December, above the receipts	16.90
May 28.	Rent of office eleven months, to May 1	137.50
" 28.	Various expenses during the year	9.87
		\$684.81

JOHN C. HAYNES, Treasurer.

BOSTON, May 28, 1885.

Voted, That the report be accepted.

The report of the Executive Committee was then read by the Assistant Secretary, F. M. Holland:—

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The past year has been one of intense political excitement, involving some unusual differences in opinion among people who had hitherto agreed substantially. Our work could not therefore be begun as early or continued as actively as would otherwise have been the case. One field has, however, been entered with some success.

Secularization.

The annual business meeting for 1884 resolved, "That the Executive Committee be recommended to labor in protecting witnesses in court from molestation on account of theological disbelief, as well as in otherwise secularizing the State."

The sub-committee intrusted with this duty found such preparations already made in Massachusetts that they concluded to present a petition to the Legislature of that State, asking for a repeal of the law discrediting witnesses. This received five hundred and sixty names, but was rejected by the Senate on February 17. The Legislature appeared less favorable than a year ago. Fearing that this petition would not by itself attract sufficient notice, it was thought best to ask also for the taxation of the churches in Massachusetts, and one thousand and sixty signatures were obtained accordingly. This request also was refused; but two full hearings were given by the taxation committee of the General Court, and so fully reported in the daily newspapers as to present the arguments on both sides to many readers who had thought little on the subject. Similar attention was given to the speeches in the Senate about the repeal of the statute against atheists. The New York Nation published a strong editorial in favor of this reform, as did other influential papers. The addresses delivered in support of these petitions were published in full, not only in *The Index*, but in the *Investigator*, the *Agnostic* of Philadelphia, the *Freethinkers' Magazine* of Salamanca, N.Y., and the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of Chicago. Many comments from various points of view appeared in the religious as well as the secular press. Much time was devoted to the subject, not only in the convention of this Association at Florence and its December supper in Boston, of which events full notice will be given later, but also in the regular meetings of the Liberal Union Club and the Ingersoll Secular Society. For the aid rendered by these organizations and many individuals we now express our thanks.

This method of attracting public notice to our great principle—namely, that government ought not to interfere with religious belief or disbelief—proved so efficacious that we resolved to bring out next year the defects in the Sunday laws. An article on those in Massachusetts was prepared at our request, by a lawyer, and published in *The Index* for February 26. It was thus found that two decisions of the Supreme Court of that Commonwealth are still in force,—one preventing the collection of damages for fraud committed on Sunday, the other permitting any one who purchases property on that day to keep it, without paying for it.

The annexed petition was accordingly prepared, and signatures are now solicited. Copies for circulation may be obtained at *The Index* office, or by addressing Box 61, Concord, Mass.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled:—

Your petitioners, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully represent that the Supreme Judicial Court of

this Commonwealth has decided that "an action cannot be maintained for a deceit practised in the exchange of horses on the Lord's day" (*Robeson v. French*, 12 Met. 24), and also that payment cannot be enforced for goods sold and delivered on Sunday, even though kept by the purchaser. (*Myers v. Melnrath*, 101 Mass. 366, and *Cranson v. Goss*, 107 Mass. 441.) To prevent repetition of such injustice, your petitioners ask that a law may be enacted substantially as follows:—

"1. The provisions of chapter 98 of the Public Statutes, relating to the observance of the 'Lord's day,' shall not constitute a defence to an action for damages for fraud committed on that day. 2. The provisions of chapter 98 of the Public Statutes, relating to the observance of the 'Lord's day,' shall not constitute a defence to an action for the value of real estate or personal property, sold and delivered on that day and afterwards retained by the buyer. 3. This act to take effect upon its passage."

An organization in active sympathy with this Association will, we hope, petition the next General Court to amend the law against Sunday amusements. Some attempt has already been made to induce friends in other States to petition either for changes in the Sunday laws, for the taxation of churches, or for the protection of witnesses against discredit or exclusion on account of unbelief.

We cordially invite all interested in these reforms to correspond with the secretaries of the Association. We hope for such a response as will enable us to take some steps toward carrying out more thoroughly than ever before a plan adopted by this committee more than four years ago, as follows:—

Voted, That a committee be appointed to have charge of all measures, including the appointment of sub-committees in different cities, looking to the emancipation of the public schools and the purification of the laws from all sectarian influences.

Such work can be done by no one so well as by this Association, and we now call upon our friends in all parts of the country to help us extend it far and wide.

Conventions.

The regular annual convention was held on the morning and afternoon of Friday, May 30. The first session was devoted to a description of the Ethical Culture movement by Messrs. William M. Salter, W. L. Sheldon, and S. B. Weston. Various phases of religious thought were presented that afternoon by Prof. William T. Harris, Mr. C. D. B. Mills, Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee, and Capt. Robert C. Adams.

A convention was also held in Florence, Mass., by the invitation, and at the expense of, the Free Congregational Society of that place. On the evening of November 19, "The Religion of the Nineteenth Century" was set forth by Mr. Potter, who was followed by Rev. J. C. Kimball, of Hartford, Ct. The next morning, addresses on "Secularization" were delivered by Messrs. F. M. Holland and B. F. Underwood. That afternoon, the management of liberal Sunday-schools was fully discussed by Mrs. Spencer and Mrs. Bond, of Florence, and Messrs. Hinckley, Underwood, and Lilly. All the speakers agreed that doctrinal instruction should not be given in schools supported even in part by agnostics. The evening session brought out an essay by Mr. Hinckley on the "Human Question," another by Miss Eastman on "Our Duty to speak our Utmost Thought," and a plea for philanthropy by Mrs. Diaz.

Those of our friends who wish for conventions near their homes during the coming year will find us glad to make any arrangements not likely to throw too great expense upon the Association.

Social Suppers.

In compliance with the vote at the last business meeting, suppers were held in Parker Fraternal

Hall on Wednesday, October 1, and Wednesday, December 10. On the former occasion, Mr. Potter presided. Miss Eastman showed our duty to speak our utmost thought, remarks on the same subject were made by Messrs. Hinckley and Applebee, and much time was given to social intercourse. In December, the secularization movement was discussed by Col. T. W. Higginson, the chairman, Messrs. Holland, Hinckley, Babcock, and Cobb, and Mrs. Clara M. Bisbee. The plans for holding a similar meeting during the spring could not be carried out successfully. We recommend that a similar supper be held next fall in Boston, to be followed by others as may be found expedient.

"The Index," and Other Publications.

No concerted action in behalf of *The Index* has been necessary during the past year. We take great pleasure in mentioning that this paper is still admirably conducted, as it has always been, and that it has recently received several important articles, especially from new contributors. We cordially recommend it as the ablest utterance of advanced thought.

No other publications have appeared under the direct auspices of the Association. The great principles of religious freedom and mental progress have been advocated during the past year by many authors on their own responsibility. Among these new books of value to our cause, we will only speak of Johnson's *Persia*, the continuation of a great literary work.

Finances and Membership.

One reason that more was not attempted during the year is the low condition of the treasury. Twelve months ago, the balance on hand was less than \$25. Now there is a deficit, as will be seen from the treasurer's report.* Our expenses were but slightly in excess of those for the previous year. Our receipts were more than \$150 less. In fact, they are less than those reported for any other year during our whole history. Five years ago, we found that our receipts and collections amounted to nearly four times as much as we have to account for now. It is true that our membership was then but slightly larger than at present. In fact, it depends mainly on how much special effort is made in that direction at our conventions and festivals. We desire to make it clearly understood that we are always ready to welcome accessions to our ranks. For the next year, we shall have to increase our receipts at least fifty per cent., in order to wipe out this deficit, and avoid another. If we are to hold any conventions but the annual one, or publish any more pamphlets, we must be helped accordingly. The officers of this Association will gladly and promptly use all the funds which our friends will place at our disposal. We recommend that greater efforts than before be made, not only to enlarge our membership, but to procure contributions during the Convention and Festival to-morrow, as well as throughout the year.

In Memoriam.

While we mourn, in common with all free souls, over the irreparable loss of Victor Hugo, we must also remember some sad gaps in our own ranks. Among the speakers at our last business meeting was Miss Emily J. Leonard. But little more than a year previous, she read a paper on the "Relations of Church and State in Connecticut," her own State, at our convention in New Haven. *The Index* and the *Woman's Journal* have often been en-

* This report was prepared while the amount of receipts for the year seemed likely to be much less than finally proved to be the case. In fact, the treasurer's report did show a deficit when it was first presented; but this lack was made up during the meeting by the gift of W. A. Rust, M.D.

riched by her earnest and thoughtful essays. Political economy she treated with especial power; and her translation of a French work on this subject, now assuming unprecedented importance, has become a text-book in American colleges. Her researches and discoveries as a botanist had won the admiration of scientific men throughout New England. Her study of Mill, Spencer, and Huxley, led her to desire ardently, as she said herself, "to substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes." With these views, she became an agnostic. Not long before her death, she wrote thus to a friend: "I am more and more sensible, as I recede from the active scenes of life, of the surpassing value of a philosophy which is the natural growth of experience and study,—perhaps I may be allowed to say, the progression of a life. While, conscious as I have been of being encompassed by ignorance on every side, I cannot but acknowledge that philosophy has opened my way before me, and given a staff into my hand, and thrown a light upon my path, so as to have long delivered me from doubt and fear. It has, moreover, been the joy of my life, harmonizing and animating all its details, and making existence itself a festival." She was still in full mental vigor when she was taken from us last July, and "laid to rest beneath the wild flowers which she loved so well."

Early last autumn, another student of Herbert Spencer, Miss Martha A. Hardaker, closed her labors as a brilliant and fearless journalist. Great attention had been excited by her powerful articles in the *North American Review* and *Popular Science Monthly* on woman suffrage, in regard to which she took the opposite side from that held by Miss Leonard. The criticism on Emerson and Matthew Arnold, which she published in the *Transcript*, as literary editor, was widely praised as a masterpiece. Many essays of great value came from her pen to *The Index*, one of whose editors remarks that she was better entitled to the degrees she held, of M.A. and Ph.D., than are the majority of men on whom these honors are bestowed. He also says, "Of the Parker Memorial Science Class, she was an active and leading spirit," and adds, "A more thorough-going materialist than was Miss Hardaker we never knew, nor expect to meet." It is pleasant to remember that her death was brave and calm, as had been all her life. She, too, passed away in the prime of mental activity, leaving a gap among our active supporters which we cannot easily fill.

Winter, too, silenced an earnest voice, not unfamiliar or unwelcome to the friends of progress. William Henry Channing was then in his seventy-fifth year, having been born exactly seven years later than Ralph Waldo Emerson, who once spoke of him as

"The evil time's sole patriot."

His birthplace, Boston, was always dear to his heart. After graduating at Harvard College and the Cambridge Divinity School, he abstained from taking a parish until doubts, which he was too loyal to truth to drive away, had been laid to rest by his admiration of the philanthropic influence which he saw exerted by Christianity. His scepticism was soon reawakened by the great Transcendental agitation; and he was man enough to leave his pulpit at Cincinnati, and devote himself for some years wholly to social reform. He became an active advocate of peace, temperance, and Fourierism, a leader at Brook Farm, and a mighty assailant of slavery. Col. Higginson says

he was the most eloquent of Abolitionists, except Wendell Phillips. Curiously enough, the great anti-slavery movement, which swept so many other men out of the pulpit, carried Channing back into it, and enabled him to do peculiarly good service toward the final emancipation while Unitarian pastor at Washington. When he came back from England, and spoke at our Convention in Parker Memorial Hall five years ago, he still seemed much more at home with us than with the Unitarian organizations. At this last visit, he was working for a new reform, and trying to raise men to a higher standard of purity. We have still his memoirs of his saintly uncle and his noble friend, Margaret Fuller; but his best legacy is that of a life spent in tireless self-sacrifice for the poor, the oppressed, and the fallen. No one whom he met, even at the Five Points in New York, seemed to him sunk too low to be lifted up; and, even to the last, his faith in progress kept him ever young.

Each of the four seasons found a victim among our best friends. We need look back only to April 14 to see the last honors paid in Parker Memorial Hall to one of the most active and influential supporters of the society which meets there, as well as of the principles embodied in this Association. Charles W. Slack had labored, like Channing, for the slave, and in close sympathy with Parker, Sumner, and Andrew. For the past twenty years, he had presented advanced ideas of religion, morality, and literature, as editor of the *Commonwealth*, and had also done much for social progress in the Art Club, the Massachusetts Charitable Association, the Press Association, and the General Court. He had also held an honored place in the civil service of the United States. His sixty years had not taken away his vigor, and his loss was widely and keenly felt.

Nothing shows better the width of our platform than the cordiality with which we can lament at once the early Free-Soiler and the early Abolitionist, the Transcendental Unitarian and the scientific materialist, the advocate and the opponent of woman suffrage, the politician, the clergyman, the journalist, and the botanist. They were all faithful servants of humanity.

Voted, That the Report be accepted.

The committee on nominating officers reported through Mr. H. P. Hyde; and the officers named were elected, as follows: President, William J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass. Vice-Presidents, Octavius B. Frothingham, Boston, Mass.; Felix Adler, New York City; George W. Curtis, Staten Island, N.Y.; Edward L. Youmans, New York City; Frederick Schuenemann-Pott, San Francisco, Cal.; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Elizabeth B. Chace, Providence, R.I.; George Hoadley, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nathaniel Holmes, Cambridge, Mass.; Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R.I.; Bernhard Felsenthal, Chicago, Ill.; Annie L. Diggs, Lawrence, Kansas. Secretary, F. M. Holland, Concord, Mass. Assistant Secretary, Miss A. A. Brigham, Boston, Mass. Treasurer, John C. Haynes, 451 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. Directors, *Four Years*: F. A. Hinckley, Providence, R.I.; W. A. Rust, M.D., Boston; Mrs. Phoebe M. Kendall, Cambridge. *Two Years*: to fill a vacancy, D. G. Crandon, Chelsea, Mass.

Messrs. J. L. Whiting and G. A. Stevens and Miss Helen M. Ireson were appointed a committee to choose a nominating committee for next year.

The Report of *The Index* Trustees was presented by their President, Mr. Potter, and accepted.

The President of the Association then asked if there were any further business, and suggested

that any member was at liberty to propose changes in the Constitution or bring forward any plan he might think important for increasing the efficiency of the Association. Mr. B. F. Underwood moved that the Executive Committee be requested to consider the propriety of altering the first article of the Constitution, so as to make it read as follows:—

This organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to encourage the scientific study of religion in all its aspects, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to promote the practical interests of morality.

In support of the motion, Mr. Underwood said:—

This proposed substitute recognizes the existence of religion as a fact, differing from the first article of the Constitution, as it now stands, in avoiding possible implications to which objection may be and have been made. The words "pure religion" seem to imply that the Association distinguishes between religion that is pure or genuine and religion that is not pure or genuine, especially since it declares that one of its objects is to "promote the practical interests of pure religion." But, since it does not attempt to state what "pure religion" is, since it allows every member to define the word "religion" to suit himself, there seems to be a manifest impropriety in the statement that one object of the Association is to promote the "practical interests of pure religion." The Association, as such, cannot declare what "pure religion" is; for article second says that "nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief, or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief," etc.

Whether religion should be defined as "the expression of man's relation to the universe," as I think it should, agreeing here with Mr. Potter, or "the effort of man to perfect himself," as Mr. Abbot defines it, or belief in and worship of a Supreme Intelligence; whether the object of religion should be regarded as a personal creator, as is commonly believed, or as the ultimate Mystery of being, as Spencer holds, or as Humanity, as Positivists teach, the Free Religious Association does not undertake to say. Why, then, should it in its Constitution speak of promoting "the practical interests of pure religion"? If it be said that "the practical interests of pure religion" are identical with the practical interests of morality, I must say that that depends altogether upon the definition given to the words "pure religion"; and, by the terms of its Constitution, the Free Religious Association is debarred from giving any definition. If the words "practical interests of morality" cover the actual meaning of the Association, why not use them instead of using the expression "the practical interests of pure religion"? If the words "the practical interests of morality" do not mean all that is meant by the expression "the practical interests of pure religion," then there should be an unambiguous statement of just what more is implied in the latter statement.

An implication in the Constitution of a theory or doctrine, assent to which is not required as a condition of membership, is less excusable in the Free Religious Association than in the American Unitarian Association. This Association should contain nothing in its Constitution to prevent the consistent membership of men like Darwin, who said there were two things in the world that he could not see the need of, one of which was religion. A deficiency this indicates, some of you may say; but his definition of religion did not probably include what you mean by the word. Indeed, it may be affirmed that any religion, the teachings of which he did not embody in his character and illustrate by his long and useful life, marked by unsurpassed love of truth, rare modesty and magnanimity, generous regard for others, fondness for nature and knowledge of her curious ways, as well as by vast services to the cause of human enlightenment and progress,—any religion, I say, the essential elements of which were not embodied and illustrated in such a character and life, the leaders of the Free Religious Association can hardly consider "pure religion" or religion worthy their encouragement.

Miss Emily J. Leonard, one of the clearest thinkers and one of the bravest, most just, and most conscientious women I ever knew, although heartily in sym-

pathy with the work of the Free Religious Association, which she generously aided with her voice, her pen, and her money, could not join the Association because of the very article for which I have proposed a substitute. She was present at the business meeting one year ago; and some of you may remember her remarks, urging some of the objections I have mentioned. She regarded the first article of the Constitution as a statement designed to be broad, and actually so from a theological stand-point, but from which the founders of the Association had not been able to keep out entirely their theology, since they had assumed that there was a "pure religion" the "practical interests" of which should be promoted, although endeavoring to make the assumption undogmatic and colorless by saying, virtually, to the members, "This expresses our meaning; but it doesn't commit you to anything, for you are at liberty to define religion to mean anything you choose."

I express not only my own wish, but I believe that of many, when I say I should be pleased to see the first article of the Constitution so modified as to remove the objection which kept from joining the Association so intellectual and worthy a woman as Miss Leonard, and which keeps from us others who are quite as desirous as any among us to encourage the scientific study of religion, and to promote Righteousness, Brotherhood, and Truth.

If the Association is true to the letter and the spirit of the second article of its Constitution, it can make no distinction either in the language of its Constitution or in its management between religious liberals or liberals who are not religious; i.e., if the word "religious" is used to distinguish any class of speculative or theoretical beliefs. In so far as any such distinction is made, the Association must fall short of realizing that freedom of thought, liberality of sentiment, and impartial fairness to all its members, which are declared in the Constitution to be its governing principles.

The Constitution of the Free Religious Association represented a decided advance when it was adopted; and the influence of the Association under this Constitution has, without doubt, contributed to broaden and liberalize Unitarianism, and to make possible such a congress of churches as was held in Hartford this month. But, if the Association is to continue a radical and progressive body, it is time now to make another advance, and preparatory thereto the proposed revision of the Constitution seems to me demanded by common fairness as well as by the interests of the Association.

Mr. Holland, Mr. Hinckley, Mr. Ballou, and Mrs. Bisbee urged the desirability of the motion, which, however, was opposed by Messrs. Whiting, Whipple, Applebee, and Henshaw. The last-named gentleman proposed a substitute, allowing the Executive Committee to consider any suggestions offered. Mr. Hinckley moved an amendment authorizing them to consider Mr. Underwood's plan and any other suggestions. This was adopted, and the meeting adjourned at 11 P.M.

F. M. HOLLAND, *Secretary.*

For The Index.

THE DEATH OF RAFAEL.

Translated from the German by GOWAN LEE.

Cardinal Bibieno describes to his niece Maria (the affianced bride of Rafael), in a letter, the death of the immortal master as follows:—

"Out of a twofold night,—a darkened earth and a darkened soul,—I send to thee these lines. The wreath which our dear friend on that memorable evening handed to thee lies withered, like himself. It lies like a symbol of resignation at the foot of the crucifix, before which thou prayest daily. That painful presentiment of thine has been fulfilled. Rafael has left us. Thou, who wert appointed to be a true companion unto him, art now the bride of heaven. Rafael is dead! His burning soul consumed all that was mortal of him, leaving to us only that which is immortal. Good Friday was his birthday: it is also the day of his death. In the flower of life and in the midst of happiness to have been thus snatched away!

"When I think of all that he did in these seven and thirty years for the glory of the Church and of the nation, I am filled with devout reverence for the

human soul. Look at the picture of the Madonna which he but recently painted for the monastery of the holy Sixtus in Piacenza; look into the eyes, into the eyes of the young Saviour. It was painted, like any other picture, by means of the hand and the brush; but the sublimity of the heavens meets you in these eyes. He who had the power to paint them belonged no more to this earth.

"My letter of yesterday informed you that for three days we feared the worst. Rafael himself was the most composed among us. He spoke of time and eternity with the utmost calm. Then, having tried to comfort us, he made his will. As I walked this evening from his Holiness to Rafael's dwelling, a soft light and a sweet fragrance seemed to fill the air. The peace of God had fallen upon the solemn city of Rome; and, as I entered the house, hope was renewed within me, and I felt strengthened.

"In the sick-chamber, I found Count Castiglione, the fathers Antonio and Domenico, the painter Giulio, and others. Rafael's couch had been moved to the window, which stood wide open. Never before had Rafael appeared so beautiful. Could it have been the effect of the evening light, or was it his near victory over earth? The skin was more transparent, the brown artist-eyes more brilliant than ever. He was holding some spring flowers, but laid them to one side when I handed to him thy wreath of roses. Then he raised the cross to his lips as he murmured, 'Maria.' Though his voice was clear, the words seemed breathed rather than spoken. Then I communicated to him the message sent by his Holiness: 'Dear Rafael, let the sympathy of the highest as well as of the lowest be to thee a motive to linger longer among us.' He smiled mournfully.

"Castiglione then spoke: 'Thou shalt, thou must live. Through that which thou hast done hast thou awakened in us the desire for that which thou canst accomplish. Thy favorite thought—that ancient Rome with its palaces and marble temples, its triumphal arches and statues, be reconstructed—is not yet realized.'

"Yes, I wished it rebuilt,' answered he; 'and, if God had granted me longer life, my wish would have been realized.'

"Do not speak," said I, almost reproachfully, 'as if recovery were hopeless.'

"Father," replied he, 'to leave this earth is not easy to me. Could I but describe to you the longing which takes hold of me as the daylight disappears! My soul clings to yonder sunbeam which lingers upon the hill. How beautiful is the world! How lovely is the human countenance! Ah! to take leave of all this without a hope of awaking on the morrow!' 'Beloved,' cried I, 'forget not that the Saviour died, that we are going from the darkness of earth to meet an eternal day.' 'How could I forget that?' said he; 'but the earth is wonderfully beautiful!'

"A pause ensued. Castiglione took hold of Rafael's hand, while the latter gazed through the open window to the hill upon which the soft radiance of the departing day seemed to rest. Then, turning his glance upward to where Hesperus like a messenger of heaven shone, 'I shall see Dante!' he exclaimed.

"At this moment, some one drew the curtain from Rafael's last picture, the 'Transfiguration.' We wept aloud as we looked at the immortal work of the mortal hand. Rafael's features changed suddenly. He began to speak with difficulty. Twice I heard that saying of Plato's, 'Beautiful is the reward of victory, and hope is great.' He supposed that thou wert present, and begged thee to lay thy hand upon his forehead. Giulio threw himself down upon the couch, and sobbed aloud. I called upon all to kneel and to pray for the passing soul. Helped by two of us, he raised himself, and, with his now lustreless eyes staring into vacancy, asked, 'Where does the sun shine from?' 'Rafael,' I cried, 'do you know me? How do you feel?' At first, he appeared not to have heard. Then he whispered, 'Happy.' The peaceful expression of his countenance corroborated the speech. He said no more, but quietly passed through the final struggle.

"Night had come, when the long, solemn stillness was broken by the words, 'He is dead!'"

A GREAT many things we say can be made to appear contradictory, simply because they are partial views of a truth, and may often look unlike at first, as a front view of a face and its profile often do.—O. W. Holmes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON NOT A BELIEVER IN CHRISTIANITY.

Editors of The Index:—

In *The Index* of May 21, Mr. Underwood has an excellent article, in which he argues against the *Congregationalist* that Gen. Washington did not believe in Christianity as a revelation from heaven, but was a Deist. He quotes from Jefferson's works, where the author says that "Dr. Rush told him [Jefferson] that he [Rush] had it from Asa Green that when the clergy addressed Gen. Washington," etc.

Now, if there ever were such a man in existence as Asa Green at all, he occupied no position of prominence in that day. But there was such a man as the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, who began his career as a soldier in the Revolutionary army, studied divinity afterward under the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, the President of Princeton College, and who was the only clerical member of the Congress which signed the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Green was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, was elected and served as chaplain to Congress during the eight years that body sat in Philadelphia, afterward became the President of Princeton College, New Jersey, and by his high character and benefactions was spoken of for half a century, till he died, as the "Father of the Presbyterian Church." Dr. Green was my great-uncle, he having been the brother of my father's mother. It was during his long residence in Philadelphia that I became intimately acquainted with him, as a relative, a student of theology at Princeton, and a minister of the same presbytery to which he belonged. In the annals of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, no name shines more illustriously for all the virtues and for his devotion to the interests of that body than that of Dr. Green. I say this, which every Presbyterian will gladly acknowledge, because his testimony is so valuable in settling the question in debate,—whether Washington was or was not a believer in the Christian religion. Many an hour during my student and clergyman days did I spend with him in his study at 150 Pine Street, Philadelphia, listening to his interesting and instructive conversation on Revolutionary times and incidents. As chaplain to Congress, he was well acquainted with Washington; and, upon the General's invitation, very frequently dined with him, and was always requested to "ask a blessing," which he always did. I recollect well that, during one of those interviews in his study, I inquired of him what were the real opinions Washington entertained on the subject of religion. He promptly answered pretty nearly in the language which Jefferson says Dr. Rush used. He explained more at length the plan laid by the clergy of Philadelphia, at the close of Washington's administration as President, to get his views of religion, for the sake of the good influence they supposed it would have in counteracting the infidelity of Paine and the rest of the Revolutionary patriots, military and civil. But I well remember the smile on his face and the twinkle of his black eye, when he said that "*the old fox was too cunning for us.*" He affirmed, in concluding his narrative, what, from his long and intimate acquaintance with Washington, he knew to be the case,—that, while he respectfully conformed to the religious customs of society by generally going to church on Sundays, Washington had no belief at all in the divine origin of the Bible or of the Jewish or Christian religions. If he had any religion at all, it was that of Deism.

Another man's authority is quoted in Mr. Underwood's article to the same point. It is that of the Rev. Dr. Wilson. This gentleman also I knew personally; and he was a welcome guest under my roof, when he officiated on a "sacramental occasion" at a church in my neighborhood. Dr. Wilson was a very learned, pious, and zealous minister in the Reformed Presbyterian, or, as we would now say for sake of distinction, the God-in-the-Constitution Church, called *Covenanters*. These men were the immediate descendants of those persons who came from Scotland to this country on the accession of William and Mary to the English throne. These sovereigns and their Parliament refused to recognize the binding obligation of the solemn league and covenant which had been taken and subscribed several times by King Charles II., and by all ranks in the three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and, because of

that refusal, migrated to this country, and have ever since, with their descendants, been struggling to get this nation to re-enact substantially the Solemn League and Covenant. Dr. Wilson travelled much all over this country, and made it his particular business to become acquainted with the persons and religious views of our leading statesmen and politicians, so as to form a judgment as to the prospect of getting the republic to change its Constitution and acknowledge Christ as king *de facto* as well as *de jure* of this and all other nations, as the people of England and Scotland did in the seventeenth century. The doctor was an eccentric man; and on a certain communion occasion, which was always a great time for testimony bearing and renewing the oath of the covenant, during the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign in 1840, he prayed most earnestly that the officials of this government might be converted to God, and "if they did not repent of their infidelity, and do works meet for repentance by acknowledging God and his Son Jesus Christ in the organic law, he would sweep them out of existence, one and all, Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

As no man in the world ever knew who "Asa Green" was, and not one in a thousand now know who Dr. Wilson was, although a distinguished man in his day; and as the weight of their testimony upon the point in dispute depends on their character and knowledge as witnesses, I have given you some facts concerning them, which ought to settle the question in dispute.

When a churchman, instead of giving substantial proofs of the truth of his religion, goes round begging and even claiming the indorsement of great names outside of the Church, as the religionists are now doing in the case of Washington and Lincoln, it seems to betray a consciousness that their religion needs bolstering up. Truth stands self-respectfully and independently on its own legs, scorns all compromise, and asks no favors except a candid hearing of its proofs. Error hobbles along on borrowed stilts, and, conscious of its weakness, looks out all the time for some extraneous support to keep itself from falling.

A. B. BRADFORD.

ENON VALLEY, PA., May 22, 1885.

THE HARTFORD CONGRESS OF CHURCHES.

Editors of The Index:—

The widely heralded Congress of Churches convened in our fair city last week, and spent nearly three days in discussion. Its ostensible object was to promote a union of all Christian Churches; but, as a local journalist remarked, "If the Congress was compared to the proverbial 'mountain in labor,' the apparent result was something much less than a mouse"—for each member of it departed clinging as unyieldingly to his own creed and sect as when he came. Though each reverend divine expressed a fervent desire for the proposed union, yet it was obvious enough that he would be loath to accept such a union, other than based on his own sectarian views. Every prominent Protestant sect was represented in the Congress, even the Quakers; but there was one class of Christian people, who compose two-thirds of all the membership of the Churches, and without whom there would be no Protestant Churches, the women of them, who were represented neither by person nor proxy. They were utterly ignored. There was no intimation that women were a part of the Church, or that a Christian woman ever existed. Indeed, they forgot or neglected woman more completely than did a former convocation of Christian priests and bishops in the sixth century; for they recognized woman's existence by discussing the question of her being classed as human or having a soul, which some of them denied.

Not one woman was tolerated on this platform, though one well-known Christian woman, member of a distinguished family of eminent clergymen, and herself a popular speaker, besought the council, that consisted of the leading members of the Congress, to permit her to make a ten minutes' speech on the platform. She was answered that, "according to the rules adopted by which to govern the Congress, no woman could be allowed to speak"; yet women are the most important factors of the Church. A majority of the few men in its congregations are there only through the influence of women.

No allusion was made to the helpfulness of women in the Church, though they toil and beg for it, doing all its drudgery and disagreeable work. Yet woman has been so long accustomed to this mental and sub-

ordinate condition in the Church, that she meekly accepts the situation and often bequeaths her property to it, while it teaches her subjection, and moulds public opinion, and shapes legislation against her enfranchisement.

Our ecclesiastics seem determined to verify Mrs. Stanton's assertion, that the Church and the pulpit are the worst opponents of woman's advancement and elevation.

E. P. C.

HARTFORD, May 18, 1885.

SILVER COINAGE.

Editors of The Index:—

The silver question, sure enough, is on us again, and overtops all other questions of federal legislation in importance. The arguments of Profs. Sumner and Laughlin in the June *North American Review* are in their main points so fallacious and, where they are not false outright, are so exaggerated and distorted in statement and collation of facts, I am constrained to offer some comments and criticism. I must, I am sorry to say, pass over many minor errors, and address myself to the central fallacies.

Value is a word or idea which, although the crudeness and stupidities of popular usage have dulled its edge and blurred its outlines, is yet capable of such a rigid exactitude of definition as to make it at once a subject and an instrument of scientific treatment scarcely less severe than a geometric figure. Let us try to polish up and sharpen it.

Value is market equivalence between two commodities or transferable objects of desire. As a quantity, it is as unstable and unfixable as human caprice. From its very nature, it can never inhere in any one thing out of market relation to all other things. The idea of value emerges in thought only as an exchange of two commodities is contemplated; and, when an exchange takes place, the measuring, or valuing, is a mutual, perfectly reciprocal process. This is so where one of the terms is money (purchase and sale), as where both terms are commodities (barter). If a bushel of wheat exchanges for a dollar, the wheat measures, defines, expresses, is the value (purchasing power) of the dollar, exactly as the dollar is the value (price) of the wheat; and when, afterward or elsewhere, two bushels of wheat should be the market equivalent of a dollar, that change of the market ratio would be as accurately described, as truthfully stated, by saying that the value (purchasing power) of a dollar has doubled in the wheat market as by saying that the value (price) of wheat had fallen one-half in the money market (price). When I say the fact would be accurately described by either of these modes of statement, I mean the fact is both these things. Whichever phase of the fact you explicitly affirm, you implicitly, but just as positively, affirm the other. Value being in the nature of a ratio between two terms, to be a change in value at all, it must be a change in each and in both alike, to the full extent of the change affirmed. If from a market equivalence of one bushel of wheat to two of corn, there is a change of that equivalence of one to three, then the corn value of wheat has raised fifty per cent. and the wheat value of corn has fallen one-third. So, too, if, from one dollar a bushel, wheat becomes worth only half a dollar, then wheat has fallen one half in value expressed in money (price), and money in the wheat market has doubled in value.

If, now, such a change being considered a misfortune, the question arises which has misbehaved, money or wheat, no answer is possible except by reference to some other commodity for mutual comparison.

Now, no one understands the truth and importance of these propositions better than these professors; and yet, without any reference to the relation of either gold or silver to commodities in general or in particular, but from the mere fact that, whereas in 1873 one ounce of silver was the market equivalent of $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of gold, while in 1885 one of silver equals $\frac{1}{4}$ in gold, and between those periods that ratio wildly and rapidly fluctuated, as shown by a diagram of fluctuation in price (gold) of silver bullion, the professor (!) says that silver is shown to be of very fluctuating value, so unstable as to be no good as a standard! Such an argument from a broker or from an editor would not astonish me, but from a professor of economics puts a terrible strain upon my respect for the proprieties of discussion.

The least reflection will show that the same diagram shows and affirms the wild fluctuations and steady rise in the silver price of gold, which, for the

purposes of this discussion, is a perfectly legitimate putting of the fact, and indeed for every and any purpose, as before shown, is strictly and exactly true. Statesmanship, however, is not content with the broker's view nor the mere travelling in a circle, which the comparison of the two metals alone essentially is. Assuming that one of these metals has been misbehaving, as evidenced by a departure from their ancient value ratio, the legislator appeals to cotton, iron, lumber, wheat, and petroleum,—in short, to the aggregate of the products for effecting the exchanges in which money is the instrument,—and, lo! the fact is disclosed that the misbehavior has been all in gold, and all since the competitive check upon its value has been removed by shutting the mints of the world to silver. You ask, How does that appear? I answer from the simple fact that the value (purchasing power, market equivalence) of money to-day (gold), in Europe and America, has increased since 1860 (a point below, if anything, the average of prices prior to that date, certainly below the average of aggregate prices since),—has increased 25 per cent., which is, as before shown, the same as saying prices have fallen 20 per cent. during the very period while silver has been going down 18 per cent. I affirm, therefore, that silver has remained approximately true, steady, and uniform to products, and gold, under mono-metalism, has been a false and widely variable measure. Assuming, then, the criterion of honest payment to be dollars of the same purchasing power at the time of discharging as at the time of contracting obligation, then all debts, except perhaps those made within the last year or two, are overpaid by the "eighty-two cent silver dollar." But I repudiate that criterion *in toto*. It is wild and impracticable. It is not an ideal, uniform value unit contracts are made in terms of, however much such a unit is the ideal which statesmanship desiderates in monetary legislation; but it is the precise coin defined by statute, whatever value it takes on,—the thing nominated in the bond. Of course, the value may be wickedly tampered with by legislative increase or diminution of the metal composing it. But, if you would see the very rap-rasing of refined villany only reached by the financial inventiveness of recent times, behold the "bulling" of all our coins into an abnormal and oppressive increase of value by legislative limitation of coinage of standard dollars.

I must postpone to another paper the further criticism of the arguments of the professors.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, May 19, 1885.

BOOK NOTICES.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY POPULARLY EXPLAINED. The Orthodox System. By Ram Chandra Bose, A.M., of Lucknow, India, author of *Brahmoism*, etc. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 10 and 12 Dey Street. London, 44 Fleet Street. 1884.

Within a recent period, great interest has been awakened in the peculiar religious and philosophical doctrines of the Eastern world, and many books have been published on this subject; but there is probably none that gives a greater amount of information in regard to the religious philosophy of India in the same space than does this. The author has spent a lifetime of study and research into the religious and philosophic thought of a race and people who seem to have a genius for metaphysical inquiry, and the extent and fulness of these speculations are something that strikes the Western mind with wonder. There is hardly an idea or theory enunciated by the greatest metaphysical thinkers of Christendom, and made the bases of their philosophical systems, but the same can be found in the thoughts of Hindu philosophy; and, at the present time, many minds of culture and acumen are accepting a system of theosophy gathered from the speculations of these Eastern thinkers.

The object of this work is to give a comprehensive view of the whole field of Hindu philosophy included in the six different Orthodox systems (so called). The Heterodox systems are to be treated in a future volume, should sufficient encouragement be given. The first two chapters are devoted to an inquiry into the sources of these philosophies, and the third to their age. In the succeeding chapters, each of the six great systems is taken up and treated separately; and, in them all, light is thrown on subjects upon which the Western mind has been very imperfectly informed. And the author has so happy a faculty of condensing the information he imparts that his work is very

interesting reading and free from anything like dryness, notwithstanding the abstruse nature of his subject. The closing chapter contrasts Hindu and Christian philosophy, and the author estimates their comparative value from the latter's stand-point. Minds with proclivities toward a broader view of the universe would take some exceptions to his estimate, and see in the readiness with which these ancient Eastern thinkers faced the great problems of existence, which force themselves on the candid and unbiased truth-seeker, in this respect, at least, a superiority over the dogmatic, philosophic thought of many Christian sects. But their speculations generally, however much of truth may be involved in their fundamental ideas, lacking any basis in positive science, were overlaid in human thought with much that is, no doubt, fantastic and fanciful in the extreme.

THE opening article in the *Freethinkers' Magazine* for May is "Secularization in Massachusetts," by F. M. Holland, an able and earnest plea for the taxation of church property, and for the repeal of the statute discrediting witnesses on account of disbelief in God. Other articles are on "The Freethinkers' School," by Miss Helen H. Gardener; "Rationalism and Ritualism," by Rev. E. P. Powell; "Spiritualism," by John W. Truesdell; "A Critical Letter," by Therese Sobieski; "Child Life in Liberalism," by Miss Susan H. Wixon; "Bigotry," by John George Hertwig; "An Open Letter," by Mrs. E. D. Slenker; "Bigotry in Canada," by Allen Pringle, an article reprinted from *The Index*; "New Thanatopsis," poem, by Welcome Spencer; and extracts from letters, editorials, book reviews, etc. This magazine improves with every number. Salamanca, N.Y.

Just Published:

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By FREDERICK MAY HOLLAND,

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The author of this book has chosen a magnificent subject; and, although it is formidable in extent and much of it involved in obscurity, and all of it complicated with great questions of history and human progress, he has yet been able to throw much new light upon that liberalization of thought which went very unsteadily forward during twenty-two hundred years, before the great modern movement of the development for intellectual liberty. The work is a delineation of tendencies, a series of sketches of the great minds who at different times and under varied circumstances, and with unequal effect, have struck for independence of thought, a presentation of the counter-forces that have antagonized intellectual liberty, and an account of the working of all those larger agencies which have in different degrees hindered or promoted freedom and independence of thought. Without having subjected the work to critical scrutiny, we are much impressed by the evidence it shows of extensive and conscientious labor, the freshness and interest of its chief subject-matter, the untrammeled treatment of the subject, and the vigor of the portrayal of that long and agonizing conflict with bigotry and intolerance, religious and political, public and private, which is the price of our modern liberty of thinking.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

The volume shows remarkable research, keen powers of analysis and comparison, close reasoning, and fairness of judgment. It will be found an invaluable help to the student, who will be glad to learn that the author contemplates a second volume, which will bring the subject down to the time of the French Revolution.—*Boston Transcript*.

For sale at THE INDEX office, 44 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

was organized in 1867. Though having its headquarters in Boston, it is a national organization, and has members and officers in various States of the Union. It has the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association, its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering, in any other way, with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being. Any person desiring to cooperate with the Association shall be considered a member, with full right to speak in its meetings; but an annual contribution of one dollar shall be necessary to give a title to vote,—provided, also, that those thus entitled may at any time confer the privilege of voting upon the whole assembly, on questions not pertaining to the management of business.

III. The officers of the Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Directors. They shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors be chosen. The Directors shall be chosen for four years, and, at the expiration of that term, shall not be eligible for reelection until after two years. One fourth of their number shall be chosen annually; but, at the annual meeting of 1882, the full number of twelve shall be chosen in sections of three respectively for one, two, three, and four years. The President, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Directors shall together constitute an Executive Committee, intrusted with all the business and interests of the Association in the interim of its meetings. They shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their number, or in the list of Vice-Presidents, between any two annual meetings. Six members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

IV. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the city of Boston, on Thursday of what is known as "Anniversary Week," at such place and with such sessions as the Executive Committee may appoint, of which at least one month's previous notice shall be publicly given. Other meetings and conventions may be called by the Committee, according to their judgment, at such times and places as may seem to them desirable.

V. These Articles may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Association, by a majority vote of the members present, provided public notice of the amendment has been given with the call for the meeting.

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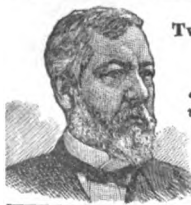
The office of the Association is at 44 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON (next door east of the Public Library), where is also the publication office of *The Index*.

All letters pertaining to the business of the Association (payment of membership fees, orders for its publications, etc.) should be addressed to "Free Religious Association," at the office.

Communications intended specially for the Secretary, as well as his personal correspondence, should be addressed to him at PROVIDENCE, R.I.

F. A. HINCKLEY, Secretary F.R.A.

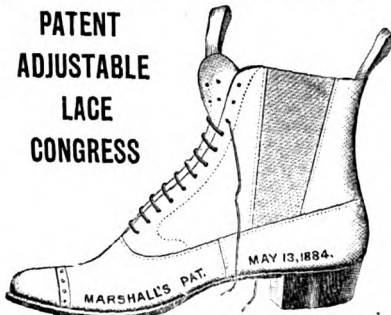
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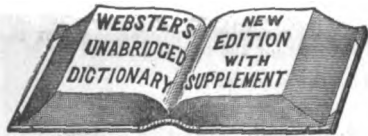
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

MR. F. M. HOLLAND will address the Society for Ethical Culture at the Parker Memorial, Sunday, June 14, at 3.30 P.M., on "The Sunday Law."

A SOCIETY for Ethical Culture has been formed in Philadelphia. Mr. S. B. Weston, we understand, will be the speaker. The Society should, and we trust will, have the support of the earnest Liberals of that city.

REV. J. P. NEWMAN was invited to offer the prayer at the opening of the meeting of the New York Undertakers' Association, last week. He prayed that the Lord would prosper the association! If we lived in New York, and believed in the efficacy of prayer, we should leave for some place where the prosperity of that Undertakers' Association would not be directly promoted by our death.

M. GOBLET, the French minister of Public Instruction, in reply to Archbishop Guibert's protest against the "desecration" of the Panthéon by its secularization, says that the archbishop had exceeded the rights of his episcopacy in the feelings he exhibited at the determination of the government to restore the Panthéon to its original purpose, that of a receptacle for the remains of the really great men of France. He concludes by reminding the archbishop that his present attitude "is not likely to render more harmonious than they now are the relations of Church and State."

THE London Society for the Conversion of Jews report that, last year, it succeeded in bringing twelve Jews to the baptismal font; while three other Hebrews had expressed a willingness to become Christians, "if they could induce their wives to follow their example." Considering that the annual income of the society is £35,000, the number of conversions is surprisingly small. If the agents of the society made any effort at all, the small results of their labors are proof of their main dependence upon theological arguments or of the invulnerability of the Jews to the force of other arguments, which appeal powerfully to the avarice and greed found among people of every faith.

THERON C. LELAND, former secretary of the National Liberal League, died in New York on the 3d inst. He was one of the earliest phonographic reporters in this country. He reported the proceedings of the Forrest divorce trial, and many speeches by Webster and other distinguished orators of the past. He was one of the contributors to the *Dial*. Some years ago, *The Index* received occasional contributions from his pen, which were usually marked by an independent spirit and sprightly style. When the controversy arose which resulted in wrecking the National Liberal League, Mr. Leland became one of the most active supporters of the "repeal" policy, and one of the most prominent leaders of the League. He lacked the judicial spirit, and wrote as a partisan; but his independence in defending his views, however unpopular they might be, and however objectionable his methods of defence, was very marked.

RECENTLY, a young lady, who said she had been without food for twenty-four hours, and without work or money for a week, threw a brick into a window of a jewelry store in St. Louis, and took out some jewelry, under the eye of a policeman whom she knew to be looking at her, in order that she might be arrested and sent to the penitentiary. She said that she had been unable to obtain employment, and that her sole aim was to escape the tortures of hunger by doing something that would compel the State to take notice of her starving condition. It is strange that in St. Louis, where there are official charities, endowed asylums, and churches doing charitable work, a young woman should be driven to such an extremity. A Western paper inquires "whether all these institutions present a visage of sheet-iron to a person seeking relief at their hands. Or is human nature cast in so proud a mould that many of the persons who are reduced to suffering would prefer to incur the guilt and ignominy of crime rather than apply for and accept charitable relief? And, if human nature be so proud as this, how little real acquaintance can those ethical theorists have with it, who imagine that any considerable share of the duties of life can consist in relieving the poor, when there is placed in every poor person's breast a monitor which bids him spurn and scorn all such relief!"

WILLIAM A. HAZEL, in a letter printed in the *Cambridge Tribune*, says that it is "virtually impossible for a colored man or woman to hire a house in Cambridge outside of the two or three colored settlements," no matter how incontestable are the proofs of his character or responsibility, because the agents refuse him "in obedience to instructions from their clients, and in deference to the expressed objection of 'the neighbors.'" Mr. Hazel affirms that it is no hardship for him to live in colored neighborhoods because they are such, but because they are always the least desirable portions of a city, "which are usually settled or occupied by the masses of colored people, sometimes from choice, but oftener from necessity arising from limited means." He protests against the compulsion of every colored person to live in such a locality, in spite of the fact that his means enable him to

live in a more desirable locality. He admits that some, that many colored people have habits that are offensive to refined and cultured people, but that the same is true of some white people also. To the statement that the presence of colored people "in a good community depreciates values," that "with their advent a neighborhood begins to deteriorate," Mr. Hazel replies by pointing out the absurdity of proscribing all colored people, the educated and refined as well as the ignorant and the gross, if character and not color is the test. He says that no colored person has ever been permitted in Cambridge or elsewhere in New England "to enter a neighborhood while it was yet decent without protest; nor can it be proved that, when they have entered, any subsequent deterioration was due to their presence." "It is a fact well observed," he adds, "that the first encroachments upon 'genteel neighborhoods' are usually in the shape of the corner grocery or butcher shop. Afterward comes the unsightly and often unsavory tenement block, built by white people, and occupied by white people,—Dutch, Irish, Scandinavian, Italian, and Blue-nose,—a Chinese laundry perhaps the one clean spot in the whole mass. The soap factory and rum shop come next; and then, but not till then, colored people become eligible, and the process of deterioration begins (?)." Mr. Hazel simply asks that, when a colored man desires admission into a desirable neighborhood, his fitness be determined by the same tests as to moral, intellectual, and financial status which are applied to white people; and he appeals to the conscience and sense of fair dealing of the community to rebuke the unjust and heartless discrimination that is made in this respect against colored men. Shall such an appeal pass unheeded in *Cambridge*?

THE owners of factories at Hamilton, Mass., the papers state, have imported three hundred and fifty French Canadians to work in the mills, when there are hundreds of the native population who have been idle for weeks, and ready and anxious to work at what they consider a fair price. It is natural that employers should get the best labor they can at the lowest rates; but facts like the one mentioned are difficult to reconcile with the statement often made, that the New England manufacturers of textile fabrics are so deeply interested in the welfare of their workmen that they are opposed to having them brought into competition with the poorly paid labor of the Old World. It is estimated that, of the operatives in the cotton mills of New England at the present time, less than twenty per cent. are American born. A quarter of a century ago, the men and women working in these mills were Americans. The interests of the manufacturers have been protected; and they have obtained labor as cheaply as possible, and have become rich. Meanwhile, the class that operated the mills a few years ago have been forced out of this kind of employment, and their places are filled by operatives willing to work for lower wages,—wages which intelligent, independent, and self-respecting Americans regard as insufficient for a comfortable livelihood.

ETHICAL SOCIALISM.

The address of Dr. Heber Newton on Socialism before the Free Religious Association has deservedly attracted wide attention. It brings especially before churches and religious organizations the question of their responsibility for the condition of human society; and, if we mistake not, this question, in the future, cannot so easily be pushed aside by religious bodies as it has been in the more recent past. We do not understand that Dr. Newton brings forward any specific plan of socialism as a remedy for the social troubles which have come with modern civilization; but he presents a most forcible plea why religion, which has always kept prominent the ideal of social harmony and happiness, should make it a duty to take up the grave social problems of the time with a serious effort to find some solution. The practical application of the Golden Rule, or of the old Hebrew law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," to the mutual relations of people in human society,—this appears to be the fundamental principle which he would bring to the front, and have the Churches proclaim with such emphasis that people should begin to see and practise it as the really vital law of social prosperity. The problem is to preserve the needed stimulus to individual exertion and enterprise and the consequent intellectual and moral robustness of self-reliance, which are the peculiar characteristics of modern civilization, and at the same time to make the welfare of each member of society a means of advancing the welfare of all. To effect a just reconciliation between egoism and altruism would be to establish socialism on a firm ethical basis.

Both self-love and neighbor-love are inherent principles of human nature. The love of the neighbor, or the impulse that seeks others' good, is not, on the one hand, to be reduced to a refined and euphemistic form of self-love, or to a circuitous way of seeking one's own remote interests: it should stand for just what the words say,—the love of one's neighbor, the seeking and working for another's welfare by as direct an interest as one seeks and works for one's own good. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,"—not thyself in thy neighbor, nor beyond thy neighbor; but thou shalt love thy neighbor *equally* with thyself. We are to regard and guard others' rights and interests as strictly as we do our own. But, on the other hand, self-regard and self-love are not to be wholly sacrificed and abased before the love that is due to one's neighbor. Egoism is not to be obliterated by altruism. Moral self-denial does not require the absolute abdication of these individual prerogatives which pertain to independent personal character. The love of one's neighbor and all due care for and interest in his well-being are perfectly consistent with the proper maintenance of one's own rights and with all needful pursuit of one's own interests and welfare. The inherent impulse of self-love—a form of the instinct of self-preservation—is, indeed, often debased into a miserable selfishness. But this is not a necessity. The self-love which only leads to proper care for one's own life and health, and which seeks, at no cost to others' interests, the cultivation and growth of one's own faculties, and instinctively endeavors to acquire enough of outward property to insure individual independence, is not a selfishness to be denounced, but a virtue to be encouraged.

The self-regarding motives appear first in the order of time, because they are all-important to the sustenance and preservation of personal being itself. Nature, therefore, makes them very strong. They begin as instincts with the beginning of life, and they continue with more or less of force until the physical organism yields to dissolution. Nature

wants individual men and women as agents of her purposes; and it is through the instinctive self-regarding propensities that she develops strong organisms of personal character, by means of which the higher mental and moral work of life is to be done. But, later, the other-regarding, or altruistic, sentiments awake. There comes a time in individual life; as once there came a time in the historical development of the human race, when the mental perception arises that our neighbors have equal natural rights with ourselves, and that we are under obligation to respect their rights as we would claim respect for our own. This is the root of the Golden Rule and of the old Hebrew precept of neighbor-love,—the root, indeed, of all social ethics. This moral perception is not confined to the Hebrew and Christian religions: it appears in all historical religions, and is indigenous to the human race. When this perception dawns, it takes the reins, or should do so, by its own inherent sovereignty, to control and guide the self-regarding propensities, so that their power may be turned to serve general rather than merely selfish ends. It is this moral sense of what is due to our neighbors as well as to ourselves that rightfully bids the self-regarding propensities halt in their activities, when they proceed to the selfish accumulation of property and power, regardless of others' rights and others' wants and woes. And it is the neglect of this moral command which causes a large part of the social misery among mankind.

Dr. Newton is doubtless right in urging a fresh, vigorous, and thorough application of this old ethical principle of the Golden Rule as the key to the solution of the social problems that are pressing their claims upon the attention of the modern world. Just how this is to be done he does not indicate farther than that he would have religion specially and distinctly turn its forces to that end. He does not expect that the work is to be done in a generation. But he is right in the assumption that, if the pulpits, the churches, the religious press, can be persuaded to press home constantly upon the hearts of people this fundamental principle of social ethics as enunciated in both the New and Old Testaments, they could not fail to have a powerful effect in changing public sentiment; and the changed public sentiment would in time devise all needed instrumentalities for embodying itself in improved social conditions and habits.

But this principle may also be urged on the ground of ethics alone, irrespective of the teachings of this or that religion. As already noted, the principle is not the exclusive possession of any one religion: it belongs to humanity. There was no real morality among men until there came the idea that one's neighbor had as good a right as one's self to life, property, and happiness. Without such a common standard of rights, might would be the measure of right, as too often it has been and is; and the weak would be the prey of the strong. There would be no check to self-aggrandizement, except what should come from the competition and strife of similar self-seeking. Had mankind continued to develop exclusively by the impulse of self-preservation, on the line of the struggle for existence with the survival of the fittest, even though high intellectual acumen had been produced, it may be greatly doubted whether man would have ever become a moral being. All his morality dates from the dawn of that perception within him that between two neighbors there are common rights and common interests, of which each must respect and cherish the other's share as faithfully as his own. Neighbor-love must equal self-love,—there is the germinal principle of ethical society.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE NEW OLD TESTAMENT.

Take it for all in all, the Revision must, I think, commend itself to liberal and honest minds. There are particulars in which the American revision is much to be preferred, and there is nothing to prevent a thrifty publisher from publishing an edition in which these shall be observed. The negative improvement, corresponding to the omission of the old page and chapter headings, is by no means small. Thousands of indifferent blunders have been corrected, and some not indifferent. If here and there the new phrasing seems and is less happy than the old, it is certainly not those who read *The Index* joyfully that need be troubled. They will still be as free as ever to use the older phrasing. It is only those who still imagine they are dealing with a supernatural book who will experience any loss. It is only these who are obliged to think that "Behold he will slay me; I have no hope," is more inspired than "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him," because the former is a correct translation (according to the American revisers), and the latter is not. For us, the most inspiring is the most inspired, in the Bible or out of it. And they can have no fears of openly preferring man's to God's who believe that "every good and every perfect gift is from above and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variation nor shadow cast by turning."

It is surprising that, among those who have taken part in the work of revision from its inception to its completion, one can still be found speaking of the Old Testament or New as if there had been at some time a copy written to all intents and purposes by the Almighty's hand. But that more than one such can be found is sure: that a dozen might be is probable. Dr. Alexander Roberts, one of the New Testament revisers, complaining of the made-up Greek of Erasmus, a mere translation of the Vulgate, on which the King James translation was occasionally formed, says that in the "professed original" are "words for which no divine authority can be pleaded." What is the inference, if not that a divine authority can be pleaded for the original text when this is actually discovered? The same author says in another place, "Every loyal Christian heart should surely rejoice to have access, in as pure a form as possible, to the message sent to us by our Father in heaven"; and, again, he speaks of "the privilege of reading God's word in the form in which it came from himself." In the same manner and spirit, Dr. Chambers, one of the Old Testament revisers, says that "the revision we must choose is that which we have reason to think best conveys the meaning of its divine Author." It is astonishing that men of their ability and earnestness can use such language. Doubtless, the hope of coming face to face with Deity, of listening to his identical words, has nourished the sweet patience of many a scholar in the past, while seeking to attain unto a purer text or a more accurate translation. But the scholar of to-day knows, or he ought to know, that it is not to a series of divinely inspired writings that he is brought more near by anything his scholarship can do, but only to a series of purely human compositions, the expression of a marvelous development of the religious life, for the most part anonymous, but not on this account less valuable as exponents of an important factor in the fortunes of mankind. Our oldest manuscripts of the Old Testament and New are still far removed from the original documents; and in the interval between them there was time and opportunity for many errors of transcription, many interpolations, much tampering with the text. And we know the time was well employed, the opportunity was not

thrown away. Nevertheless, if we could finally attain to the absolute original of every part of either Testament,—a thing impossible, especially with the New,—we have no reason to believe that it would in any case be anything but purely human. We have a thousand reasons for believing that it would be human utterly.

But, when I said in my heart I would write an article upon the new Old Testament, it was not merely the Revision that I had in mind. This indeed is a new Old Testament; but there is a new Old Testament which is of vastly more significance. The revisers have done a microcosmic work. But, in the mean time, a macrocosmic work also has been done. The revisers have stood too near the object of their study to see its grand proportions and its relations to other objects. They have not been, as the proverb goes, to see the forest for the trees. They have been like the old lady, who insisted that she could see a needle stuck in a barn across the street. Yes, there was the needle; but where was the—barn? They, too, have seen the needle; but they have not seen the barn. They have seen the smaller, not the larger thing; the meaning of the individual atomic parts, not the organic parts and their relations to the living, breathing whole.

But, if they have not done this, it has not gone undone. For while the work of translation has been going on these fifteen years, and for a longer period, a work of *transposition* has been going on, of infinitely more importance. Books that appear as wholes, alike in the King James translation and the Revision, have been shown to be the work of different authors, and of periods sometimes widely separated from each other. Take Isaiah for an example: there probably was not a scholar of the forty-two engaged from first to last on the Revision who had any doubt that the book as it stands in the Bible, revised and unrevised, falls into two great parts; and that, while the first forty chapters are for the most part actually Isaiah's, the last twenty-seven are from another prophet, a Great Unknown, who lived two centuries later. Yet there is not a hint of this in the Revision. There is no break of any sort to indicate the lapse of centuries between the thirty-ninth chapter and the fortieth. I find no fault with this. If the revisers had begun to introduce the element of criticism into their work, where could they have made a stop? Not short of many erasures of names that now stand printed as the authors of various books; for the Lamentations are not Jeremiah's, and the book of Daniel is not Daniel's, and the Proverbs are not Solomon's, nor is Ecclesiastes, nor the Song of Songs, and, if any of the seventy-three Psalms ascribed to David, not more than two or three. But, of the New Old Testament of Criticism, the particular traits that I have named, and many others of like character, are but the least important. The Old Testament literature is, for the most part, resumed under three principal classes,—Law, Prophets, Psalms. The order of their arrangement in our Bibles, revised and unrevised alike, is Law, Psalms, Prophets; and the implication is that this was the order of their appearance,—the Law 1200 to 1500 years B.C., the Psalms about 1000 B.C., the Prophets from 800 to 450 B.C. What is the order of arrangement in the new Old Testament of the critics? The Prophets come first instead of last, the Law comes second instead of first, the Psalms come last instead of second,—Prophets, Law, Psalms. Again, the Law (*i.e.*, the Pentateuch and Joshua) which implicitly, as it stands now in our Bible, belongs in its entirety to the same historic period, and that from 1200 to 1500 B.C., has been shown to belong to three distinct periods,—a prophetic part to the

eighth century, a priestly-prophetic compromise part (Deuteronomy) to the seventh century, a priestly part (the Book of Origins) to the middle of the fifth, after which the Psalms were mainly written. And this transposition gives to a mass of literature, which was before a baffling mechanical riddle, a vital and organic unity. In the traditional view there is no correspondence between the literature and the life. An elaborate ritual is credited to a barbarous age; the Psalms, the most spiritual part of the Old Testament, as near to Jesus and his thought as May to June, are credited to an age hardly less barbarous and to a man of blood; and the Prophets, the most rude and primitive part, are credited to the nation period of highest civilization as compared with the Davidic and Mosaic. Once rightly classified, the Old Testament literature reports a progress from a savage worship and morality to a spiritual worship and a morality of almost Christian tenderness. But there is no hint of this in the present order and arrangement of the various parts.

The New Old Testament of Criticism has as yet only an ideal existence. And not for many a day, if ever, will the Old Testament in common use be one which has respect to this ideal. But the time will come, and it should not be long delayed, when either individual scholars, or enterprising bodies of enlightened men, will publish an Old Testament in which the present order shall be wholly broken up, and to the music of historic evolution the parts shall rearrange themselves, and grow, as the obsequious stones of Thebes to the music of Amphion's lyre, into a high consenting symmetry and grace. Such a work is made more consciously necessary by the removal from the revised translation of so many of the old interpretative signs. Irrational and misleading as they were, they introduced a certain artificial cosmos into the otherwise chaotic mass. But now chaos is come again.

Until the voice, "Let there be light!" shall come, it is for those of us who love this noblest literature that ever has proceeded from the mind and heart of man to bring to its appreciation all of the helps the higher criticism has to offer; and remembering that as it stands, even as faithfully revised by the most learned scholars of our time, because they have translated simply what they found, it contains innumerable things which cannot be believed, which are not true, it is for us to hasten, if we can, the time when there shall be an Old Testament, concrete and tangible and legible, that shall embody the results of that higher criticism which has hardly left one stone of the traditional structure on another, but from the ruins has evoked "a city that has foundations," orderly and beautiful as that New Jerusalem which the Man of Patmos saw descending out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

MONCURE D. CONWAY ON EUROPE.

Mr. Moncure D. Conway spent several weeks in Paris during the months of February and March, when he left for London in order to deliver a series of farewell lectures throughout England. I learn that the tour has been most successful and gratifying. On the 12th of this month, Mr. and Mrs. Conway were offered a good-by reception by the South Place Society, over which he has presided for so many long years with credit to himself and benefit to the congregation; and, at 3 o'clock on the 23d, father, mother, and children are to sail from Liverpool for their native land. May wind and wave favor them, and may you of America welcome home in safety these high-minded wanderers, weary of the shortcomings of the Old World!

Before Mr. Conway came to Paris early in the spring, he had been sojourning for several months in the German, Russian, and Austrian capitals. While he was in this city, I met him several times, both in public and private; heard him speak on his feet at banquet tables, and converse in his easy-chair at his writing-desk; listened to him philosophizing in a theatre-box, on the top of an omnibus, and on the platform of a workmen's meeting; and followed in the drawing-room his disputations with some of the ablest thinkers of this intellectual centre. Hence it is that I venture to report to you, who know so well his views, some of the conversations of this progressive cosmopolitan, this scholarly author, and this observant journalist. The opinions of such a man are always worth recording, and are always read with interest and profit.

One Sunday afternoon in February last, the peace advocates of Paris met in a public hall—or rather in a ball-room, for such a thing as a hall for meetings is still unknown in France—to welcome an English delegation holding tenets similar to their own. A member of the House of Commons, two members of the Chamber of Deputies, a Paris municipal councillor, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, of London (the Alfred H. Love of England), and Mr. Conway, all sat on the platform. Here was material for a brilliant meeting. But a score of "anarchists"—a body of hot-headed young men who say that society wants no government, but who are sadly in want of it themselves—had decided that there should be no serious discussion. They hooted, stamped, and finally took forcible possession of the platform; and the assemblage dispersed in the greatest confusion, without having accomplished the purpose for which it had been convened.

As we left the building, Mr. Conway simply remarked, "Think of this occurring on Washington's birthday!" for it was indeed February 22. There was a volume of thought and suggestion in this short phrase. We soon reached the Place de la République, formerly called Place du Château d'Eau. The towering statue to the republic had been erected there since Mr. Conway's last visit to Paris. A series of spirited bronze bas-reliefs, depicting the great historical events of the last one hundred years, encircle the big pedestal. Every armed effort that France has made in favor of republicanism is here commemorated. We went the rounds and examined each one; and, as we turned up the Boulevards, Mr. Conway said, "I may seem very pessimistic, but I have no faith in the regeneration of Europe." (The anarchists had evidently made a deeper impression than the bronzes.) "These old societies that have come down from feudal times," continued Mr. Conway, "resist reformation in a most obstinate fashion. Their progress toward the ideal is so slight that I see nothing in it to rejoice me. In young America alone is there any hope; only in the United States is there genuine progress. I return home, therefore, with enthusiasm."

"This so-called French Republic is no republic. I have known France and Paris for many years. I have visited this country scores of times, both during the Empire and during the Republic. Everything seems to be about the same to-day under M. Grévy as twenty years ago under Napoleon III. The Mexican expedition finds its counterpart in the Chinese-Tonquin imbroglio, and the prevailing thirst for colonial possessions is as dangerous to French interests as was Napoleon's aggressive continental policy. Almost the only redeeming feature of this Third Republic is the greater liberty that it accords the grand scholars of the College of France and the Sorbonne. Renan and Oppert and

Réville and Gaston Paris are the glories of the France of to-day.

"The saddest sight that Europe presents at this moment is the immense standing army which each nation keeps up. The frontiers bristle with bayonets, and everybody holds his breath lest the bugles sound the charge. The Alsace-Lorraine problem is not solved. France still hopes to get back her 'Lost Provinces,' but she cannot do so. Germany will never give them up. They are a part of her national history. They are necessary for her protection against French aggression. The modern German is not bellicose, while the Frenchman by temperament is pugnacious and military. The Germans have now all that they want,—national unity, a strong frontier, and peace. They are making money, and are happy. They hold war in horror. I believe that Germany would take a slap or two before she would have recourse to arms. More than this: I am certain that she will prevent other Powers from unsheathing the sword. But, if France should attempt to reopen the questions settled in 1871, she will surely find the whole German nation to a man eager to defend the territorial integrity of the Fatherland.

"The religious condition of France is most unfortunate. The French mother hesitates, very naturally, to depart from the course pursued by her own mother and her mother's mother. She shrinks from the responsibility of educating her children differently from what she was educated. So the boys and girls are sent to church. It is only when they are grown up that the brother turns his back on the priest, and leaves his sister in the lurch. French children are passed through a religious sieve: the boys get through the interstices, but the girls are caught. This divorce of the sexes in religion is disastrous in more than one respect. This disassociation of men and women is not limited to spiritual matters, but shows itself to a greater or less extent in all the occupations of life. Renan once said to me that it would be a blessing if Paris possessed a chapel like that of South Place, where men and women could meet, where both fathers and mothers could bring their children, and where a pure religious sentiment, free from all sectarian dogmas, could be inspired.

"But to return to Germany. I studied with some care during my sojourn in Berlin the anti-Semitic agitation; and, although the Jews are still heartily detested by the Teutonic Christians, I think I discovered an abatement in the popular hatred. But I must say that, while I do not at all approve of persecutions of this kind, the Jews have themselves principally to blame for it. In the first place, they are not patriotic. As a rule, they do not care a whit for Germany as Germany. Their souls are never stirred by the "*Wacht des Deutschen Vaterland*." And, in the second place, like the Jews all the world over, they remain a caste. They have their peculiar religion; they do not intermarry with other sects; they build up a social wall that hedges out the rest of mankind. It is China in Europe. This attempt to preserve in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the traditions and customs of the pre-Christian era is the main cause of the despised position which the German Jew occupies in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen.

"In Russia, I found the condition of the Jews much worse than in Germany. The ill-treatment of them is not limited to those of native origin: Jews from foreign lands sojourning in Russia are subjected to the same vexations. I was informed that the diplomatic representatives of the various nations at St. Petersburg, discouraged by repeated rebuffs, no longer try to protect their citizens, if of Hebraic birth.

"Another feature of Russian society which struck me oddly at every turn was the complete absence of a middle class. There was no lack of nobles and aristocracy and peasants, but I always looked in vain for people of my own rank. In the streets, at the court balls, in the hotels, in the railways, it was ever the same,—there was no sturdy middle class.

"At Vienna, I was invited to the ball of the Concordia,—a society composed of the literary element of the Austrian capital. Journalists, authors, and poets, whose names are famous throughout the breadth and length of the 'Dual Monarchy,' were there. I talked with some of them. None had ever heard of James or Howells or Stedman; nor, probably, have James or Howells or Stedman ever heard of any of them,—a remarkable example of how limited is the horizon of even the most intelligent of men. The Archduke Rudolf, heir-apparent, attended this ball; and I noticed that he went the rounds, greeting every writer of any distinction with some appropriate remark. I made the same observation in Berlin, where the Crown Prince is never weary of attentions to men of letters. At every public gathering of scholars and thinkers, both in Germany and Austria, you are sure to find the heir-apparent exchanging compliments and participating in the conversation. This is a very significant fact. It shows that the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs fully recognize the influential part which intellect plays in modern civilization, and thoroughly appreciate the value to monarchy of the good will and support of literary men. The king of the nineteenth century knows right well that the pen is indeed mightier than the sword.

"In England, the Prince of Wales does not feel called upon to court so assiduously the powerful literary guild. The English throne is strong because it is a shadow: giving it substance would only weaken it. The Prince might better, perhaps, turn his attention to the English democracy, the new and dangerous element about to enter into English politics as the result of the recent Reform Bill. The advent on the public stage of this illiterate and groggy class—for ignorance and intemperance are its predominant characteristics—forebodes no good to England. I believe in democracy and universal suffrage as practised in the United States, where, on account of our highly organized system of government, the thoughtless masses cannot swamp the thoughtful *élite*, and government is not wholly at the mercy of a popular whim or momentary burst of passion. But such will not be the case in England. The ungoverned and untrained masses will have a direct and immediate voice in the most delicate and complicated questions of state. 'An appeal to the country' will, henceforth, be fraught with perils that Great Britain has never dreamed of. If the kingdom were a confederacy; if there were parliaments, like our State legislatures, in Scotland, Ireland, and the north and south of England,—I should not consider this influx of new voters so full of danger; for they would participate not so much in national politics as in provincial politics. But it is not probable that such a radical remodelling of English institutions will occur in our day, although the plan is advocated by many thoughtful Englishmen, and notably by Mr. Goldwin Smith. England, therefore,—monarchical, conservative, old-fashioned England,—is to be the first among Anglo-Saxon States to present to the world an example of what I can only call a jelly-fish democracy.

"And this innovation has been brought about by Gladstone, or at least with his sanction. Now, I have never been an admirer of the 'People's William,' I have never been fascinated by his soph-

istry. In my opinion, he is at present too old to be at the head of public affairs. His mental powers are, I think, unequal to the strain put upon them by the duties of the premiership of a great empire like that of England. To speak, in a word, my whole mind concerning the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, I should pronounce him an unconscious humbug.

"The separation of Church and State in England is one of the problems which must sooner or later come to the front for solution. You may think it strange that I, a radical, am opposed, for the present at least, to the disestablishment of the Anglican Church. My reasons for taking this view of the case are easily given. When England broke with Rome in the sixteenth century, the episcopacy became the successor of the papacy in the usufruct of the ecclesiastical property, of which the revenues have been estimated at about £8,000,000. If the Established Church were to be deposited, this immense sum of money would be frittered and doled out to the various denominations, so that Orthodoxy would be strengthened rather than weakened by the change. More than this: at present, a goodly portion of the revenue of the Anglican Church is devoted to education. After disestablishment, it would be employed almost wholly for religious purposes.

"And then there is still another reason why I am opposed to the separation of Church and State in England. Just as Anglicanism was the heir of Catholicism three centuries ago, so I believe that Liberalism is sure to inherit the immense fortune of the Established Church, if we are patient. And, when that day comes, I wish the principal to be intact."

Mr. Conway's last remarks suggest a comparison. In France, too, disestablishment is one of the burning questions; and here, also, we find free thinkers advocating the *status quo*. But how different are the arguments used on the two sides of the Channel. To be sure, the situation is not the same. In France, a foreign element—the Vatican—enters into the dispute; while, in England, it is a purely English controversy. M. Paul Bert and his friends hold that Catholicism is less dangerous under the rule of the Concordat than it would be if exempt from State control, that the union of the civil and religious powers acts as a salutary check on the Jesuits. Financial considerations play a subordinate part in the French discussion. The chief object that the Republicans have in view is to minimize clerical influence in French society. M. Paul Bert and Mr. Moncreux D. Conway, too, for that matter, are "opportunists": they advocate a patient and politic sufferance of momentary evil in the belief that they will finally gain a more complete victory. Although radicals, they think it wiser to be conservative in their dealings with priests, whether of French or English birth. In this way, Mr. Conway hopes to inherit their riches and M. Bert to limit their mischief.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, May, 1885.

WHAT IS IT TO BE GREAT?

It is to be cognizant of great things. Greatness perceives greatness. This is the difference between man and low orders of life. From the polyp up, growth in greatness is simply increase in perception of great things. Man is but as much greater than the zoöphyte as cognizance of space, of time, of thought, of love, of religion, surpasses hunger and the perception of eddies in water. In a like way, the philosopher reflected on the fly walking on the pillar of a cathedral. To the insect, the vast and glorious building was no more than a small surface, whose roughness per-

haps plagued the delicate structure of its feet. To the eye of the man, the inequalities disappeared, which to the fly were great pits and hills; but the column itself and all its fellows and the dome and spires were gathered into a glorious creation of devout mind. This cognizance of the greatness above the little hollows in the pillar constitutes the human greatness above the insect. Carlyle defines a hero as "a great soul open to the significance of life." But this itself is greatness,—this openness to the appearance of divinity. Simply, it is the power to see what is to be seen. What makes an eye a strong and fine eye? The measure of its capacity to do the eye's work; that is, to behold. And what makes the excellence of the whole man? Power to discern what it belongs to the whole man to discern. Marcus Aurelius says we shall be helped to do well, "if we remember that what does the work of a fig-tree is a fig-tree, and that what does the work of a dog is a dog, and that what does the work of a bee is a bee, and that what does the work of a man is a man." A very great power of eye to see may be an endowment of nature: only two or three eyes are known which, naked, have seen the crescent of Venus. Or seeing power may grow from trained and industrious effort. When, by exquisite skill, a delicate object is placed under a microscope, perhaps there are not a dozen eyes in the whole great city that can see what nevertheless lies there visible, to the ecstasy of the mind equipped with the eye to behold it. So with the harmonies that besiege the ear. They scale not the ramparts of all ears. So with the exceeding delicacy of the sense of touch, and with knowledge of color and of shape and of the objects of all the senses. But the soul is the seeing behind the eye, the hearing behind the ear, the tangibility of things touched, the percipiency of shape and color in beauty. Mind is great only as it perceives those things which are great; and mind is greater as it knows what the greatness of things is, and this is their co-operation in one thought and the contribution of each in its own place to the one perfect idea and meaning. Two things we must consider: that things often seem not as they are, and, still more, that they often seem as they are not. It is greatness to correct the seeming, to be cognizant of the reality. This truth takes hold of daily life, and has deep moral meaning.

In what need we so much real greatness of mind as in our moral judgments, our estimates of the value of human deeds and feelings? We do not see things as they are, seeing but in part, and failing to glorify what in reality is grand, because we see but a little corner of it; and we see things as they are not, not only not exalting the good, but praising the ill, and choosing the little, the bad, the perishing, when the grand, the good, and the everlasting are close by us. The humane Beccaria, when he changed some views which first he had expressed, but which afterward he thought too severe, added in a note: "I am ashamed of what I formerly wrote on this subject. I have been accused of irreligion without deserving it; and I have been accused of disaffection to the government, and deserved it as little. I was guilty of a real attack upon the rights of humanity, and I have been reproached by nobody." A noble avowal for Beccaria, who thus corrected himself; but a reproach to the world which had not corrected him. Better than all genius, whatever that may mean, than all the scope and power of mind, better than all art, than all learning, is the true greatness of seeing greatness where it is, and of putting things in their true relations by our moral judgments. And the

more cloaked by lowly conditions and unattractive forms, the poorer in shape or position or power, the less conventional, the less expected the greatness is, the greater is the soul which perceives and uncovers the divine, and declares that it is shining there in whatever lowliness of fortune. This greatness is really cognizance of God. There is a way of looking at God and thinking not of glory; for we may take the conditions about us and not interpret them, or see them in their place in the universe of stars whose infinity makes any point a centre. Also, we are to remember this: that the human will in the mystery of its actions, which is called freedom, is mingled with divine acts to their obscurity; so that, thus mingled, it is the office of a great soul to perceive divinity clear and in itself. It is great, therefore, to see the trend of the shore of life, not disconcerted by inlets or jagged points or scattered pebbles, which are but the coast of the present jutting into the sea which is eternity. It is great to see what is coming in what now is; the triumph yet to be, the victory, the divine operativeness in all things. In sum, greatness is not power to tell what we see, not eloquence, not the cunning of the eye or the hand on canvas, marble, or tuned strings; but it is to see the one in all and all in one, for in this unity is the greatness of creatures and of the Creator. "The man to whom all things are one, who bringeth all things to one, who seeth all things in one, he is able to remain steadfast of spirit and at rest in God."

J. V. BLAKE.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

MR. SAVAGE's address which appears in *The Index* this week is also printed in the June number of the *Unitarian Review*.

A PROPOSITION introduced at a recent meeting of the Republican organization of Ward 9, Brooklyn, to treat Rev. John W. Chadwick as a deserter, and to decline further fellowship with him politically, he having admitted that he had voted and worked against Mr. Blaine "because he did not want to see the banner of true Republicanism trailed in the dust," was rejected by a vote of 25 to 18.

MR. M. D. CONWAY has returned to this country with his family. He will, it is stated, make his home in New York, and devote himself to literary pursuits. He is reported as saying: "I see no prospect of building up a congregation. Besides that, my inclinations are to give up the cares of a congregation. I have been preaching since I was nineteen years old, and I think it is time now to rest."

THE Parker Memorial Science Class, at its meeting Sunday, the 7th, the last of the season,—at which Mr. D. H. Clark read a very interesting and instructive paper on "Joseph Priestley,"—voted to have a picnic at Waltham, Sunday, June 21. The Parker Memorial Society was unanimously invited to join the Class on this excursion. We may here mention that the name of Mr. W. S. Kennedy, whose address was on "Some Social Views of Ruskin," was inadvertently omitted from the list of speakers for the class which appeared in *The Index* last week.

"A MODEL HOUSE," a copy of which we have received from the author, is the title of a comedy written some years ago by Judge E. P. Hurlburt, of Albany. The title-page bears the words, "Not published, but communicated confidentially by the author," from which we infer the work was printed for private circulation only. Those who know the

distinguished jurist only by his serious writings, as *Human Rights and their Political Guarantee*, have but a faint idea of the sarcastic and humorous side of his character with which his more intimate friends are familiar, glimpses of which are caught in reading "A Model House."

LILIAN WHITING, in a letter to the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, mentions the large and appreciative audiences in attendance at the annual convention of the Free Religious Association this year, and adds: "They were people whose names stand for something, who represented ideas and their expression in word or action. In fact, the Free Religious Association was the intellectual focus of the anniversaries; and its sessions offered more of vigorous and vital thought than those of any other assembly of the week. These are not the times that try men's souls with the thrilling issues of the days of Parker and Garrison; but there are great intellectual movements in the air, and toward these this Free Religious body of thinkers and scholars is most receptive. . . . Comprehending, of course, many shades of belief, it is, as a body, eminently intellectual, refined, and spiritual, in the truest sense of the term."

THE editor of *Liberty* says that the liberal papers, among which *The Index* is mentioned, "and all the Free Religionists, agnostics, and materialists, and other infidels, so called," although opposed to the ecclesiastical machine, "when asked to confront exactly the same situation in the political sphere, are stiff-necked Presbyterians, hard-shell Baptists, and straight-laced political orthodox of a very fanatical type. When I meet them, they politically invite me to rise for prayers, seek Jesus, and flee from the wrath to come." Whenever we have had a chance to refer to the anarchistic views of the editor of *Liberty* in his presence, instead of inviting him "to rise for prayers," etc., we have pointed out the absurdity of his notions, and asked him to meet certain objections, and to show any error in the reasoning which demonstrates that anarchism is a wild dream impossible of realization. On such occasions, his attitude has been as diffident as his spirit in the paragraph quoted from above is confident and courageous.

IN *The Index* of June 4, we quoted from a daily paper to the effect that worshippers at Dr. Sunderland's church in Washington were "indignant" and showed "considerable feeling" when it was discovered that Fred. Douglass had hired the pew usually occupied by the tenant of the White House, the President preferring one less conspicuous. We remarked that Mr. Douglass was entitled to any pew in Dr. Sunderland's church that he could hire and pay for, but expressed a little surprise that he should care for a pew in an orthodox church, whose creed he had outgrown years ago. Mr. Douglass writes us that the paragraph "illustrates the lamentable tardiness of truth in comparison with the fleetness of falsehood; for, outside of the simple fact that I attended one service in Dr. Sunderland's church four weeks ago, there is not one particle of truth in the story referred to above. I have neither rented a pew in that church nor attempted to do so, nor did my presence cause any visible sensation or indignation. The whole story originated in the fertile brain of malignant correspondents, in greedy pursuit of sensational matter for their hungry journals. I contradicted the whole story on the same morning of its utterance, and I regret that this contradiction should have escaped the vigilance of the usually clear-sighted editor of *The Index*. You are quite right in representing me as having outgrown the orthodox creed; but I have not outgrown my right to enter an orthodox church and listen to an ortho-

dox sermon, when I may please to do so. I hardly think that such occasional attendance will be likely to endanger the stability of my convictions, or compromise my position as a free and independent thinker." We are glad to publish Mr. Douglass' correction, regretting that, misled by a paragraph which appeared in many papers, and the contradiction of which we did not see in any, we did injustice to our honored friend. It is said that a lie will make its way around the world while a truth is putting on its boots; but, when the truth gets its boots on, the lie, as in the above case, is pretty sure to be severely kicked, if not killed. Mr. Douglass' right to attend any church he chooses, and as often as he sees fit, is beyond dispute; and nobody who knows him imagines that listening to any amount of orthodox preaching would either revive his belief in Orthodoxy or compromise his position as a free and independent thinker. Supposing that he had become a regular attendant at Dr. Sunderland's church, we merely wondered how he could have the patience to hear so often the old story over and over again.

Says the *Week*: "A social journalist at Toledo, for assailing private and domestic character, has been tarred and feathered. This was a highly irregular proceeding; but how is society to defend itself, when the purveyor of slander has neither money wherewith to pay damages nor any character to forfeit by a legal conviction?" If society were what it should be, it would be less ready to listen to unsupported attacks upon character by irresponsible persons. The fact is, such attacks are often encouraged in the supposed interests of religion and of political parties by men whose standing is good in Church and State. It is not strange, therefore, that so many unscrupulous journalists take advantage of their position to traduce those who have offended them. "A purveyor of slander" is no more entitled to the respect of honorable men and women than is a thief; and the more frequent the prosecution of those who invent and circulate lies in regard to individuals, whether to gratify personal revenge or to weaken the influence of public opponents, and thus to repel people from the party or principles they represent, might serve as a wholesome restraint on those given to slander "who have neither money wherewith to pay damages nor any character to forfeit by a legal conviction."

THE Concord School of Philosophy, which will open this year July 16, and continue three weeks, will discuss Goethe and the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The lectures on Goethe will comprise these:—

"Goethe and Religion," by Rev. Dr. R. A. Holland; "Goethe's Relation to Kant and Spinoza in Philosophy," by F. L. Soldan; "Goethe's *Faust* and the Novelets in *Wilhelm Meister*," by Prof. Harris; "Goethe's Youth," by Prof. H. S. White, of Cornell University; "The *Ewig-Weibliche*," by Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney; "Goethe's *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* as a Whole," by D. J. Snider; "Goethe's Relation to English Literature," by F. B. Sanborn; "Poésies Lyriques de Goethe," by René de Poyen Belleisle; "Goethe and Schiller," by Rev. Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol; "The Women of Goethe," by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; "The *Elective Affinities*," by S. H. Emery, Jr.; "Goethe's Titanism," by Thomas Davidson; "Goethe's Self-culture," by John Albee; "Child-life as portrayed in Goethe's Works," by Mrs. Caroline K. Sherman, of Chicago; "Wilhelm Meister and Hawthorne's Donatello," by Julian Hawthorne; "Goethe as Playwright," by William A. Partridge.

There will also be readings from Thoreau and from Mr. Alcott's diaries. In the symposium on Pantheism and Modern Science, Rev. A. P. Peabody, Mr. John Fiske, Prof. W. T. Harris, and Prof. Howison, and others, will take part in papers or by speech.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 11, 1885.

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

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

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Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?

An Address delivered before the Free Religious Association at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, May 29, 1885.

BY M. J. SAVAGE.

The whole wide field of the modern world is but one grand scenic display in illustration of the conflicts and conquests of science. Always has her flag led the way to victory; and no weapon turned against her has prospered.

It is not so long ago that this earth was the universe; while the sun, moon, and stars were only "appurtenances thereunto belonging." God, angels, and devils were chiefly interested in a struggle going on here, recently begun, soon to be ended, when time was to be no longer, and eternity was to become all. But science, like a young demiurgos, has touched, transformed, and re-created all things. And now we see "a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth" are "passed away." The word has gone forth, "Behold, I make all things new."

We talk to-day with a friend in a distant city as familiarly as two neighboring gossips used to converse with each other from opposite windows, across a narrow street. And, each new wonder becoming a commonplace in a week, we are apt to forget how very modern all these things are. So we lose the marvel of what science has done in two hundred years.

The little flat earth plain of the ancients, flowed round by the ocean stream, domed by a solid concave as real as the cover of a dinner-platter, ruled by Jehovah or Jove, covering a cavern peopled by the shades of the dead, a scene of magic and marvel, the battle-ground of deities, demigods, heroes, and monsters of every kind,—all this is not so very far away. The "ancients" themselves were very modern, as compared with our present conceptions of the beginnings of life on earth. And Dante's world, a Christian crystallization of many preceding speculations, is hardly more than five

hundred years old. While, even since Boston was founded, Milton wrote his great epic. He knew of the ideas of Copernicus; though, for the purposes of his poem, at any rate, he rejects them. His whole universe is not so large as the now known orbit of the moon.

So recently, then, has Science given us our present universe for a home. She shattered the crystal spheres of Ptolemy, and turned the "firmament" into "the blue dome of air." She set the stationary earth in motion, and sent it spinning about the sun. And now our earth, instead of being the centre, is found to be only one little planet,—a subordinate part of one little system, itself a subordinate part of an infinite order. For our whole tiny group is so far away from even its nearest neighbor that a little fleet of yachts alone in the centre of the wide Atlantic, with no sign of life nearer than the far-off shores, could only faintly figure forth its startling isolation. It takes light about eight minutes and a half to reach us from our sun; while this same ray, in order to reach our nearest next-door neighbor outside our system, would have to travel about one million eight hundred and forty thousand minutes. And, even then, the white-winged messenger would only be standing on the threshold of infinity.

Is it any wonder that the science that has done all this should expect to change a good many things more?

But we need to glance for a moment a little nearer home than the stars, and obtain a glimpse, at least, of the extent to which science has changed the conditions of our daily life. Until very recently, men have postulated a miraculous origin for humanity only about six thousand years ago. The Garden of Eden has faded into the cloud-land of mythology; and science asks us to look down a vista of at least two hundred thousand years, to see our half-human ancestors cradled in a jungle, with the bestial cries of the forest for lullaby; and then to note how, with slow and painful steps, our race has struggled up a pathway wet with tears and blood to its present vantage-ground of civilization. And it is only in these recent years, by the help of this same science, that our race is gaining its conquest over the earth. Science found man timidly creeping along the river-banks and the ocean shores, shaping with clumsy hands and crude, flint implements a crazy "dug-out" in which to venture a little way over a sea peopled with monsters, and with all imaginable threatening horrors on every hand. She built for him the steamship, and turned the widest oceans into common ferry-ways. She found him toiling a few miles a day on foot or horseback or in some springless cart, and she built him the railway and the Pullman car. She found him sending a courier with a notched stick for a message to some other tribe, and she gave him the lightning for a post-boy, and turned the world into a whispering gallery. She found him living in little isolated and hostile groups, imagining the world beyond his narrow limits peopled with barbarians and monsters; and she gave him the printing-press, whose scattered leaves alight on every breakfast-table, and so gives us the sense of common interests, common wants, common sufferings, common aims, and a common brotherhood. Wherever the most careless eye rests to-day, it looks on some gift of this wondrous, omnipresent, all-conquering, all-generous science.

So much has this "science" thus wrought that we have come almost to look upon the word as though it stood for an entity, a demigod, a genie of some Aladdin's lamp. No wonder if the men of science are proud of the past! No wonder they hold the most extravagant views as to what the

future may unfold! No wonder they borrow the feelings, if not the words, of him who sung the triumphs of steam, and sometimes say to humanity,

"By and by, you may go and play,
While I manage the world myself."

Is it to be expected that, in a world so transformed, any class of human ideas is to escape the general transformation?

The religions of the past, whether true or false, have been held on grounds that science cannot recognize. Hence the inevitable "conflicts" and "warfares," whose history and principles have been so ably, if not completely, set forth by such men as Dr. John W. Draper and President Andrew D. White. But the warfare of science has not been confined to the old religion as an antagonist. Science has also had to war against the old history, the old philosophy, and even against the old science. The fact of it is that bigotry and conservatism are not all in the Church. They are too human, and there is too much of them, to be shut up in any one enclosure. There can be a scientific bigotry as well as one that bears the label of Presbyterianism. Witness the attitude of all the older physicians in England toward Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. It is said that no one of them who had passed the age of forty ever got his eyes open wide enough to see the new light. Witness the purely scientific authority of Newton, which eclipsed the glory of Young, as the discoverer of the true theory of light, for a century. Witness Agassiz and evolution. And the list might be indefinitely extended.

But because Science carries on her warfare against the old theories and supposed facts of history, philosophy, and science in the past, no one supposes that any one of these—history, philosophy, or science—is to be slain, or must of necessity cease to exist. No false theory about the stars ever endangered the light of any single one of them. So it seems to me quite possible that false theories about religion, or the discovery that supposed religious facts are without foundation, may not hinder its continued career, any more than false theories about the earth are likely to hinder its continued circuit about the sun.

A little clear thinking and some good definitions ought to bring some help to those who do a good deal of ill-digested talking about science, as well as to a similar class that endangers religion by its unwise defence. Let us then try to get our bearings and find out just what it is that we are talking about. We will then examine the two great supposed antagonists, and see if we can find out what they are.

I. What is Science?

To hear people talking about it, you would suppose that it is a *thing*, an entity, that can be in favor of or opposed to some other *thing*. But science is only *man thinking*,—one of the functional activities of humanity, as religion is another of its functional activities. Instead of being a *thing*, it is only a *method* of dealing with things. It is the way—and, I believe, the only way—of rational study, of the discovery of truth. I hold that no man ever did discover any truth, or ever will, except by the use of the scientific method. That men used this method before they thought of it, or formulated it, is nothing against this position. Men spoke grammatically before they formulated grammar; and they used their eyes for ages before they dreamed about any theory of vision. But men can use their eyes much more effectively, and can more easily distinguish between hallucination and reality, since they understand the laws of sight. So, since they have formulated the laws of investigation, they can make more rapid and sure advances in the discovery of truth.

What now is this method of science? It consists in three distinct and separate steps of investigation.

1. The first step is *observation*. This is the simple looking at a supposed fact. But the impression one gets from this first looking may be a quite erroneous impression. For the eyes alone may send up a false report to consciousness. The eye tells us that the earth is flat; that the moon is only a few miles away, and is no larger than a platter. Different eyes do not agree as to colors. A movement may be made so rapidly that the eye shall misreport it completely.

In a similar way, the reports of all the other senses are liable to be mistaken. It is not enough then to see a thing or hear a thing or feel a thing. The one testimony must be checked off by other testimonies. The report must be corroborated. So 2. We must take the next step, that of *verification*. To do this, we repeat the observation. We call in the aid of the other senses. We check off or modify one report by another. We compare them; we try to eliminate sources of error; we apply one method of explanation after another, until we feel reasonably sure that we have found the only one that is adequate. Then, for the first time, we have a right to say that we know that fact. Then

3. We are at liberty to take the next step, *deduction*. We have verified a large number of facts that are similar in their general characteristics, and we put them together in a class by themselves. Now, we have a right to go on and deduce a theory as to their relations to each other. And these constant relations we speak of as the law that underlies them, and by which they are what they are. This is what is meant by a scientific theory or hypothesis. And, if no new fact is discovered that our theory cannot make room for or explain, as we say, then we consider our hypothesis established.

And, just here, we need to bear in mind another thing,—that what science speaks of as a law is not a thing or force or entity any more than science itself is. It is popularly spoken of as though it were a statutory enactment or a positive force that was capable of doing things. It is nothing more than our way of saying that the relations between certain phenomena are constant and are changing.

Now, then, after science has taken its third step,—deduced its theory,—its triumph is attained, and its power becomes manifest. Taking its stand on the observed constancy of nature, it can reconstruct the past and predict the future. It can talk of eclipses and conjunctions of the planets five hundred years ago or five hundred years to come. So it can reconstruct history, or discover and explode ancient errors in philosophy, religion, and science. So, with astonishing accuracy, it can foresee the issues of our present political and religious tendencies. And, if the world be wise, it will use its light in guiding and shaping the forces now at work so as to determine a better future for man.

It is apparent, then, that science is only organized common sense. It is only man rationally trying to rid himself of his errors and to find out what is true in every department of thought and life. It is man in the light of past experience trying not to repeat his blunders, but to find out the reality of things, so that he may rightly adjust himself to them. Science never destroyed a fact or discredited a truth; and it never will. Those who are afraid of it only reveal their lack of knowledge as to what it is, or else their distrust as to the soundness of their own positions. Its only office is to clarify the present of its errors inherited from an uncritical and unscientific past, and to go on to new conquests of the undiscovered.

We have come now face to face with a question that is central to our whole discussion. On account of its importance, it has a right to ask your most careful attention. When may any institution be said to have a scientific basis? There can be but one answer; though it seems to me that people hold the most confused and absurd notions about it. An institution has a scientific basis, when the thoughts, the emotions, the rites or customs, and the actions involved in it are found to accord with the scientifically ascertained nature of things. And any institution, being a fact, has a prescriptive right to exist until by the use of the scientific method it is proved not to be in accord with the nature of things. That is, science has no right to demand the surrender or abolition of all things that do not happen as yet to have been demonstrated. He would not be an over-wise man who should propose incontinently to pull down all houses whose foundations are not already proved to be secure. When he has carefully examined and proved, in the case of some particular one, that it is not secure, then is the time for his work of demolition to begin. But there is a certain class of dynamite scientists who propose to blow everything up first, and examine them afterward.

One other point needs to be made clear; that is, the range, the scope of science, or the proper field for scientific investigation. There are many who would say to Science, Your instruments and methods of investigation are the proper ones for certain departments of study or life; but, by the very nature of things, they are excluded from others. Some self-appointed keepers of certain alleged truths would say, Hands off! my realm is too sacred or too subtle for science to deal with. Others—and these perhaps among men of science themselves—are ready to pronounce certain departments of thought or life unreal, because they do not lend themselves to the cruder methods of research with which they happen to be familiar. But we all need to learn, once and for all, that whatever is true, and at the same time touches in any way the life of humanity, is capable of being scientifically investigated. Undoubtedly there may be many things true in distant parts of the universe, or even near at hand, that do not touch human life, and so do not concern us. For example, perhaps we shall never find out very much about the back of the moon; and perhaps it will not trouble us much, if we do not. Perhaps there are inhabited worlds whose suns even are beyond the range of our largest telescopes; and perhaps we shall never know much about such worlds. But if a thing does not touch, and so does not influence or modify, our lives in any way, it is no matter whether we know about it or not. The things then that are beyond our reach and so beyond our knowledge are the things that it does not concern us to know. But whatever does touch us is thereby proved to be within our reach; and all such things we can investigate by scientific methods.

Science has achieved its most dramatic triumphs, so far, in the field of material facts; and I suppose it is on that account that many set up the claim that it ought to confine itself to these, and that nothing else is real. But, though there is about them none of the characteristics or qualities that we associate with what we call matter, a feeling, a fitting fancy, or even a dream, is a fact as much as a boulder, a glacier, or the remains of a megatherium. As a fact, it must be dealt with and accounted for by any one who undertakes to set up a comprehensive theory of the world. What we call the emotional, the mental, the spiritual,—the whole psychical life of man,—these are facts. The inclinations that constitute the bonds of so-

ciety are facts. Because they are immensely more difficult to deal with than physical facts does not put them beyond the range of science, nor absolve science from the necessity of dealing with them. There is no other possible alternative: either all things are orderly—that is, under law—or else the universe is a mad-house. And whatever is under law, and that at the same time touches and so concerns us,—this can be investigated.

The outcome of our definition of science, then, is this: 1. It is a method, and not a thing. 2. Its scope includes all that it concerns us to know. 3. By any thing's having a scientific basis, we mean that it is found, on investigation, to be in accord with the discovered nature of things.

Now let us turn to the other great factor of our theme, and ask,

II. What is Religion?

In general, then, and before coming to particulars, I would define religion as man's effort to express and interpret the greatest and most inclusive of all human relations. And, in the nature of things, it must be as permanent as that relation itself. Or, to state it in another form, so as to open the way for a natural and needed analysis, I would say, Religion is man's thought concerning the relation in which he stands to the universe, or to the powers or power that he recognizes as outside himself and as controlling his destiny. Of course, his thought is accompanied by appropriate emotions. And, of course, the thought and the emotion will find external expression in what are regarded as fitting rites, services, and courses of conduct; while the one purpose in it all will be the establishment of what is looked upon as desirable relations between man and this external power.

I put the thought first, because an intellectual perception of this relation must precede all conscious feeling on the subject; while the thought and the feeling must precede the external expression in altars, temples, or services of any kind. The purpose—which is the motive force of it all—will be seen to permeate, run through, and mingle with all the other elements of religion.

Religion, then, upon analysis, may be resolved into these four elements:—

1. It is thought,—the creed, the theology.
2. It is emotion,—fear, awe, reverence, hope, love, worship.
3. It is ritual, however elaborate or however simple it may be.
4. It is purpose,—the endeavor of man to adjust himself to his supposed environment; to get into right relation to the Power not himself; or, in New Testament phrase, to become "reconciled to God."

To see how true and real this all is, let us glance at a few concrete illustrations drawn from the different religions of the world. Begin with a fetich worshipper. In some way,—no matter how,—he has come to stand in awe of some mysterious power supposed to reside in or be connected with a stick or a curious stone. Now, he thinks of a power here, external to himself, and as able in some way to hurt or help him. He will naturally feel afraid of this power. Then, by some rite or ceremony, an offering or a prayer, he will try to placate its anger or win its good will. And his purpose will be, in it all, to establish what he regards as desirable relations with it.

Pass from the fetich worshipper to the Jewish high priest in Solomon's temple. His thought of the power not himself has grown to the dimensions of Jehovah, the God of Israel, or, as in later times, the God of the whole earth. His emotions will correspond to his intellectual conception. His

ritual will take such shape as he supposes his god to desire. And his purpose will be the establishment of what are regarded as desirable relations with this dread Power that is supposed to hold the destiny of Israel in his hands.

Now, precisely similar things are true of the Buddhist, the Mohammedan, and the Christian.

And, even if you drop the name of religion, you do not escape the thing itself. Every man capable of thinking does think and must think of a power external to himself. If capable of emotion, he must have feelings that respond to the manifestations of this power. By his thoughts and feelings, his actions must be influenced and moulded. And, knowing that his life, his prosperity, and happiness depend on his knowledge of and obedience to this power, the purpose to be rightly adjusted to it must be the aim of every intelligent and sane human being. For this religious search is nothing more nor less than the search for the secret of life. The essentials of religion, then, are the essentials of all sane and healthy human living. The same religious elements that we discovered in the fetich worshipper are vital to-day in Huxley, in Herbert Spencer, in Haeckel, and in Colonel Ingersoll. Even atheism itself is only the obverse side of the current coin of religion. And these essentials of religion must remain just so long as there is a universe, and a man in it capable of thinking and feeling about it. Get rid of all the temples, churches, priests, and ministers, and you would not get rid of religion any more than, by abolishing the weather bureau at Washington and destroying all the weather-vanes and thermometers, you would get rid of the weather. And, even if the climates themselves should all change, some kind of climatic conditions would remain.

It seems to me that, in this matter, people allow themselves to be deluded by superficial appearances. Because a large part of any old religion will not bear scientific investigation does not seriously threaten religion itself any more than the stars were endangered by the overthrow of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. That the thought elements, the emotional elements, and the ritualistic elements of religion in the past should have been found to have been erroneous or partial is a matter of course, and goes without saying. For a scientific man to discover and announce these facts should startle no one, any more than the statement parallel to this, and equally profound, that a boy's trousers and jacket are not large enough for him when he gets to be a man. It is doubtless true, but not important enough to make a great deal of fuss about. Put a finite being in the midst of an infinite universe and tell him to grow, and results like these are to be expected. And they are as inevitable in regard to religion as they are in the matter of clothes. Our religious beliefs, like all the rest of our ideas, may always be partially untrue; and they must always be at least inadequate. And yet they may be relatively right enough at any special stage of human development. I suppose that, at any particular epoch of the world's advance, the people then living did just what we are doing now. That is, they thought as correctly as their brain power, limited by tradition and inherited prejudice, would let them. To ask them to do more would be like asking the Swiss lake-dwellers to build the Parthenon.

But while the creed, the emotion, and the ritual are subject to perpetual change and growth, the purpose remains forever the same. The body may grow old and die; but the soul ever reincarnates itself in some more fitting form. Orders and types of life perish; but life goes on. And this eternal purpose of religion is one of reconciliation. It is the progressive endeavor to reconcile man with

himself, man with his fellow, and man with the external conditions of his life.

III. Where are We Now?

Let us now look a little at the condition of religion at this present stage of the world's advance. We will do this with two questions in mind: first, as to what religious principles or beliefs have a distinct and definite scientific basis; and, secondly, as to what principles or beliefs, though not yet demonstrated to be true, have a right to remain,—for the present, at least,—because they have not been demonstrated to be false.

What, then, are some of the elements of religion—truths that may well enough be called doctrines—that are capable of demonstration?

1. I would set down the existence of "an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." This is as much more certain than any phenomenal fact whatever as is the general fact of seeing more certain than anybody's report of any particular thing stated to have been seen.

For my present purpose, I care not by what name you call this Power, or, indeed, whether you name it at all; for any finite name must be utterly inadequate as a designation of the infinite.

But, unless Science is to stultify herself and deny her own essential postulates, she must admit that "nothing comes from nothing," and that "a stream cannot rise higher than its source." If, then, I may not talk of this Power as thinking or planning or loving or as personal,—because all these are finite terms,—still, by all the canons of science, I am bound to regard it as at least equal and adequate to these; for these are some of its finite manifestations. This Power, then, is at least as much as we mean by intelligence and love and personality. Or, as Herbert Spencer said to me one day, "I see no reason why we should not regard this Power as being as much above personality as we are higher than vegetable growths."

And I, for one, see no good reason for our being so afraid of being anthropomorphic. Whether afraid of it or not, we must be anthropomorphic until we cease to be *anthropoi*, men. And, if we were anything else, we should still be limited to the stand-point of our natures, whatever they were. We are just as anthropomorphic in chemistry as we are in theology. So long as we speak at all, we must use terms derived from our own experience. And even a partial expression may be more nearly correct than silence or no expression at all. And it is just as possible for one to be negatively dogmatic as to be positively so; and the former may be even farther from the truth than the latter. He who asserts mere force may be as dogmatic as he who asserts God. He cannot prove that he is any more nearly accurate. And, if he tells the theist that he does not know what God is, the theist has a perfect right to retort that he does not know what force is.

This Power, then, is not only real, it is the one great reality.

2. Man is the product of, and is dependent on, this Power. If, then, one grand element of religion is "the sense of dependence on an unseen Power," as it has been called, then, in so far, it has abundant scientific justification.

3. In this infinite and eternal Power is the law of man's life. This law was here before man came, and it will be here after he departs. In entering life, he comes under its jurisdiction. This sense of being amenable to a higher law has always been an essential part of every religion. It is no necessary part of this truth that this law should always have been looked upon as what

would now be called good, or moral. It is enough that he should always have regarded himself as subject to a Power above him that demanded his allegiance, and attached to his conduct or character reward or punishment as the result of obedience or disobedience.

This belief, instead of being weakened by the advance of science, is now established as one of the most incontrovertible of all truths.

4. In this fact, that the laws of this infinite Power are the inexorable conditions of life and death for man, lies the mightiest conceivable motive force for conduct. To know and obey these laws is at once the only true self-interest and the highest duty.

5. These laws, discovered and verified, constitute the one book, the sacred Scripture. And, while Science is calling them the "laws of nature," I see no reason why religion should not call them the "word of God," written on "tablets of stone," and on the "fleshy tablets of the heart," by the very finger of the Highest.

6. On the emotional side, the teachings of modern science seem to me to furnish unspeakably grander occasions than were ever known before for the feelings of reverence, awe, humility, admiration, and all the nobler emotions that have always been associated with the attitude of worship. Indeed, take the worshipful element out of human nature, and the very noblest attribute of manhood is gone.

7. All rituals; all services that are living expressions of live thoughts and feelings; all that serve to teach, to impress, to inspire, to lead to righteousness (rightness) of thought or life,—find ample warrant in the light of the best knowledge of the modern world. Indeed, so far as they are efficacious in these directions, they are the most important of all occupations. The highest and most important use of this world is the development of a noble man. All that science is worth is to serve as a torch in his hand to show him where to walk. The most of that which passes under the name of science to-day is of a very subordinate value as compared with that which shall teach him how he ought to feel, and conduct himself, as a man.

8. I fail to see, then, what Science can have to say against the Church as a permanent institution. It may undermine and overthrow, if it pleases, any number of false or partial theories as to the Church's origin, nature, prerogatives, or powers. But against the Church as a voluntary organization of men and women seeking to find the art of true living and to help others find it, in its endeavors to study and practise the best religious life, a sensible science can raise no objection that would not be equally valid against an art association or a scientific society; while the aim of the true Church is as much more important than either of these as life itself is more important than its embellishments or assistants.

9. The actual history of the past shows fear and hate decreasing and love and trust increasing; and this both in relation to man and also as toward the Power manifested in the external world. This, being exactly in line with the great, distinctive work of religion,—which is one of reconciliation,—reveals a demonstrable and demonstrated ground for her noblest expectations; and it also shows that those expectations are being progressively realized.

10. On the basis of the past there is laid a solid foundation of fact on which Religion is justified in building her loftiest structures of hope. Since the laws of this universe are now known to be the laws of human life, prosperity, and progress, it is seen that what Religion has called "the kingdom of God" is identical with what scientific

philanthropy would call "the kingdom of man." In the light of modern knowledge, we are justified in hoping for such a kingdom here on earth. This is one of the great hopes of Religion. It is the natural and necessary outcome of her work of reconciliation and adjustment, which—however wisely or unwisely sought—is her universal and eternal purpose.

But she cherishes one other hope. And this hope is so paradoxical, so audacious, so magnificent, that the mere fact of its being cherished at all, if untrue, is almost more wonderful than that it should be true. Almost every religion in the world has confidently promised even its humblest adherents that they should somehow successfully overleap the apparently bottomless chasm of death, and, dowered with immortal youth, start out on a career of eternal life.

This practically universal hope is a fact as real as a granite cliff. It is a product of this universe, on any theory you choose to hold. In some way, science must deal with it.

Suppose we start with the picture of human life so pessimistically pictured by the Persian poet, Omar Khayyám,—

"Into this universe, and why not knowing,
Nor whence, like water willy-nilly flowing;
And out of it, as wind along the waste,
I know not whither, willy-nilly blowing."

Now, if man be only that, a pinch of dust caught by a passing wind and whirled into fantastic form for a moment, only to be scattered again aimlessly to the waste,—on that theory, how did it happen that he took up with this most stupendous lie, whispered to him by a universe more crazy than himself? They tell us that dream and trance and subjective vision will account for it. Perhaps; but who will account for the dream, the trance, the subjective vision? All that is only covering a mystery with a phrase. It is only a stake set up by wise men to mark the boundary lines of their ignorance.

It may be true that the Power manifested in the universe blows sun and planets and moons like soap-bubbles, only that they may swell and glitter and burst, all unmindful of the intensity of human love and hope or the intensity of fear and despair. But, if so, then it must be Hartmann's "Unconscious" or Jonathan Edwards' "Devil." But, in that case, who knows that he can rely on the reason that comes to such conclusions? In a universe like that, reason itself may be either meaningless or only one of a devil's freaks of fancy. But, until we get something better, perhaps the most rational way is to rely on reason. On any theory, reason is a product of the universe. The universe, then, must be as much, as high, as reason. If, then, the conclusions of reason are valid, there must be an outcome of this world-drama great enough and good enough to justify the process. An age-long progress that ends in "a hole in the ground" does not seem to me quite worthy of a Power capable of building the world for a stage, curtaining it with clouds, doming it with the sky, and lighting it with stars. A cheaper play-house would have been good enough for so pitiful a tragedy or so poor a farce. For one,

I cannot think this world shall end in naught,
That the abyss shall be the grave of thought;

That e'er oblivion's shoreless sea shall roll
O'er love and wonder and the lifeless soul.

I do not claim on behalf of this hope of continued existence that it has as yet a demonstrable scientific basis. But I do claim that, for anything Science can say to the contrary, Religion has a clear and rational right to cherish the hope. The hope is a fact; it exists; and no knowledge, ancient or modern, is capable of proving it to be un-

founded. It is not only a rational hope, but, on the supposition that the universe means anything, it is more rational than the opposite. If any man tells me that he does not want a future life, I will tell him in return that I do. If Mr. Frederic Harrison says I am selfish in wanting it, my reply is that logically he ought at once to commit suicide. For, if it is selfish to wish to be alive a hundred years from to-day, then it is also selfish to wish to be alive next week. The only difference is that my selfishness asks for a little larger quantity of that which both of us desire.

Where, then, do we stand at the outcome of our discussion? We have found that religion is here, and that it is a world-wide and age-long fact. In studying the nature of that fact, we have discovered it to be only man's attempt to express and perfect an eternal relation,—a relation that inheres in the very nature of the universe and of man. The changes that have taken place in the past are only the natural results of a better understanding of that relation. Should the time ever come when, through increasing knowledge and goodness, these relations should be instinctively and automatically maintained, and all outward institutions of religion be no longer needed, this even would not be the destruction of religion, but its perfection. Education is not abolished, when a man has learned all that the schools can teach, and has ceased to attend them. The essential thing in government is the securing justice and order. Should the time ever come when this became a wholly internal thing, and outward laws and officials were not needed, would government have ceased? Because there is no visible Supreme Court to lay down the law for the planets, is there no law or order among the heavenly bodies? So the essence of religion being its purpose to secure this perfect reconciliation, it can be lost to sight only in its own perfect realization.

And what is our last word about science? Being as it is only a method of study, the way to the investigation of truth, its highest office can only be to make a pathway for human advancement, and hold the torch by which we may see our road. And since religion is, at any special stage of the world's growth, man's best endeavor to give body and form to that which is the highest object of human concern,—the art of life itself,—it follows that the noblest office of science must be to serve as the helper of religion.

Humanity progressing may be likened to a train of cars *en route*. The religious motive—the hunger for life, for life larger and fuller—is the steam in the engine. Science teaches man how to survey and build the road, and then places her torch of truth for a head light to shine out over the track that leads on toward the future.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MESSIANIC PROPHECY: THE FULFILLED AND THE UNFULFILLED.

Editors of The Index:—

Whether or not the Messianic prophecies of Hebrew Scripture were spoken with intended reference to Jesus of Nazareth, it is unquestionable that, according to the gospel narratives of the New Testament, a considerable number of the incidents there predicted did have their fulfilment in his life. It is also universally admitted that some of those prophecies have not yet been fulfilled. It may, perhaps, be instructive to classify the Messianic predictions, and see which of them were fulfilled in Jesus and which thus far remain unaccomplished. In the Gospels ascribed to Matthew and John, the following things are said to have taken place, "that the scriptures might be fulfilled":—

1. The birth in Bethlehem of the child Jesus, the carrying him into Egypt by his parents, and their

residence in Nazareth after returning from Egypt. Matt. ii., 1-6, 15, 23.

2. The fact that Jesus preferred to teach by parables. Matt. xiii., 34, 35.

3. The riding of Jesus upon an ass into Jerusalem. Matt. xxi., 1-7.

4. The division of the garments of Jesus by lot after his crucifixion. Matt. xxvii., 35.

5. The fact that thirty pieces of silver was the price of the betrayal by Judas. Matt. xxvii., 9.

6. The fact that, in a certain place, the people "believed not on him." John xii., 37, 38.

7. The casting of lots for the seamless coat. John xix., 24.

8. The declaration of Jesus on the cross that he was thirsty. John xix., 28.

9. The fact that the legs of Jesus were not broken. John xix., 33-36.

On the other hand, the following Messianic predictions were in no manner or degree fulfilled by Jesus during his life, nor has he fulfilled them since in any manner or degree.

1. Isaiah declared (ix., 6, 7) that the Messiah was to sit on the throne of David, ruling the Hebrews as David did, and moreover securing to them peace and a just government forever.

2. Jeremiah declared (xxiii., 5, 6, and xxxiii., 14-18) that the Messiah, a lineal son of David, was to reign forever on the throne of David, and was so to execute justice and judgment in the land of Palestine that, under his rule, "Judah should be saved, and Israel and Jerusalem should dwell safely."

3. Ezekiel declared (xxxvii., 21, 22, 25) that the children of Israel should return from their dispersion, and settle as one nation in the land of Palestine, and be ruled there forever by a prince of the house of David.

4. Amos declared (ix., 14, 15) that the house of David should again rule Israel, and that, under its government, that people should enjoy permanent peace and prosperity in their own land.

These four, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Amos, ranked by both Jews and Christians as among the highest of the Hebrew prophets, agree in the confident prediction that the Messiah will rule in the land of Palestine, not only executing judgment and justice there, but establishing permanent peace and prosperity for the returned and reunited tribes of Israel.

Whenever a descendant of David shall accomplish these things, he will have fulfilled the prophecies above quoted, and will be rightfully called the "Messiah." But not one of them has yet been fulfilled. So far from enjoying permanent peace and prosperity in their own land, the Jews have not yet returned there: they are still scattered among all nations, and still persecuted by many. Though a people, they are no longer a nation. They have no common language, and, if they could now be transported to Palestine, they would be unable to understand each other: their speech would match the fabled confusion of tongues at Babel.

But, according to the four prophets above cited, the permanent reunion of the Jews in Palestine, under the peaceful and righteous rule of a descendant of David, was the great, the essential, the principal work assigned to the Messiah. This most important part of the Messiah's function was not at all performed by Jesus, and he no more performed it figuratively than literally. The Jews no more accepted him as a reformer than as a king.

Looking back now at the list of incidents in the life of Jesus which are claimed in the New Testament as a fulfilment of prophecy in the Old, we find that very few of them are acts done by Jesus himself, the majority being things done to or for him by others. We find, moreover, that the acts in question, far from requiring the eminence or sanctity of character implied in the Messianic office, are of a trivial and superficial sort, such as could be done by any person; and we find besides that these trivial things were done for the purpose of fulfilling Scripture, and thus of proving Messiahship. But, if Messiahship had consisted mainly in being born in one town rather than another, or in teaching by parables, as Æsop and Jotham had done long before, or in riding into Jerusalem on an ass, it would not have been worth either predicting or accomplishing.

The four great prophets above quoted really expected that Jehovah would reward righteousness with present temporal prosperity. They therefore urged upon their countrymen the duty of working

righteousness and forsaking iniquity, and promised in recompense deliverance from oppression and permanent prosperity in the land of Palestine under the rule of a prince of the house of David. As the carpenter Joseph was descended from David, if his son Jesus had shown himself disposed and competent to lead a successful revolt against the Roman power, the Jews would gladly have accepted him as the Messiah, and fought to establish his kingdom. But, as he showed neither the power nor the disposition so to deliver them, there was not the slightest reason why they should recognize in him the Deliverer of whom Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Amos had spoken. They were quite right in seeing that the ministry of Jesus was not Messiahship: their error—and a very great error—was in not seeing that ministry to be vastly better than Messiahship. C. K. W.

REV. JASPER NOT ALONE.

Editors of The Index:—

It has long been something of a mystery to me why the Rev. Jasper should be so extensively noticed for promulgating the once world-wide theory that the "sun do move." As a minister and an avowed teacher in the Church, his position may be a little out of the usual line; but, certainly, such views are not so extremely rare in the Christian Church as the frequent allusion to this one specimen might lead us to suppose.

Within the past two weeks, I have met and conversed with two church members with whom the Rev. Jasper ought certainly to share his laurels. One, a man of fair intelligence, a notary public and real estate agent in active business, declares that he totally disbelieves in the diurnal rotation of the earth, and asserts that day and night are the result of the daily circuit of the sun around the earth. He bases this assertion partly upon his own superficial observations, but chiefly upon what he believes the Bible to teach upon this subject. He frequently refers to modern science in a slighting manner as "men's doings," contrasting it with "God's work," which latter designation he gives to the Bible. He admits in most instances the reasonableness of scientific views, but declares that we have "no right to trust to reason, when reason conflicts with God's word."

The other is a physician of the Eclectic school, although not a regularly educated one,—a man of wonderful popularity among his church people, possessed of considerable wealth, good mental capacity, and altogether quite a lion among his set. This man openly ridicules some of the fundamental principles of modern physics, and substitutes in their place various theories of his own; for instance, that atmospheric pressure has nothing to do with the action of the ordinary pump, but that the water is lifted solely by the adhesion existing between the bottom of the "plunger" and the top of the underlying column of air or water. He also frequently refers to modern scientific investigations in a contemptuous way as "men's doings," and is never tired of eulogizing the "grandeur of the prophecies." Although he generally remains discreetly silent when such subjects as the diurnal and annual motions of the earth are mentioned, it is generally understood that he does not regard with favor the modern views. These people are already sufficiently numerous here to contemplate building a church. The two I have selected are only those who have expressed their opinions in my presence. That there are at least some others among them I have not the slightest doubt. It is also possible that some who publicly assent to modern scientific views rather than incur notoriety by dissent will, in the privacy of their own homes, and when brought face to face with "that infallible Book," read the story of Joshua, and insert the mental reservation that "the sun do move just the same."

There is nothing strange or unaccountable in this tendency to the production of an unprogressive type of mind. We need not trace the Christian Church many centuries back to find when it consisted of a brotherhood of Jaspers who never dreamed of questioning the supposed fact which our Virginia enthusiast is now ridiculed for asserting. The Jaspers of to-day are one and all simply loitering around the well-worn camp which the great bulk of the Church has abandoned for a better field.

Certainly, the Church ought to deal with only the greatest kindness with these poor benighted laggards whose present position is the direct result of her own fostering care. In a religious organization led by

ministers well versed in combining theology and science in proper proportions to make a palatable mixture, such woful laggards as our colored enthusiast may not be found; but place the Bible in the hands of men not under such leadership, and not having the time to cultivate those hair-splitting distinctions by which alone it is possible to harmonize science and orthodox theology, demand of these people an unreasoning mental submission in those instances in which reason and revelation seem to conflict, and there can be but one result,—namely, the multiplication of Brother Jaspers in abundance.

J. M. LATTI.

MILLETON, KAN., April 16, 1885.

THE following allusion to the Unitarian National Conference is from a sermon by Rev. J. W. Chadwick, which we find printed in *Unity*: "But, surely, it is not enough that the inevitable drift of our experience should be from doctrines to principles, from dogmas to ideals: we live a double and divided life until we frankly place ourselves upon the platform of our principles and our ideals, and say we will be true to these, whatever happens to our doctrines. Then I believe that thousands who are now indifferent to our function will come and range themselves with us, and march with us from victory to victory and from joy to joy. And, to this end, I trust the National Conference will not always be contented with the 'good God, good devil' Preamble and Constitution with which, for the present, it confronts an unbelieving world. But let it stop patching its patches, and, sweeping away its present mass of contradictions, put in the place of them something like this, which has been suggested by William J. Potter as the reconciling word: 'The churches and societies, Unitarian and other, here assembled, reserving to themselves the right to hold and proclaim such other religious principles and beliefs as may seem to them individually to be reasonable and true, but agreeing together that freedom of thought is a sacred and inalienable right of the human mind, and that true character is of vastly higher moment than any uniformity of creed, do hereby unite themselves in a common body to be known as the American Conference of Unitarian and other independent societies, to the end of energizing and stimulating one another to the largest exertions in behalf of the important interests which they have at heart for the promotion of righteousness and truth.' Channing! in whatever robe of light you may be flaming now, would it not give you some increase of joy to know we had attained to this?"

THE editor of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, in a letter to his paper from New York, writes: "One afternoon, I took the cars on the Long Island railroad and went out to Garden City, in response to a note from R. Heber Newton, D.D., who had cordially invited me to visit him at his country home. Here he spends most of his time, going to New York on Sundays to preach and upon other occasions as required. Here, far away from the turmoil and confusion of traffic and commerce, fanned by the bracing breezes from the ocean, and surrounded by those whose love makes duty a pleasure in helping him in his work, he can study and grow as he could not in the city.... I found Dr. Newton at the station awaiting my arrival, and seated with him in his carriage the venerable Elizabeth Peabody, whom I had last seen on the platform of the Concord School of Philosophy as one of the most active participants in the proceedings. Though eighty-one years of age, quite feeble of limb and nearly blind, her brain is clear and her interest in current matters of philanthropy and literature as keen as ever. A drive of less than half a mile brought us to Dr. Newton's spacious house, where I was cordially greeted by Mrs. Newton, several manly sons, a beautiful daughter, and at least four fine hunting dogs, who, I was glad to see, regarded themselves as part of the family and made as free in parlor and library as does a Scotch cousin of theirs in my own house. Familiarity with Dr. Newton's pulpit utterances had brought me to respect him and admire his ability and courage; but it only required five minutes in his library to warm me to a sincere and, I believe, lasting affection for the man. I found him much younger than I had supposed: he is forty-four, and looks six years younger. During the three hours spent with him, he impressed me as earnest and thoughtful; full of buoyant hope, yet well poised; courageous, but modest, ingenuous, and

receptive, yet with keenly analytical mind and highly trained reflective faculties; caring nothing for religious forms and ceremonies merely as such; with a profound respect for truth and an unflagging desire to find it; slow to reach final conclusions; intrepid in maintaining a position so long as he deems it correct, but ever ready to change when once his judgment is convinced; a logical and well-trained mind, in a sound and finely formed body."

TO F. H. S. *For The Index.*

I saw a rainbow,
It was fleeting;
But that rainbow,
Ever meeting,
Crosses still my upward look.
Once beholding it, forsook
Me all my cares.
Written in its lines of glory,
Underneath, another story
Answering all my prayers.

Now, my soul forever sayeth,
What is sorrow, that bewrayeth?
And my feet a lightness borrow
Of the morrow;
For that rainbow then will shine,
And its shining shall be mine.
O my friend, draw nigher now!
With the rainbow on thy brow;
Still my life upon the earth
Groweth worthier in thy worth.

On the easel of my grief,
Shadow of a parting brief,
Grows and grows the expectation,
Grows the sweet anticipation,
Ever brighter, of the love
That embraceth from above,—
Arching o'er me,
Circling round me,
With a peace that ever fills,
With a joy that constant thrills;
For a nobler soul enfolds me.

O my sorrow! now I praise thee!
O my grief! a song I raise thee!
For the parting sad
Maketh gladness glad;
Adding hope to joy that is,
And the yearning that is bliss.
Bend the bow of strong desire!
Draw the arrow tipped in fire!
Longing, loving, doth inspire.

E. P. POWELL.

BOOK NOTICES.

TWENTY-FIVE SERMONS OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. By William J. Potter. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1885. pp. 417.

In these days, a volume of "sermons" is more likely to repel than to attract, by such title, the general reader; and a volume of sermons by one who, through his reverence for truth, has discarded the prefix "Rev." which custom attaches to the names of those in his profession, seems somewhat anomalous. Yet these twenty-five discourses are sermons in every sense of the term; and, in spite of the—to some—distasteful "odor of sanctity" about the word, there is no better name by which to designate their character.

But those who may be deterred by its title from opening this volume will make a mistake by which they will be deprived of a fine intellectual treat; for, accustomed as we have been for years, through the columns of *The Index*, to the clear statement of advanced thought and to the elevated morality characteristic of Mr. Potter's writings, yet we confess that the perusal of these "twenty-five sermons" has been somewhat of a surprise to us,—a surprise, a pleasure, and a source of inspiration,—surprise at the wide range of thought on so many differing topics, pleasure in the sympathetic insight as well as brave candor with which those topics are discussed, and inspiration from the unvarying reaching toward the highest moral ideals, and courageous utterance of his

most advanced intellectual convictions, which rings through every sermon of the whole series.

This book is the outcome of a wish on the part of the members of Mr. Potter's congregation suitably to commemorate, in some abiding form, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his acceptable ministry,—an anniversary which they celebrated by a public reception tendered to him, with poem, speeches, etc., on Dec. 29, 1884. In the letter from his parishioners requesting him to oblige them by compiling and editing this souvenir of his appreciated work among them, which they wished, also, to contain his portrait and autograph, no limitation or hint of the number of sermons is given; and it was a happy thought of Mr. Potter himself to select one sermon from each year of his pastorate, by which could be marked what changes, if any, had taken place gradually during those years of study and observation in his views.

The quarter of a century whose lapse these pages mark was a period of wondrous growth and advance in religious thought and knowledge. In these discourses, though there are intimations of gradual enlargement of scope of view and some modification of earlier religious stand-points, yet these are not so marked as might be expected; for one of the surprises of the volume is in finding how bold, decided, and advanced in freedom of thought Mr. Potter was, even at the beginning of his long pastorate. It is delightful to find him declaring in his very first address before his New Bedford congregation: "I do not come among you to help build up a sect, or to fill your pews, or to perform merely the priestly offices in your homes. I come to speak to you whatever of truth may by God's grace be shown to me." And, again, "Wherever a single soul bows with more passionate devotion to truth, and resolves to follow the truth wheresoever it may lead, through whatsoever road, and though losing all things else, even life itself, there is a member of Christ's Church, and a true minister in the line of his priesthood." The sincere, truth-loving spirit in which he entered upon his life work is indicated in the following passage from the same sermon: "The elevation of the soul, the enlargement and quickening of the truth-seeing faculty within us, is, in fact, the test of the growth of character. And as not even Omnipotence can make the blind see without first opening their eyes, so he cannot reveal truth to the soul, unless the soul be first opened to receive it; and as the soul in the natural order opens by gradual development, so the revelation must be gradual and progressive."

There is not one of these sermons which will not interest and well repay perusal, even by readers who generally avoid sermons. They contain a large amount of radical thought; but the language is always moderate, and the tone conservative. The spirit that pervades the entire volume is predominantly judicial. Upon the ethical aspects of his subject, the author always lays the greatest stress. As a philosophic thinker, he appears at his best, perhaps, in the sermon entitled "The Glorious God," and in the portion of "A Twenty-five Years' Ministry" in which he traces the development of his thought from New England Transcendentalism to the views he now holds, and states comprehensively his present "creed." While every discourse contains gems of thought and expression, we may mention among those we found the most inspiring and attractive "The Religion of the Affections," "Endurance," "Thoughts and Conduct," "The Permanence of Morality," and "Waiting for One's Self." That on "Self-sacrifice," a war sermon, is remarkable, as coming from a preacher of Quaker descent and of apparently pacific, serene, and equable temperament and character, for its eloquent patriotism and true soldierly and liberty-loving spirit. The portrait of Mr. Potter, which as frontispiece adorns this neat-looking volume, is an excellent and faithful representation of the original. S. A. U.

ETHICAL CULTURE. I. The Need of an Ethical Religion; II. Why Christianity does not Satisfy us? III. The Success and Failure of Liberalism; IV. The Meaning of a Society for Ethical Culture. Four Lectures by Samuel Burns Weston. Philadelphia, 1885. pp. 70.

In these four lectures, Mr. Weston has presented much timely thought in clear language and in an independent spirit. The insufficiency of theology as the basis of morality, and the importance of bringing the moral life to the foreground in religion, are shown, attention is drawn to some of the defects of "Liberalism in its more limited, its sectarian sense, if you please," and the origin, principles, and aims of the

Ethical Movement are stated and explained. Near the close of the last lecture, Mr. Weston says:—

I have tried to show that it means, in the first place, a society which makes the moral life the object of fundamental importance in religion, making that the sole basis of its religious work and fellowship; secondly, that it means engaging as a society in such works of philanthropy as shall help toward the realization of a far higher social order than at present exists; thirdly, that, in our efforts to reform society, we shall not forget the more important and even more difficult work of self-reform; fourthly, the formation, so far as possible, of adult classes, or ethical sections for the study of the ethics of the different professions and occupations of the members, and the maintenance, if possible, of a Sunday course of lectures; and, fifthly, and finally, it means providing a course of moral instruction for the young.

THE *Art Amateur* for June contains less solid matter in biography or criticism than usual; but it is full of bright, interesting paragraphs about the exhibitions and contemporary art. A little word of the late artist Le-Page about his "Joan of Arc," still in our own Art Museum, gives his theory of art, and explains the painful realism which shocks us in a picture which shows much artistic power and feeling. There is also a curious advertisement asking for information about the art of "tattooing." We knew that this practice was still in vogue, but were not aware that it was classed among the fine arts. We are glad to hear of a successful new American play called "Sealed Instructions," although the account of the plot shows nothing very original or American. The illustrations are very pleasing. The "Matins," by H. Winthrop Pearce, is full of tender feeling; and the "Rough Day," by Frank M. Boggs, is vigorous and effective. We should like to see the original picture of the "Sweet Girl Graduates." It is good if the artists are beginning to recognize the new beauty of woman developed by the higher education and greater sense of responsibility.—E. D. C.

THE *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* is rather behind the times, the latest number, bearing date of October, 1884, having only recently appeared; but it contains several articles of interest to philosophic thinkers. Its opening paper is "The Problems of Anthropology," by Ludwig Noiré (translated); "The New Argument from Experience against Idealism," by George S. Fullerton; "A New Theory of General Ideas," by Payton Spence; "A Popular Statement of Idealism" (II.), by William M. Salter; "Bradley's Principles of Logic" (II.), by S. W. Dyde; "A Study of the Iliad: Book Fifth," by D. J. Snider; "Notes and Discussions," including Sentences in Prose and Verse, selected by W. E. Channing, and the programme of the prize essay on Hegel's method offered by the Berlin Philosophical Society. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THE leading articles in *Christian Thought* for May-June, 1885, are "Genesis, Scriptural and extra-Scriptural," by Jesse B. Thomas, D.D.; "A Half Hour with the Evolutionist," by Dr. Abraham Coles; "Faith as the Basis of Science and Christian Philosophy," by C. S. Towne; "The Involuntary Life," by E. P. Thwing, Ph.D.; and "Monthly Meetings of the Institute," by Charles M. Davis, Secretary.

Just Published:

TWENTY-FIVE SERMONS OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

By WM. J. POTTER.

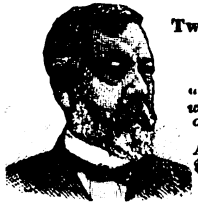
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CURRENT TOPICS.

BY B. F. U.

THE *Spectator*, referring to the political situation in England, says that the Tories are "between the devil and the deep sea."

Gov. HILL of New York, has signed the bill imposing a tax of five per cent. on collateral inheritances of over \$500. It is estimated it will bring \$1,000,000 into the treasury annually.

It is announced that the memoirs of Darwin, including copious correspondence with Huxley, Spencer, Lewes, and Lubbock, will be published in London about the last of July.

NONE will rejoice more heartily than the intelligent and self-respecting veterans of this State at the defeat in the Massachusetts Senate last Monday of the bill providing for the exemption of soldiers and sailors from civil service examinations.

HON. HUGH McCULLOCH, in recollections of Mr. Lincoln in the *Sunday Herald*, says of him, "He was a man of strong religious convictions; but he cared nothing for the dogmas of the Churches, and had little respect for their creeds."

In Ecuador there is a church, it is said, for every one hundred and fifty inhabitants; and ten per cent. of the population are priests, monks, or nuns. The priests control the government in all its branches, and two hundred and seventy-two days of the year are observed as feast or fast days. One-fourth of all the property belongs to the Church. Seventy-five per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

SAYS an exchange, "That Mr. Beecher and his friends make a great event of his promulgation of the principles of the doctrine of evolution, which is now almost as generally accepted as the law of gravitation among the educated classes, should be a reminder to the more intelligent part of the community of the service such popular teachers as Mr. Beecher render, and the absolute need of such mediation between them and the masses."

AMONG the events of last week was the unveiling of a statue of Charles Darwin in the Kensington Museum of Natural History. Among those present were Spencer, Browning, and Prof.

Owen. Huxley delivered the dedication address. The most noteworthy feature of the occasion was the acceptance of the statue for the Museum by the Prince of Wales in a speech recognizing the greatness of Darwin and the value of his services. The opinion of the Prince of Wales as to the great naturalist and his labors is of no scientific importance whatever; but, when we consider the position of the Prince in a country with a State religion, whose ministers only a few years ago spoke the name of Darwin only with derision and contempt, his prominent participation in the ceremonies has peculiar significance.

THE death of Archbishop Bourget last week will remind many of his excommunication about ten years ago of the *Institut Canadien*, for the alleged reason that it had on its shelves books dangerous to youth and "indexed" at Rome. It will be remembered that one of the members, Guibord, who had purchased a lot in the Catholic cemetery, was not allowed by Bishop Bourget to be buried there, although he had sent for a priest and confessed to him some time before his death. Unable to secure his burial in his own lot, Guibord's widow appealed to the courts. The decision, which was in her favor, was appealed from, and reversed. The widow subsequently died; and the *Institut* took up the case, and, through Mr. Joseph Doutre, Q.C., carried it to the Privy Council, which decided that Guibord must be buried in his lot in the cemetery, which was accordingly done on Nov. 16, 1876, in the presence of a strong military escort.

THE following is from the *Springfield Republican*: "The sort of folks who rejoice when a ministerial candidate avows his belief in a personal devil are pleased with the choice of a new professor at Columbia (S.C.) theological seminary to succeed the Darwinian heretic Woodrow. Dr. Hersman is a fine scholar, says the *New York Observer*, and has not the remotest idea that Adam was evolved from a beast. He can read the Bible in the revised and authorized version without seeing any such nonsense in it. We earnestly hope that Mr. Vos, of Princeton, will also see his way clear to go to Columbia. He recently obtained a fellowship, his examination theme being a long dissertation in defence of the Pentateuch against the modern criticism. If Dr. Hersman and Mr. Vos both go to Columbia, the *Observer* concludes, we shall expect to see the seminary, like Zion, 'arise and shine.'"

A SECULAR journal thus hits off the recklessness of patent medicine advertising in religious journals: "An Arizona man, who subscribed for a religious paper some time ago, sent a letter to the editor to stop it, in which he said: 'We find the *Gila Howler*, our local paper, much livelier than your old milk-and-water affair. Besides, you haven't played a square game in your "ads." My wife bought a pair of the corsets you advertise, and blamed if they didn't bust in three weeks; and we use them now to mend the chicken coop. I took half a dozen of the dead-shot pills you puffed up in

a reading notice week before last; and the next day I was so sick that all the doctors in the town published bulletins about my approaching death, and the boys said I had the jim-jams. For these reasons, I have determined to quit your paper and read the *Howler* only. As I know it always lies, unless it is paid to tell the truth, it can't lead me into temptation.'"

SO FAR as Scotland and Wales are concerned, the controversy in regard to disestablishment is virtually ended; and what is being waited for now is simply action. A minister of the Established Church of Scotland, who is a candidate for the County of Argyll, Rev. Donald M'Craig, comes out strongly in favor of putting an end to union between Church and State. Mr. W. Bright MacLaren, the accepted Liberal candidate for the Inverness burghs, maintains that the national funds now applied to stipendiary maintenance of the two Established Churches should be directed to educational or other benevolent and national purposes. In England, the majority of the Liberal party apparently regard disestablishment as a matter of course. The whole question of disestablishment is rapidly entering the region of practical politics, and the people at large are more and more regarding it as a scandal that the wealthy members and adherents of the Established Churches of England and Scotland should insist on maintaining their religion from sources by which taxation might be relieved.

AFTER waiting nearly a quarter of a century, Miss Anna Ella Carroll, of Maryland, has received justice, the court of claims having decided in favor of her claim for recompense for services during the war of the Rebellion, including the writing of important papers and the planning of the celebrated campaign up the Tennessee River, which led to a series of brilliant victories, the value of which cannot be overestimated. Miss Carroll's distinguished services should long ago have been officially recognized; but as the gentlemen who presented her case before the court said, "Two formidable obstacles have ever been in the way; namely, the unfavorable attitude of the military mind toward what emanates from outside circles, and what, indeed, Miss Carroll was not responsible for,—the fact that she is a woman." Mr. Lincoln—who, B. F. Wade, chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, says, was "opposed to its being known that the armies were moving under the plan of a civilian," for he "wanted the armies to believe that they were doing the whole business of saving the country"—wrote thus to Miss Carroll: "The country, almost in her last extremity, was saved by your sagacity and unremitting labor. Indeed, your services were so great that it is hard to make the world believe it. That all this great work should be brought about by a woman is inconceivable to vulgar minds. You cannot be deprived of the honor of having done greater and more efficient services for the country, in the time of her greatest peril, than any other person in the Republic; and a knowledge of this cannot be long suppressed."

ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETIES.

It is pleasant to hear that another Society for Ethical Culture has been organized. Its location is in Philadelphia; and its organizer and chosen leader is our old friend, Mr. Samuel B. Weston, formerly of Leicester, Mass. Mr. Weston, it will be remembered, after graduating from the Harvard Divinity School, was settled as pastor over the Unitarian Society at Leicester. He was more interested in Free Religious ideas than in denominational Unitarianism. Yet, to the majority of the society, he was a most acceptable preacher. Unfortunately, however, the salary of the preacher was derived in considerable part from the income of a legacy to which certain doctrinal restrictions were attached; and the trustees of this fund, supported by the opinion of the Council of the National Unitarian Conference, to whom the question had been referred by both parties for decision, held that the money could not be legally used for the support of such views as were preached by Mr. Weston. Since leaving Leicester, Mr. Weston has spent two years in study in Germany, and as much more time in New York, studying and assisting in Dr. Adler's work. In the Ethical Culture movement, he has found a field for labor congenial to his intellectual views and to his moral enthusiasm; and we sincerely hope that the society which has now been organized by him in Philadelphia will prove in every respect a successful enterprise.

As we have previously stated in *The Index*, the Society for Ethical Culture, in our opinion, presents the most promising form of organization that has yet appeared for that kind of Liberalism which has entirely broken from all the forms of church organization, and is inclined even to regard all religion as a superstition. Prof. Adler and his co-laborers do, indeed, use the word "religion," and increasingly. They have a distinct philosophy of religion. In a series of discourses the past year on this very matter, Prof. Adler made this significant statement: "I wish to emphasize the religious aspect of the ethical movement more than I have done before; not because I have changed my opinions,—on the contrary, I hold substantially the same views as I did nine years ago,—but because I think—at least, I hope—that we have advanced far enough to be ripe for a new statement, to be ready for a new start." He had previously said, as leading to this statement, that, in one element, "a large number" of the ethical society members are "plainly lacking,"—the element of "religious feeling"; and the purpose of this series of addresses was to show how this element of religious feeling might exist and be cultivated in connection with a rational philosophy of religion. He disclaimed any thought of introducing any of the forms of expressing religious feeling—such as prayer and hymns of adoration to a personal Deity—which are in customary use in churches; but he clearly intimated that in time some kind of expressive forms might come, created by the new religious life itself. Nevertheless, for the present, the Ethical Culture movement is bare of such forms. It brings ethics to the forefront, and makes that the grand aim in life. That is the emphasized and defining word of the movement. And, for this reason, the ethical society may appeal to a class of minds that have become sick of religious forms and doctrines, and do not want on Sunday to go to any place resembling a church, and yet do want to do some earnest work for humanity and to associate with other people for the sake of doing such work better through a common sympathy and effort. Liberalism has a good many such minds. They are earnest and true, but feel

that their moral purpose and energy are not put to such effective use as they might be, because of the attitude of isolation and individualism into which their intellectual opinions have thrown them. If the Ethical Culture movement can draw these minds into a common organization for the improvement of personal and social morality, it will do a noble work.

This movement, to some of us, may not cover all that seems important. Those who hold a somewhat different philosophy of religion, or who think that religious feeling, being an inherent part of religion, should be allowed some special expression now, even though the form of it be not perfect, may naturally desire some different kind of organization. But, for those Liberals who do not feel these objections, the movement should be commended as one that will give opportunity for all the moral earnestness they are capable of. It is a movement that is affirmative and constructive. It has the advantage of a definite purpose and a clearly stated method of local work for the amelioration of human society. We wish that ethical societies might be established in all our large cities under such able and earnest leadership as now guides the few that have come into existence. Though not, in our view, presenting the final form of religious organization,—and this their leaders do not claim for them,—in the emphasis they lay upon ethics and upon practical philanthropy and moral education of the young as essential objects of their corporate work, they are an excellent tonic in any community, and set an example which the churches—and they are already taking hold of such work—will increasingly follow. Secularism, pure and simple, has not yet shown itself capable of effective organization to any great extent. "The Nine Demands of Liberalism" present very important conditions of religious liberty, but do not in themselves offer a constructive basis for a permanent society. Of the Ethical Culture movement, the central, vital impulse is the principle of "morality suffused with emotion"; and this should be able to organize the unchurched Liberalism, if anything can.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE ETHICAL AIM WITH CHILDREN.*

To-day, I speak of children. No other subject so awakens my enthusiasm. I think it is the fact (profoundly impressed upon me) that the child of our human race is the possible germ of all that we call ideal in that race,—it is this fact which wins me to childhood in its every phase. Yet I am no believer in that *quasi* beautiful theory that the child is like a white unwritten page. I believe his birth determines many a significant mark (though small) upon that page. Environment will train, this way or that, each native tendency. It is then for education, the "drawing out" process, to enlarge the life. My purpose is to state briefly "The Ethical Aim with Children."

The words themselves imply that education of some sort is to be attempted; and, allowing the words their fullest meaning, it will be seen that conduct, as a whole, is implied. Conduct means the adjustment of act to end. With children, this adjustment is more or less conscious; and I take it the business of education is to make the best possible adjustment of acts to ends, first conscious and then unconscious, so that the human may store away the happy outcome of accumulated experiences, and thus transmit it unimpaired as moral intuition to new races. A great deal is said to-day about the religious education of the young

* Read before the Boston Society for Ethical Culture, June 7, 1885, and in response to William Lloyd Garrison's paper printed in *The Index*, April 30, 1885.

and about the most approved method of educating the children of Liberals. The Sunday-school which was founded in London, Eng., by a poor cobbler, for instruction of his neighbors' children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, has culminated in our crowded, wealthy, and fashionable modern Sunday-school for doctrinal teaching,—quite a perversion of the original idea.

Let me state, first of all, that, just as I believe in the regular meeting and co-operation of adults for the benefiting of this world, so do I believe in like meeting and co-operation of children, with this single difference: that special effort must be made to train the impressible child to reverent and independent thought. Here I cry, Death to dogma! and set myself in permanent antagonism to the Church of Rome. Before I note what to me are faults in every church I know (as well as in some schools instituted for children on Sunday outside the church), let me speak of that long-suffering word "religion." People who grow dissatisfied with ecclesiastical nurture of the young are apt to rush to the other extreme, and forget the immutable fact for which religion (not theology) has stood. They also actually shrink before the name of Jesus, an interpreter of that fact and founder of a faith which certainly has its side of good, however perverted by Christian adherents.

Now, because religion has become so sadly confounded with superstition, I feel myself great sympathy for those who can conceive the word only in that light. But, again, let us remember that no word of man can eradicate the fact of man's relation to the infinite (however termed); and then let us abandon conflict about what word will best describe this relation. Perhaps for the "reality"-trusting but "religion"-denying atheist, a new word will be coined more exactly adapted to his needs. For myself, "religion" answers very well, and the prefix "free" for an association of children or adults would practically stand for freedom to think as one must about "religion." "Regard for the All-important Reality" human beings are forced to hold; and this fact, it seems to me, every society must tacitly, if not openly, admit. I like silence for its recognition in a public meeting of adults or children.

Having postulated so much, I reach the distinctive work to be done by the children of an ethical society. I claim, of course, that all Sunday-schools ought to be ethical classes. Education should be so directed as to give the broadest possible culture; and the child, just as the adult, on Sunday, should receive a stimulus to the knowledge and the love of right, and the one great danger (as also, under certain conditions, it is the one great safeguard) is the extreme susceptibility of the child nature. Parents and teachers may well tremble before the responsibility of their charge. I know that the Romanist glories in this docility for ends of his own (which, so far as conscientious, I respect); and every church, as it stands in the procession of diluted Romanism, has conscious gladness in the receptiveness of its young toward its peculiar doctrine. The Unitarian, least of all, pre-establishes dogma in the untrained mind of childhood. To offset child proselytism, the Spiritualists have organized a "Children's Lyceum"; but this (so far as I understand) deals more in readings and recreation than in the solid work of character-building.

All schools which offer the semblance of child culture do good doubtless, and those with competent teachers and doctrinal instruction at the minimum have in some cases produced marvellously fine results. But I am convinced that the kindergarten theory in complete elaboration must finally supplant every other in the Sunday as well as day school. I believe in Sunday as a day for rest and

stimulation to all good (where such stimulus is not derived from the ordinary work and study). The time may come when our children will get from the day school all the stimulus to a rounded life necessary. Until then, and until parents shall themselves see their imperative duty to children as parents of a new generation, I think there is vast need of the Sunday Ethical Class. Here, the younger pupils should be incited by narrative to knowledge and love of the right. The beautiful should be set before them in thought and act. The cardinal virtues—reverence, self-denial, justice, truth, love, purity, patience, progress—should be constantly illustrated and discussed by the class individually. Children quickly seek the truth, when a loving personality stands before to inspire; and nothing is more productive of fine thought in the teacher than a row of bright young faces. Children are poetical. Through pictures or symbols, they best read the reality. So flowers connected with the virtues of life are a perpetual incentive to right doing.* In my own home, from morning to night, reference is made to the "flowers" which grow in my boys' "heart garden"; and these have correspondence with flowers of the field. Children from an early age can be led to a critical study of motives, a habit which will hold them to reverence of the ideal in after years. The older pupils of an ethical school should work similarly to the younger; and, as graduates from the lower classes, they will doubtless find the study of life's problems irresistible. Pupils in the teens are generally ready for an outlined course as follows:—

1. Why have you come to this class? Recognizing the All-important Reality, to secure good conduct, or "ethical culture."

2. What are the means to this? Knowledge and stimulus of the will.

3. What (according to Herbert Spencer) are the kinds of knowledge essential to good conduct? (1) That bearing directly on self-preservation; (2) That bearing indirectly on self-preservation; (3) That bearing on marriage and parentage; (4) That bearing on the proper social and political relations; (5) That bearing on the leisure of life as related to taste and feeling.

4. What kinds of will stimulus have prevailed in the past? Political, theological, and social. What kinds do we as a class seek? "Personal friendship" and "reverent free thought."

5. Through what stages must we pass before ethical culture can be assured? (1) The circum-spect (of slight acquaintance), wherein we naturally display our best to one another; (2) The self-revealing (of further acquaintance), wherein we show ourselves more as we are, for better or for worse; (3) The ethical (of more intimate acquaintance), wherein mutual love determines mutual growth.

To continue. Each pupil in turn should, on successive Sundays, select and treat a subject bearing on the welfare of the race. Thus, each is forced to think; and thought is the mother of action. Biography (which we largely use) is an able guide to ethical growth. Nothing can take the place of aspiration through song in the education of the young. When music shall be adapted to words indicative of trust in the infinite and love of the good, simply, then we may hope for something like a larger sympathy in adult as well as child congregations. One word more, and I am done. Older pupils in my school have already criticised the existing modes of education. My young ladies have been forcibly impressed with the discriminations made in favor of the opposite sex, and together we have deplored the inaccessibility of industrial training for boy or girl. I propose, then, to this society that it direct its first great practical

labors in the direction of educational reform. The school here to be stimulated on Sunday ought to number no less than a hundred; and the outcome of its thought should be a co-educational industrial school, which through the week shall complement the work done by the Boston public schools. The Unitarians are ahead of us in the industrial, though I think not in the co-educational idea, which would permit a girl to become a machinist or carpenter, and a boy to learn the culinary or sewing art. Moreover, we have the absolutely uncreedal platform from which to draw recruits. My recommendation is that every one of our society constitute himself a committee, first to add at least one member to our school, and, secondly, to guarantee his or a substitute's service in a co-educational industrial school, to be founded in due time for the benefit of these self-same scholars. I will now illustrate briefly what we do here on Sundays with our little ones, and then submit my plan for what I hope will meet the full approval of our members.* All interested are invited to aid in the work proposed. In the spirit of Froebel:—

Come, let us live with our children,
Earnestly, holily live,
Knowing ourselves the sweet lessons
That to the children we give.
Come, let us live with our children,
Leading them tenderly on
Into the fields that pure love-light
Ever shines brightly upon.
Then, when our feet grow too weary
For the safe guidance of youth,
We shall be led, like the children,
To rest in pure goodness and truth.

CLARA M. BISBEE.

OF WHAT USE IS THE CHURCH?

So long as churches are exempted from taxation, we who lose money in consequence have a right to ask whether this privilege is just. While people who do not want to go to church are forced there by public sentiment or domestic pressure, so that even Harvard students are not allowed to spend Sunday as they choose, we must insist on being told what peculiarity there is about meeting-houses which makes the right of individual liberty become null and void before their doors. So long, again, as the way to church is hedged in by laws against travel, public amusements, and honest industry, it is the duty of the clergy to prove their title to legal protection against competition.

We are answered by appeals to what the Church is doing for morality. But look at the facts. Examine the course of study in the divinity schools and theological seminaries, and see how much pains is taken to make the graduates understand the laws of virtue and distinctions between right and wrong, any better than people do generally. For all these clerical candidates, theology is the main study; and next comes ceremony; while morality is merely a side issue. Nothing shows better what has always been considered of most importance among Christians than the names of the churches and sects. Some, like the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, are called so on account of their peculiar habits of church government. Others, like the Unitarians, Universalists, Swedenborgians, Lutherans, Spiritualists, and Adventists, owe their names, as well as their existence, to their respective theologies. The Baptists, again, stand simply for a difference about ceremony. The Friends and Methodists are almost the only instances of sectarian appellations with even the slightest moral meaning. It is creeds,

*Introduction of a class exercise by six young children.

and ceremonies, and offices that churchmen have cared enough about to differ irreconcilably. Have Christians agreed about moral duty all this time? If so, they cannot have thought much on the subject. Surely, the duties of an American citizen are different from those of the subjects of Charlemagne or of Nero. In the onward march of the nations, new stars of moral obligation rise above the horizon, and old ones disappear. Nothing worse could be said against the clergy than that they teach no better morality than they did a thousand years ago. I make no charges so unjust. I admit that the character of pulpit teaching has greatly improved from the time when its influence was mainly directed to sending off crusades, putting girls into nunneries, and getting thinkers burnt. But I insist that this improvement has not been due to the action of the clergy as a body, but to that of a small minority, which would have been powerless, if it had not had mighty help from without. What would have become of the Reformation, if its preachers had had no aid from the Electors of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, or the Lords of the Congregation, from Henry VIII., Elizabeth, William the Silent, or Henry of Navarre? Whom are we to thank for the change in the teaching of the American pulpit about the moral relations of whites and blacks? The clergy as a body have not led moral progress, but brought up the rear. What else could we expect, when we know how dependent the average clergyman is on his parishioners? How can he stand up before his patrons, and speak to each of them about his or her individual sins? Nathan said to David, "Thou art the man"; but there are more Davids than Nathans now. Perhaps the clergy do as well as they can under the circumstances, but their position is such as to make anything like personal rebuke almost impossible. Such rebukes are sometimes administered in private, but it is not every minister who can afford to take even this step toward losing his parish. The Catholic priest is comparatively independent of the people, but he is sadly hedged in by the low moral standards which have become traditional in his Church. He can preach freely against theft and drunkenness, but not against formalism, or promiscuous almsgiving, or lack of courage to think for one's self. But suppose a preacher to have the highest moral wisdom of the age and the broadest possible liberty of applying it to the members of his congregation: even then, he has to deal with such differences in age, culture, character, and quickness of comprehension among his hearers, that what is a dangerous paradox or an insoluble riddle for some is an uninteresting truism for others. He is like a teacher of an ungraded school, who has to teach all his pupils in one class, and merely by talking to them all at once. Imagine such a teacher first speaking an hour about the alphabet, while only a-b-c-darians listen, then trying in vain to keep their attention while addressing their elders about the multiplication table, and at last yielding to the entreaties of the scholars in partial payments, and winding up with a lecture which every one admires, but scarcely anybody understands. The most advanced ministers are fortunate enough to have picked congregations; but, usually, the difficulty of teaching from the pulpit is even greater than it would be in such a school, for the churchgoers are so well aware of these differences among them that each feels sure that the minister in his exhortations is aiming at some one else. Pulpit usage does not, however, permit the clergyman to take direct aim at any member of the congregation, but makes him, like Mr. Pickwick's friend, Tupman, shut his eyes before he lets off his gun.

Is that method of teaching morality a good ground for exemption from taxation?

Let us suppose again a school-teacher with no text-books except what were written two or three thousand years ago. If he kept at work pointing out the mistakes and deficiencies which necessarily exist in all old books, the pupil would either throw away her books as worthless or, if she thought she could not afford to do that, would make complaint against her teacher as a mischievous crank, who ought to be turned out. But, if fear of this should make the teacher use all his ingenuity to cover up and explain away the mistakes in the text, and let the pupil graduate with the belief that her book was absolutely free from error and always to be taken on trust, then he would simply be a propagator of ignorance and a traitor against truth. Just this unfortunate alternative is forced on almost every minister by the popular view of the Bible as infallible, and the time-honored custom of reading portions in the pulpit, without note or comment, as statements in which everybody must believe. When we find the Bible set up thus for worship, we have to ask whether it is worthy of its place. Nobody would have thought of sending Charles I. or Louis XVI. to the scaffold, if they had not been kings; but their title necessitated their fate. This pulpit-worship of the Bible forces us to notice that many of its chapters are too indecent to be read aloud, that many professed statements of fact are too absurd to be believed without mental injury, and that much of its teaching about morality is simply pernicious. What else can be said of a book which is the open enemy of knowledge, which treats thinking for one's self as worthy of capital punishment and endless damnation, which enjoins absolute monarchy and the subjection of women, which commands giving money to every beggar, and which encourages the Christian to scorn family, social life, and everything else that is worldly in hope of making himself worthy of a future heaven! Is this taking the Bible too literally? A book which cannot be taken literally is no authority. The whole question about the Bible is whether it should be followed literally. I am willing enough to admit that it should not. Nay, I go further, and say that the Bible is so unfit to be taken literally as an authority that the minister who tries to have people take it so is, to that extent, preaching immorality. Does any one urge that some parts of the Bible ought to be taken literally and not others, and therefore it is vitally necessary to have ministers to tell us how the Bible is to be understood? Those who think so had better notice how widely the real facts about its various books and people as given in any scholarly book, for instance the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, differ from the way ministers usually talk on such subjects. The clergyman who preaches about the authorship of the Pentateuch or Daniel, or Hebrews or the Fourth Gospel, is apt to appear more like a criminal lawyer seeking to cover up the evidence against his client than like a champion of truth anxious to give his hearers all the light he can get. Theodore Parker was the first clergyman in America to tell the people what scholars knew about the Bible, and we remember how the other ministers treated him. How few of the clergy can be trusted even now to speak of the Bible as it really is! Can morality be taught by a teacher whose main effort is to keep his pupils from seeing the faults in the books for which he is retained as a special pleader? What peculiar privileges can such faithless teachers justly claim?

And the work of the clergy does not consist mainly in preaching morality and expounding

Scripture. Most of them are much more busy in performing ceremonies and inculcating creeds. Here they are not helping morality, but rather hindering. A ceremony is simply a substitute for a moral duty. Every wise friend of virtue comes out against forms, as the Hebrew prophets, Jesus, the mediæval mystics, Parker, and Emerson did. To confess that baptism regenerates is to deny the necessity of daily goodness. And what is a creed but a usurper of the throne that belongs to virtue? He who says that faith in the atonement is all that is necessary to please God and save the soul is an infidel to the only true and saving faith, that of man in man. This it is which keeps the soul safe and turns earth to heaven. Our daily life is full of real opportunities of growth. Why let ourselves be drawn aside after visionary dogmas? One of the most universal of doctrines, that of immortality, is often so zealously cherished that preachers say he who cannot believe it has no sufficient motive to do right. I have heard even Unitarians speak thus. But this is simply denying that virtue is worth following for her own sake. It is really preaching immorality. What infidelity can be so dangerous? How common it is, too, for preachers to attack openly and consciously the sacred duty of self-culture, by insisting that no one should trust his reason or value knowledge in comparison with Orthodoxy! How many steeples are only guide-posts pointing away from earthly duties! How often have wrongs to man been overlooked in the vain attempt to set forth right views of God!

We should not forget that there are ministers who know of no creed but truth, and no sacrament except practical goodness; who do their best to make their hearers see the Bible as it is, and think independently, and who give their main strength to denouncing iniquity in high places, breaking the chains of the oppressed, and leading the people on toward higher life than has ever yet been reached. All honor to those men who are working thus, under whatever name and on whatever platform! But it is not they who are striving to keep their churches exempted from taxation, to have the Sunday laws enforced, and to compel people to attend public worship against their will. Ministers who are really doing good to the community know they can afford to let themselves be treated as they deserve, without the help of legal or social pressure. Far be it from any friend of progress to put a stumbling-block in their way! I would not even interfere with those who go to church to be told what to believe, or to have their salvation worked out for them by ceremonies, or to hear other people's sins rebuked, or to keep in good society. They may use their churches as club-houses, or arsenals of dogmas, or theatres of formalism, if they know no better. All I ask is that no man's taxes be increased by the exemption of such property.

FREDERIC MAY HOLLAND.

FIRST ARTICLE OF THE AGNOSTIC CREED.

Agnosticism knows some things, and believes as well as doubts some things. It has, therefore, a creed, which is becoming more familiar than the old Apostles' Creed, so called. I wish to study it a little; and if, by telling how it appears to me with my present light, I can elicit help from those who understand it better, its trained advocates, I shall not write in vain.

The first article of the Agnostic Creed, I believe, affirms the existence of an infinite and eternal energy. To this article, I, for one, give my unqualified assent. There is certainly a very vast

energy everywhere manifest, to which we can discover no limits; and though we do not certainly know that it is absolutely infinite, yet its known vastness entitles us to use the greatest word in describing it. From this, probably, no one will dissent; and the Church of this faith is commensurate with the thinking world.

What is this energy? Here is the gateway through which enter agnosticism and various forms of gnosticism, or, at least, dogmatism, into an arena of conflict. Nor can agnosticism avoid conflict by an eternal repetition of "I do not know." It is bound to show that all the assertions of the dogmatists are baseless and empty words, and this has been the agnostic course; but it has been able to convince very few, and, as one of the many, I rejoin in a few words.

Some interpret this infinite energy as personal, and others as impersonal. The agnostics, who are theological as well as ecclesiastical non-jurors, affirm that we cannot philosophically affirm either. But both the other parties reply that we must affirm one or the other, because what is not personal is impersonal (not-personal), and what is not impersonal is personal. We feel the necessity of logical consistency here as much as anywhere. To affirm that the energy is not personal is to affirm what has always been understood as atheism, while its opposite is theism; and the agnostics are subtle enough to occupy a spaceless point between them. Thus there are already three different denominations, or churches, standing on this article.

Which of these is the best? This question we cannot ignore. We are bound to give it due attention, and decide according to our best judgment, which each of the three parties already formed must be supposed to have done. We are all able to see that this article of agnosticism is not necessarily agnostic; and that, however consistent it may be with the old notion of atheism, it is certainly consistent with the old notion of theism, as the Infinite Power who is in and over all things. But, against this, we are unanimously admonished by atheists, agnostics, and pantheists that personality and consciousness imply limitation, and cannot belong to any infinite energy.

On the other hand, experience and the conceptions which grow out of it are our ultimate guide; and, from these, we are compelled to consider personality as the highest form of being with largest definite, coherent heterogeneity. While it is true that human personality is limited, that is no proof that all personality is limited or must be so conceived. Can we not conceive a personality larger than ourselves? If so, where shall we fix the limit of conception? There is no limit short of infinite. As to consciousness, this is knowledge; and infinite knowledge is just as conceivable as infinite energy, for we know energy only as a mode of consciousness.

Man, indeed, is not conscious all through. Consciousness may be, as some think, only the surface of his being, a series of bubbles from the vasty deep of the unknown. But this is a recognized limitation, a limitation of self-knowledge. Vast would be the elevation of man, were he raised to the knowledge of himself in his whole nature, history, processes, state, and relations, to be wholly self-luminous in every detail, and always and altogether. Now, it seems to me that an unconscious infinite energy would be infinitely exalted to become thus perfectly conscious of itself, and by will direct itself. To reverse or question this would be to reverse or question all the laws and principles of thinking known to man. Would it not?

WILLIAM I. GILL.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

THE money due *The Index* is needed to enable it to meet current expenses, and those in arrears on their subscriptions are requested to send to this office the sums due with as little delay as possible.

IF the novels of Smollett, Fielding, Sterne, and Balzac have been withdrawn from circulation by the authorities of the Public Library, it is to be hoped that we may have revised editions of these classics suitable for the readers of this age. And would it not be well to include the Bible and Shakspeare?—*The Sunday Herald*.

LILIAN WHITING, replying to journals that have taken exception to her statement in the *Inter-Ocean* that the President of Harvard University was "behind the times," explains that she referred to his disapproval of co-education and refusal to open the doors of Harvard to women, while admitting that he "is on radical ground regarding systems of education and college curriculums." Thus explained, Miss Whiting's statement is, we believe, correct.

DR. B. A. GOULD, recently from South America, where he has spent the last fifteen years, told the following story at the Unitarian Festival in this city, last month: "It so happened that I once detected a native employé of the observatory in a flagrant iniquity, and of course discharged him immediately! But he remonstrated: 'Sir,' said he, 'I acknowledge and confess that I am a vile sinner, that my life is immoral, and my misdeeds are continual. But, thank Heaven, I have religion. I repent of my sins, confess them conscientiously, and am absolved. So that I know all will be pardoned to me. Will you insist upon punishing what God himself forgives?'"

SAYS *Unity*: "A prominent Boston Unitarian is reported to have said recently: 'The West is nothing to me. When I speak of the United States, I have in mind simply what lies east of the Alleghenies.' It would be well for this excellent gentleman to make a journey across the continent, and thus broaden his ideas concerning his country and nation. Such Unitarians, it is to be feared, look upon the liberal faith as merely a New England notion." It is surprising how little some prominent men in the East know or care to know about the great West, where there are about as many New England born men and their descendants as there are left behind in the New England States, besides quite a number of intelligent and respectable people from other sections of the country, who ought in fairness to be regarded as belonging to the United States.

MR. FRIEDRICH SCHUENEMANN-POTT, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Free Religious Association, in an article contributed to the *Freidenker* of May 31, says that Lincoln is generally acknowledged by his friends at Springfield, including his partner Herndon, to have been, throughout his residence there, an unbeliever in Christianity. He is also generally known to have written a book like Paine's *Age of Reason*, which he would have published, if it had not been for the entreaty of his friends. Some think that it was burned, others that it is still kept under lock and key. His private secretary, John G. Nicololay, is of opinion that he never changed his views after leaving Springfield. His widow also stated that he cared little for Christianity, and that one of his favorite sayings was: "What must come, comes. No prayer is of any use."

THE *Christian Statesman* speaks of Victor Hugo as the "idol of the French people," and says that he was "a thorough infidel. With his dying breath, he refused to see a priest who offered to visit him." And yet the truth compels two Christian journals to speak as follows of this "infidel." Says the *Independent*: "The red blood of health and purity never flowed stronger in the veins of the Saxon than in his. He was one of the great souls who successfully exemplified that dignity and worth of human nature which he taught." And to this same "infidel" the *Christian Union* thus refers: "Liberty was a passion to Victor Hugo, but even more a principle. He loved humanity. Its sorrows lay on his spirit, and penetrated his work with a tragic pathos. No such plea for the outcast, the poor, and the desolate has ever been made as *Les Misérables*; and the reverence in which the French people have long held their great man—a reverence absurdly idolatrous in some of its expressions—was genuine, unaffected, and heartfelt. It was the response of France to its greatest heart even more than to its greatest mind."

DR. J. R. MONROE, of Indianapolis, who is a "regular" physician and surgeon, says in his heterodox paper, *Monroe's Iron-clad Age*:—

It is our belief that medicine as practiced in this entirely too free country in our time, taken as a whole, is productive of more harm than good, so large is the class of ignorant pretenders and men with some knowledge, who are yet disqualified by nature from making it available for anything but mischief. But there are a large class of well-qualified and capable physicians who are useful to their fellows, who are indispensable to society, and benefactors of their kind. In this free country, every ignoramus has a right to preach or practise law or medicine. The people must be left free to accept his doctrine or reject it. The Catholic Church requires an educated clergy,—educated in priestcraft and in classical literature. There are no quack priests. But Protestantism, in accordance with the genius of our institutions, leaves every man free to follow the avocation of his bent, with or without qualification or fitness. Hence, those callings formerly designated as the learned professions have grown into contempt. Speaking broadly and making due allowance for numerous worthy exceptions, it is disreputable to be a doctor of medicine, of law, or of divinity.

We have received from Dr. R. Heber Newton the paper on "The Religious Aspects of Socialism," read before the Free Religious Association in this city May 29; and it will appear in *The Index* next week. In an editorial on this paper the day after it was read, the *Boston Herald* said:—

This diagnosis of the socialistic tendencies of the hour, this affiliation of them with the aims that are conspicuously Christian, this illustration of their aim at the expression of an ethical defect in our modern Protestant religion, will be widely read, and ought to draw attention to two things. It ought to make the Christian Churches more careful to understand and promote the social life of the people on its ethical side; and it ought to teach men who are possessed by this social unrest that their best friends are to be found among the ethical and spiritual teachers of the day. The effect of this paper read by him yesterday will be to show those who become acquainted with his thought that the socialist movement, so far as it is related to economic and industrial agencies, has an honest basis in our present life as a people, and that the religious teachers of the country will prove remiss to a great opportunity, if they do not consider what the socialists are driving at, and do not conserve their purposes into what is best called Christian socialism.

SAYS the *Nation*: "The restoration of the Panthéon at Paris to its original use, as a monument to illustrious Frenchmen, is a fresh illustration of the hostility of the Republic to the Church, as well as of the political imprudence of the clergy. The building was begun as a church by Madame

de Pompadour; but it was not finished until the Revolution was at its height, in 1790, and was then dedicated to the memory of great men. The Restoration, however, had not the good sense to let it alone; and, when the Clerical and Royalist reaction set in in 1822, Louis XVIII. gave it back to the clergy, who converted it once more into a church. After the expulsion of the Bourbons, in 1831, it was again secularized, and remained secularized until after the Coup d'Etat. The new Emperor, who was then currying favor with the Church, in 1853 converted it again into a place of worship. The Republic has been much more patient than its predecessors; for it has waited since 1877, when the Conservatives finally went out of power, before again compelling the clergy to vacate it, which they were, it is reported, required to do within forty-eight hours."

THE *Spiritual Offering* represents *The Index* as unfair and bitterly hostile to Spiritualism. This is not true. If we mistake not, more space has been given in this journal the past year to articles in defence than in opposition to Spiritualism. Within a few weeks, articles in favor of Spiritualism have appeared in *The Index* from three writers, two of whom have a reputation among Spiritualists. The editorial opposition to Spiritualism which seems to have offended our Western contemporary has consisted of a few paragraphs referring to the exposure of fraud, demonstrated to be such, practised in the name of Spiritualism. A statement by "a crusader against Spiritualistic phenomena," copied from *The Index* by the *Spiritual Offering*, and made the occasion of complaint against us, was given to show that an investigator of Spiritualism, who has strongly opposed it, conceded he could not account for the movement of tables without contact, which he admitted to be a fact; that he refused to acknowledge the explanation of Faraday, and thought there was some kind of psychic or nerve force not understood. Was not our contemporary greatly in want of a pretext to find fault with *The Index*, when it used that quotation as an illustration of our unfairness to Spiritualism? When we wish to discuss the claims of Spiritualism, we shall do so, and with independence as well as courtesy, we trust; but we would rather not have our encouragement of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* in its efforts to get at the actual facts of Spiritualism, separated from trickery and fraud, construed into hostility to Spiritualism or lack of due respect for its adherents, among whom we have many friends.

For *The Index*.

MANHOOD'S TEST.

Not ascetic self-denial
In the lonely desert waste,
Or in solitary cell,
Of man's nobleness doth tell;
But to pass through fiery trial,
Bitterness of loss to know,
Every acrid drop to taste
Poured from envy's venom'd vial,
The full scale of human woe
With the quivering heart to sound,
And yet let no evil throw
Hope and honor to the ground.
'Tis a weak and craven bent
Life's unkindly strife to shun:
Better were the being rent
By much sorrow than by none.
Would'st be forceless as a shade?
Then life's crucial tests evade.
Strong and wise thou can'st not be,
Knowing naught of agony.

TUDOR WILLIAMS.

The Index.

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

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For The Index.

Is a Scientific Basis of Religion Possible?

An Address delivered before the Free Religious Association at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, May 29, 1885.

BY W. D. LE SUEUR.

Mr. President,—It is not without a considerable sense of responsibility that I approach the execution of the task assigned to me to-day. I am asked to speak on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" The question is a difficult and a critical one: difficult, among other reasons, on account of the uncertainty attaching to the definition of the word "religion"; and critical, because whatever touches religion touches one of the most vital of human interests. If I have undertaken what I thus acknowledge to be a difficult task, it is in the hope that I may at least be able to deal with the question candidly, seriously, and in a spirit of sympathy with all who cherish any true or worthy type of religion, or into whose conception of religion there enters any true or worthy element. We can bear, it seems to me, with one another's errors, if they are manifestly associated with right intentions; and I even believe that no one, however mistaken he may be, can utter his sincere thought without some benefit to others. The earnest thinker, on any subject, may therefore take courage, knowing that whatever of truth he may have grasped will stand; while his errors will in some measure be redeemed by his sincerity of purpose.

The question before us is one which it is eminently proper that this Association should grapple with, and, if possible, bring to a distinct issue. The very title which the Association bears indicates that, in the opinion of its members, the true type of religion is not commonly recognized. Our contention is that religion is a part of human nature, and that its connection with this or that theological system can only be of an incidental

and more or less temporary character. Holding these views, however, we owe a justification of them to the world,—a justification partly theoretical or logical and partly practical. We are called upon to demonstrate by argument that religion is not dependent upon doctrinal systems. We are called upon to demonstrate by practice that free religion, as we understand it, has all the properties and qualities of true religion. We are not called upon, so far as I can understand, to show that the theologies of the day are false, except in the one point of claiming to be severally essential to the true conception and right practice of religion. There we do join issue with them: we hold that whatever of religion stands associated with them can be disengaged from the connection, and can by itself be made a vital power. Apart from this, I do not see that we have any quarrel with the creeds; and, for my own part, I should be disposed to treat them all with the respect due to opinions believed in, and cherished by, larger or smaller bodies of our fellow-men.

The times are propitious for a free and earnest treatment of the deeper questions of religious philosophy. It is not trenchant criticism of errors that is needed, so much as the effectual exposition of positive truths. Errors, in the long run, refute themselves: they die out through the gradual acceptance of principles with which they cannot be reconciled. The earliest attitude of Christianity was not one of violent aggression upon existing systems of religion, but one rather of earnest devotion to the propagation of the new truth which it claimed to possess. Similarly, the Buddhist missionaries went forth, less as destroyers of polytheism than as heralds of a new life, or at least a new mode of deliverance from the evils of existence. There is a lesson, I think, in these facts for us to-day. If we have new truths to proclaim or old truths to rescue from oblivion and neglect, let us attend to that: and let the antagonist errors pale in the glowing light. It was "by manifestation of the truth" that Paul claimed to commend himself to every man's conscience; and to him, as we know, it was given to lay the foundations of Christianity throughout the whole gentile world.

There is urgent need for another Paul to arise to-day to spread abroad the elements of a new faith,—a faith that the world has never explicitly held, that in general it has explicitly repudiated,—the faith in human nature. To some, this may seem a stereotyped phrase; but it is stereotyped only to those who have never fathomed its significance, and who know nothing of the light that is thrown upon it by the facts of history and the laws of human life. The doctrine of the degradation of human nature has heretofore been far more acceptable to the multitude than the doctrine of its dignity and value. Men have, in general, been perfectly willing that infinite ill should be spoken of their common humanity. There is a reason for this: let it be admitted and settled that man by nature is vile and base, and a low standard of conduct is at once established. There are thousands of men who do not want to hear any special good of humanity, knowing instinctively that they would thereby be summoned to live very different lives from what they are doing. It is much more convenient and comfortable to go to church, and hear that they are miserable sinners, for whom no punishment would be too severe, but for whom a way of escape from all the consequences of ill-doing has been supernaturally provided. It may be that they are not evil-doers in the ordinary sense, but simply followers of what Jesus would have called the "world,"—men whose morality is of a thoroughly conventional type,

and whose hearts respond to no high ideal of truth or of virtue, who take the world as they find it, and make the most of it for their individual purposes. Even so, to such men, not less than to positive evil-doers,—more, indeed, than to some evil-doers,—the doctrine of the inferiority and depravity of human nature is sure to be welcome, seeing that it exempts them from all reproach, save for not having attained a supernatural grace. In some cases, the supernatural grace—or a persuasion of it, at least—comes to smooth over any little difficulties that conscience may raise in connection with defects of conduct or lowness of moral aim. Manifestly, there is need for a doctrine that will cut the ground from under the hypocritical, or at least half-hypocritical, pretences by which men reconcile themselves to inferior standards of conduct. The times are propitious for teaching of this kind, and it seems to me that this Association is eminently qualified to lead in the movement. We need, however, for that purpose to feel the ground very sure under our feet; and, that this may be the case, we must make a constant and progressive study of all that concerns the moral life of man. The question before us to-day is, from this point of view, one of much practical importance; for, upon the definiteness of the answer we are able to give to it will largely depend the influence we shall be able to exercise upon the religious thought, and, through the religious thought, upon the moral life of the community.

Let us without further delay proceed to consider: 1st, the word "religion"; 2d, the thing religion in some of its leading historical manifestations; 3d, some of the principal definitions that have been given of the term; 4th, the essential nature of religion, so far as we may be able, with these aids, to determine it; and, 5th, the support which religion, in the sense so arrived at, derives from the constitution of nature.

The word "religion," as every one is aware, has been borrowed by us from the Latin. In that language, however, its meaning and use were very much restricted in comparison with what they have become in the modern and Christian world. Cicero, in one place, speaks of religion as that which prescribes the proper ceremonies to be observed in the worship of the gods. In the estimation of Lucretius, religion and superstition were almost synonymous terms. He speaks, in the opening of his first book, of human life lying crushed *gravi sub religione*, "under oppressive religion," which he proceeds to describe as revealing its hideous head from the skies, terrifying unhappy mortals. He tells his friend Memmius that he need not fear, in entering upon a free study of nature, to land himself in impiety, seeing that it is religion, on the contrary, that is the mother of crimes and all unholy deeds. He instances the sacrifice of Iphigenia by her own father Agamemnon, to secure a favorable wind for the Grecian fleet; and ends with the oppressive and, no doubt, perfectly sincere exclamation: "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!"—"Such grievous things could religion persuade men to!" Such an application of the word "religion" was not common among the ancient Romans; but, at the same time, the term had not the sanctity which would have made the expressions of Lucretius as painful to their ears as similar expressions would be to the ears of most in the present day. In general, it was used to express a scruple or whatever caused a scruple. It was a grave and serious word, admirably suited to the prevailing tone of Roman religious sentiment. The Greeks had no equivalent word. They had a word, *εὐσεβεία*, for piety, or reverence, and a word that expressed fear of the

gods (not, however, in any specially moral sense), *δεδαιμονία*, and another word that expressed religious fear, but with a slight suggestion of mummery about it, *θρησκεία*; but they had no word that expressed, as *religio* did, a certain careful, thoughtful, attitude of mind toward the objects of worship. The Roman term has been preserved, while the Greek ones have been forgotten; and to-day we find that no other word will express for us so well that sense of relation to some higher law which is rarely, if ever, entirely absent from the human mind.

We may now proceed to glance at a few of the historical manifestations of the religious sentiment. The Roman type of religion was, as it seems to me, a very instructive one for our present purpose. According to Mommsen, it was marked by "a peculiar narrowness of conception and, at the same time, a deeply rooted earnestness." The Roman deities were, most obviously, mere personified abstractions. "The State and the clan, the individual phenomena of nature as well as the individual operations of mind, every man, every place and object, every act even, falling within the sphere of Roman law, reappeared in the Roman world of gods. . . . Conceptions such as Sowing (*Saturnus*), Field Labor (*Ops*), Blossom (*Flora*), War (*Bellona*), Boundary (*Terminus*), Youth (*Juventus*), Health (*Salus*), Faithfulness (*Fides*), Harmony (*Concordia*), were among the oldest and most sacred of Roman divinities." (Mommsen.) Jupiter and Juno were the abstractions of manhood and womanhood, and Minerva of the power of memory. The Greek theology was an inexhaustible source of myth and fable: the Roman was a *hortus siccus* of abstractions, around which no myths were allowed to gather. What the Roman wanted was the *idea* in objective, but not, strictly speaking, in corporeal shape. His deities were without parts or passions, simply representative of the permanent realities of life; occasionally, too, as Mommsen shows, of fleeting realities. The effort of the Roman evidently was, by the aid of these personified abstractions, to realize things in their essential nature. The Greek, combining æsthetic pleasure with edification, always introduced an element of lighter thought into his religious conceptions. It was characteristic of the difference in this respect between the two races that the Greek, in performing religious rites, looked up to the heavens, while the Roman covered his head. The former wished to impress on his mind the concrete reality of the universe, the latter to meditate without distraction on the idea he was placing before his mind.

The Roman religion is especially instructive in this sense: that it shows us the process of the manufacture (so to speak) of divinities among a people not at all given to imagination, a people eminently prosaic and practical. The art which conceals art was wholly lacking to the Roman, and thus we easily discover the whole method by which his pantheon was called into existence. His gods have no individual character: we cannot for one moment imagine them as distinct external existences. They sprang from his brain as fully developed as they were ever destined to be: they were only his own ideas set opposite to him, as it were, that they might be the better contemplated. The Greek gave such distinctness and individuality to *Here*, *Pallas Athene*, *Dionysus*, and *Hermes*, that sometimes we feel as if we could almost believe in them ourselves; but *Janus* is no more divine to us than a door, or *Terminus* than a mill-post. And yet, to the Roman, these were gods entitled to all reverence and held in all reverence. Now, the more imagination and mobility of temperament any race possesses, the more will the process by which divinities are created be con-

cealed; but the honest, prosaic Roman has really, if I mistake not, let us into the secret of the formation of all theologies. The idea will not stay in the human mind: it will posit itself objectively, and thus gains, first personality, and then divinity. In connection with this, we may quote the remark of William von Humboldt, that "pure ideas, visible only to the inward eye, are, of all things that men can know, the most beautiful." Who knows, therefore, what severe and serene joy the ancient Roman may have had in contemplating the pure ideas of *opening* and of *boundary*, represented to him by the gods *Janus* and *Terminus*? And who is prepared to say that these important and indeed profound ideas were not worthy of the divine honors accorded to them?

The ancient Egyptian religion reminds us a little of the Roman in the simplicity of its theological creations. One god, as we read, represented the creative mind, or the thought of creating; another, the creative hand, or the act of creating; a third represented matter in general; a fourth, the reproductive power of nature; others, the principal heavenly bodies; and others, again, the abstract qualities of wisdom, goodness, and unknowableness. "It may not be always possible," says Rawlinson, "to say what is the exact quality act on the part of nature which is represented by each god and goddess; but the principle was clear, and beyond a doubt." The principle is undoubtedly clear that, at a certain stage of intellectual development, men cannot rest in the subjective. As fast as they form distinct abstract conceptions, they must render these objective by some form of personification; and the imaginary beings thus called into existence begin to be recognized as external powers, just as the abstract ideas themselves are rulers in the domain of thought.

Among the ancient Iranians, we find one of the most remarkable distinctions which it was ever given to any people to establish; that, namely, between *Ahura-Mazda* (*Ormuzd*), the much-knowing or much-giving spirit, and *Angro-Maiyus* (*Ahriman*), the darkened intelligence, or spirit of evil. From knowledge or intelligence, as they conceived, flowed all good; from ignorance and darkness of mind, all evil. These two powers they regarded as in continual conflict. Sometimes one was victorious, and sometimes the other; but, conquering or conquered, *Ahura-Mazda* was the deity whose claims upon man were always paramount. It is quite in harmony with this fundamental religious distinction that the virtue of truth-telling, as we are informed by Xenophon, should have been held in the highest honor by the ancient Persians. But what is worthy of special attention is the virtual identification by this early race of truth or knowledge with all good and of darkness or ignorance with all evil. It would be a happy thing, indeed, if all men, in our own advanced and professedly enlightened age, could seize the same point of view, and regard it as their bounden duty to fight the battle of Light against Darkness,—to labor for a true intelligence of things and for the overthrow of ignorance and confusion. Alas that in our day tradition should so largely be set above truth, and submission to authority above the love of truth,—that *Ahriman* should rule in minds in which *Ormuzd* should have full sway!

The Iranians, it may be remarked, were to the Indians, or Hindus, very much what the Romans were to the Greeks. In comparison with the lively and, so to speak, concrete polytheism of the Hindus, the religion of the Iranians was sober and abstract. The thought of the Hindu was subtle, his imagination quick, his impressions variable; and these qualities we find reflected in the ethereal and somewhat unstable character of his theology.

"Their gods are like unto them," said the psalmist, who perhaps did not know quite how wide a truth he was uttering. The names which the Hindu applied to his gods were always tending, as Rawlinson tells us, "to float away from the objects or powers which the gods represented; and the objects then received fresh names, which in their turn were exalted into gods, so that the pantheon was receiving continual additions." Almost every important deity is represented in turn as supreme and absolute, just as in persons of mobile temperament different ideas or emotions in rapid succession seem to dominate the whole man. The gods of the Hindus were derived mainly from the greater phenomena of nature; and, in the extreme hyperbole of the language in which they are addressed, we seem to catch a reflection of the majesty, grandeur, and beauty of Himalayan scenery, to feel the force now vivifying, now destructive, of the sun in his glory, and to listen to the thundering of the torrent and the terrible fury of the wind-storm. It is no wonder that the ancient Vedic worshipper was at a loss, amid so many forces of overwhelming potency, which he should recognize as supreme,—that at one time it should be *Agni*, at another *Indra*, at another *Varuna*, and at another *Mitra*. The contemplation of any one of the powers which these names represented was sufficient to fill his soul with emotions far beyond his power to express.

Before passing to the next division of our subject, let us consider for a moment what lesson the few general facts we have gleaned in our rapid glance at some of the religions of the past are adapted to teach. It seems to me to be this: that theologies are the product of the human mind, and that they vary just according to the character and environment of the peoples among whom they spring up. They do not require to be revealed: they reveal themselves. Their relation to religion, considered as moral discipline, is a varying one, sometimes favorable and sometimes, as all authorities agree, the reverse. At the same time, it seems to be unquestionable that moral ideas more and more seek to connect themselves with theological systems; and that from the connection they derive, together with more or less of perversion, a certain increase of force and authority. The infinity of the moral law is, in a manner, rudely expressed by the infinite or, at least, transcendent attributes of the gods who come to be regarded as its authors and vindicators.

Proceeding now to the definitions of religion, let us first take one or two that express what may be called the standard orthodox view. The celebrated Bishop Butler treats of religion under two heads, *Natural* and *Revealed*; and, though I cannot find that he anywhere pointedly defines religion in general, his views in regard to the nature of religion are expressed at large in his work. He tells us in one place that "the essence of natural religion may be said to consist in religious regards to God, the Father; and the essence of Revealed Religion to consist in religious regards to the Son and the Holy Ghost." It is a little singular to find the word "religion" explained by the word "religious"; but we learn, further on, that "religious regards" are "regards of reverence, honor, love, trust, gratitude, fear, and hope." Butler holds that reason reveals the relation in which we stand to God, the Father; while revelation was necessary to indicate our relations to the Son and the Holy Spirit. What we distinctly gather from this great writer's treatment of the subject of religion is that he considers it as depending essentially upon the recognition by man of a relation subsisting between him and a personal Divine Being, and the performance by man of the duties prescribed by that

relation. Canon Liddon expresses the same idea, when he says that "religion consists fundamentally in the practical recognition of a constraining bond between the inward life of man and an Unseen Person." Prof. Pfleiderer, of Berlin, defines it as "that relation of life to the Power that rules the world which seeks to end in communion with it." Prof. Caird, of Glasgow, speaks of religion as "bearing witness to an essential relation of the human spirit to the Infinite,"—a definition which almost coincides in terms with one given by Prof. Max Müller. "Religion," says Mr. Goldwin Smith, "teaches that we have our being in a Power whose character and purposes are indicated to us by our moral nature, in whom we are united, and by the union made sacred to one another; whose voice conscience, however generated, is; whose eye is always upon us, sees all our acts, and sees them as they are, morally, without reference to worldly success or to the opinion of the world; to whom at death we return"; and who will cause it to be well or ill with us "according as we promote or fail to promote his design by self-improvement and the improvement of our kind." I do not know that Mr. Goldwin Smith has anywhere said that these propositions can be proved; but, provable or not, he regards the acceptance of them as of the greatest consequence to the well-being and stability of society.

We may turn now to another class of definitions. In the view of Kant, religion is founded on morality. To be religious is to have such a sense of the absoluteness of the moral law that we regard all duties as divine commands. "In no way may religion first incite us to virtue, for the idea of God may never become a moral motive" (Schwegler), the idea of God being itself a product of the free activity of the moral consciousness. Hegel held that religion was moral freedom attained through the reconciliation, in some measure, of the human with the divine. The Christian religion, he taught, established a positive and complete reconciliation by exhibiting the actual unity of the human and the divine in Christ. I need hardly add that it was the conception of this unity to which Hegel attached so much importance. Whether such a union had, as a matter of historical fact been accomplished, was, from the point of view of the philosophy of the absolute, quite a secondary matter.

"The essence of religion," says Feuerbach,—whose powerful work, *The Essence of Christianity*, translated into English, as you all know, by George Eliot, is not so widely known as it deserves to be,—is the immediate, involuntary, unconscious contemplation of the human nature as another, a distinct, nature." "The essence of religion," he elsewhere says, "is the identity of the divine being with the human; but the form of religion or its apparent conscious nature is the distinction between them." From the *essence* of religion, or the identity of the human and divine, springs love; from the *form* of religion, or the distinction and separation between the human and the divine, springs faith, which at bottom, he affirms, is a malignant principle, the source of all spiritual pride, of all superstition, and of all religious hatred and persecution. God, he further tells us, is nothing else than "the idea of the species invested with a mystical form." One more quotation: "The necessary turning point of history is the open confession that the consciousness of God is nothing else than the consciousness of the species; that man can and should raise himself only above the limits of his individuality, and not above the laws, the positive, essential conditions of his species; that there is no other essence which man can think, dream of, imagine, feel, believe in, wish for, love

and adore as the *absolute* than the essence of human nature itself."

It would be easy to show how the views of Feuerbach blend with those of both Kant and Hegel, but time presses. Let us, making a long step from Germany to New England, inquire next how Emerson, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, regarded this subject of religion. I have read somewhere in his writings—though I cannot now lay my finger on the passage—that religion arises from the contrast between the greater and the less. To this Feuerbach would assent: the greater, he would add, is humanity in its fulness,—all the fulness it is capable of,—and the less is the individual nature or character with its necessary limitations. If we turn, however, to the memorable essay "The Over-Soul," we shall find how nearly Emerson approached both the Kantian and the Feuerbachian stand-points, as above described. "We distinguish," he says, "the announcements of the soul, its manifestations of its own nature, by the term *Revelation*. . . . This communication is an influx of the divine mind into our mind. It is an ebb of the individual rivulet before the flowing surges of the sea of life." Again, "Revelation is the disclosure of the soul." Yet again: "The simplest person who in his integrity worships God becomes God. . . . When we have broken our God of tradition," what Feuerbach would call the God of faith, "and ceased from our god of rhetoric, the god of too many modern pulpits, then may God fire the heart with his presence." Have we any explanation of this? Yes: in the very next sentence, we read, "It is the doubling of the heart upon itself, nay, the infinite enlargement of the heart with a power of growth to a new infinity on every side." Once more: "Let man then learn the revelation of all nature and all thought to his heart. This, namely, that the highest dwells with him; that the sources of nature are in his own mind, if the sentiment of duty is there."

The subject of religion has been copiously treated in the fine collection of essays published a few years ago by this Association. Mr. Wasson has there defined religion as "the sense of relation of unity with the infinite whole"; Mr. Weiss, as "the recurrence of human nature to the facts of the universe." We are indebted to Mr. Abbot for the definition of religion as "the effort of man to perfect himself." All these definitions, it seems to me, can be perfectly harmonized with the utterances of Emerson; and Emerson would appear to be substantially in harmony with the Germans. Mr. Arnold's definition of religion as "morality touched with emotion" has all the sparkle of an epigram, and expresses, no doubt, a truth. We do not feel, however, as if it gave us the truth, the truth we are in search of. It rather describes one aspect that religion wears than tells us what it is.

We have still to deal with two thinkers of the first importance, who have put forward opinions of a very decided character on the subject of religion. I refer to Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. I do not know that Comte has anywhere tried to express for us wherein the essence of religion consists. He was not fond of discussing essences, preferring to take things in their concrete or historical reality. He saw that religion existed in the world, and that its principal character was one of service and adoration directed to some supernatural power or powers. Disbelieving himself in supernatural powers, and believing (with Feuerbach) that a large part of the moral emotion connected with religious service was the direct product of—or, as we might say, a warmth generated by—the internal movements of the social mass, what he proposed was that the devotion of mankind should

transfer itself to Humanity. He then entered upon a profound and original study of the whole circle of human knowledge, in order to determine the true bearing of each separate science or study upon human life, and so to lay a scientific basis for his proposed religion of humanity. It is of course utterly out of the question that I should attempt on the present occasion to give even the barest outline of the Positivist system. I may say, however, that Comte has laid us under a deep obligation in this: that, by his sympathetic study of history and of the laws of social life, he has been enabled greatly to enlarge our knowledge of the moral resources of humanity, and has done much to raise our confidence in the possibility of a real and efficacious religion springing from the constitution of human nature and appealing for its support to verifiable facts.

In Mr. Spencer's opinion, the idea of transferring to humanity the devotion heretofore accorded to supernatural beings is nothing less than a chimera. It is in the *mystery* of the universe, in the absolute unknowableness of the Cause underlying phenomena, that he finds the main, and indeed the only source, of religious feeling. The sense of this mystery is the legitimate representative, to-day, of the primitive belief in ghosts. Mr. Spencer states, however, that he does not expect religion—shrunk or expanded, as we may choose to regard it, to the dimensions of a belief in a world-ghost—to have any great efficacy in future as a moral regulative principle. He looks to the natural course of social development to raise men gradually to a higher moral level.

Enough of definitions and opinions. The question for us to decide is by which, if by any, of the many senses and applications thus given to the word "religion" we are ourselves prepared to abide. We inquire whether religion can be placed on a scientific basis. What religion, or what kind of religion, is it that we are interested in? And what are the grounds of our interest in it? It may be assumed that we are not interested in the creed of any particular church, and cannot be seeking a scientific basis for any conception of religion that is bound up with a system of theological doctrine. No: what we are interested in, I take it, is this. We know that the religions of the past, steeped as they have been in intellectual error, and associated as they have not unfrequently been with much of false morality, have, to a greater or less extent, accomplished the deliverance of man from himself; that is to say, that they have strengthened him to resist his lower impulses and to rise to a certain elevation and disinterestedness of life and character. Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has written somewhat gloomily on the "moral interregnum," nevertheless assures us that, should the worst come to the worst, "the milkman will still go his rounds." This is consolatory so far, but we want to know a little more. We want to be assured that, in the days to come, high ideals will still be possible for men; that enthusiasm will not have vanished from the world; that our morality will still occasionally be touched with emotion; that the charities of life will not be less sweet, nor its harmonies less delightful, than they are to-day; that man will still have access to fountains of inspiration, and still be able to recognize spiritual good—the progressive purification of thought and feeling—as the highest of blessings and the worthiest object of pursuit. What Feuerbach calls "the form of religion" (faith in the theological sense) is disappearing from the world. What we are concerned about is the preservation of the essence or content of religion,—love.

It may be asked, at this point, whether the essential idea of religion does not at least include

the theistic principle. To this, I should be disposed to reply that in the Kantian sense it does, and that in the Emersonian sense it does; but that, in the interpretation given by the majority of Christian writers to that principle, it does not. Make such a conception of the Deity as was present to the mind of Bishop Butler, for example, an integral part of religion, and we should have to deny the possibility of religion to all who were unable to persuade themselves that over against man there stood a Being, so distinct from man that all human canons of judgment fail when applied to his actions. Such a Being can only be known by man through a special revelation, and such a revelation requires for its due interpretation a living priesthood. One of two things,—either God is the highest revelation of human nature or he is an incommunicable Being of whom men can only know what the priesthoods choose to tell them. Once place God in the hands of a priesthood, and there is no knowing what may be promulgated in his name, possibly with perfect sincerity on the part of the priests themselves. Common human morality must henceforth take an altogether inferior place. Its dictates may be traversed at any moment and to any extent by a decree from heaven. This, no doubt, was what Lucretius felt, when he said that religion was the mother of all unholy deeds. This, too, was what Condorcet had in view, when he said that whatever was worst in the morality of a people was generally the product of its theology. To every objection that natural morality or humanity could raise to an alleged divine edict there would always be the answer ready that the ways of God were not as the ways of man, and that to judge his revealed commands by any human standard was at once impious and absurd. How often has this very position been taken up, to ward off objections to the morality of certain portions of the Bible? If the Deity, whose ways are not as our ways, has not a priesthood who can tell us what those ways are that do not agree with ours, he might as well be non-existent, so far as we are concerned.

I cannot see, therefore, that we can safely or properly incorporate into our definition of religion any form of the theistic principle which calls for the services of a specially illuminated priesthood, or for the recognition of an infallible revelation consigned to a book, or, above all, for the dethronement of the natural moral law. There is, however, a form of theism to which these objections do not apply, that which consists in attaching the highest possible sanctity to the moral intuitions and making them our type of the divine. It strikes me that this is the kind of theism we discover in the poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough, particularly in such verses as the following:—

"O Thou that in our bosom's shrine
Dost dwell unknown, because divine,
I thought to speak, I thought to say,
'The light is here,' 'Behold the way,'
'The voice was thus,' and 'Thus the word,'
And 'This I saw,' and 'That I heard,'—
But from the lips that half essayed
The imperfect utterance fell unmade.

"O Thou, in that mysterious shrine
Enthroned, as I must say, divine!
I will not frame one thought of what
Thou mayest either be or not.
I will not prate of 'thus' and 'so,'
And be profane with 'yes' and 'no';
Enough that, in our soul and heart,
Thou, whatso'er thou mayest be, art."

It is the same note we catch in Goethe's *Faust*, where Faust, in answer to some pressing questions from Margaret, tries to define his position in religious matters:—

"Misunderstand me not, thou best beloved!
Who can name Him, and, knowing what he says,
Say, 'I believe in Him'? And who can feel,

And, with self-violence, to conscious wrong
Hardening his heart, say, 'I believe Him not!'
The All-embracing, All-sustaining One,
Say, doth he not embrace, sustain, include
Thee?—Me?—Himself? Bends not the sky above?
And earth, on which we are, is it not firm?
And over us with constant kindly smile
The sleepless stars keep everlasting watch!
Am I not here, gazing into thine eyes?

And does not all that is—
Seen and unseen, mysterious all—
Around thee and within,
Untiring agency,
Press on thy heart and mind?

Fill thy whole heart with it,—and when thou art
Lost in the consciousness of happiness,
Then call it what thou wilt,
Happiness!—heart!—love!—God!
I have no name for it—Feeling is all;
Name,—sound and smoke,
Dimming the glow of heaven!"

The poets are our best teachers. Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty" is one of the finest examples of what may be called the divinization of the moral sentiment. "Stern lawgiver!" he exclaims:—

"Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face.
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads.
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong."

To the rapt vision of the poet, the stability of the whole universe is guaranteed by the moral law, that law which reveals itself to our hearts, and which is the expression of the perfect human life.

We need not, however, confine ourselves to the poets, if we are in search of declarations that the true divine, *τὸ θεῖον*, as the Greeks called it, is to be found in the heart of man. I open a well-known volume, the *Scotch Sermons* published about five years ago, and there I find such expressions as these: "There is one great lesson to be learned from the text; namely, that our common human nature is the most perfect revelation of God." "It is our bounden duty to reject any view of the relations between God and man which is at variance with the primary moral instinct of the human soul." Here is a statement that cuts the ground from under all priesthoods and all infallible scriptures. It seems as if especially designed to enforce Feuerbach's criticism of the text that declares that "God is love." Love, here, says Feuerbach, is only the predicate: God is the subject. God therefore is love and something else besides. What is that something else? We cannot feel safe until the proposition is reversed, and we are told that "love is God." The Scotch divine says in effect, "Accept no statement regarding God that does violence to your moral instincts." In other words, he throws out of the conception of God all that the human conscience cannot assimilate to itself. We further read,—I shall only give one more out of many passages I could produce from the same volume, all expressing the same fundamental thought,—"God is within us as well as without, the soul of our souls, the life of our lives, the substantial self that underlies the surface, evanescent self."

But what text was it that one of the preachers referred to in the first passage I quoted? It was this: "Philip saith unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?" Here we have Jesus expressly claiming to have shown the Father to his disciples. What, then, did he actually show them? Was it a type of virtue not only transcending average human attainment, but transcending also

all power of human comprehension and sympathy? Not at all. He simply showed to them—and, through them, to mankind at large—the latent capacities of human nature. He knew, as we are told, what was in man; and he presented, in his own life, a moral ideal to which all subsequent ages have paid homage. This he called "showing the Father."

It seems to me, therefore, that we are entitled, putting all systems of doctrine aside, as well as all dogmatizings in regard to a Divine Personality, to conclude that there is an attractive and binding force in the true ideal of human nature which may properly be called religious, and that the action of that force may be spoken of as religion. Certainly, he is a religious man, in the best sense, who holds himself bound to govern his life by the highest law which his nature can recognize. It may be granted that religion, understood in this sense, would lack for many the energetic sanctions of the prevalent forms of theological faith; but it may be added that, whatever is more than this, "cometh of evil." He who refrains from evil simply because God's eye is upon him—God being recognized as an external Person, whose office it is to punish evil-doers—is not governed by a moral motive. It may be presumed that, if God could not punish him, he would commit the evil deed. *The only possible way of making the idea of God a moral one is by absolutely identifying it with man's highest nature.* Short of this, we simply enthroned force,—decree divine honors to the policeman's truncheon. It may take courage to adopt and carry out consistently the idea of religion here presented; but my conviction is that, if it were taken up and unflinchingly advocated by some coherent body of persons, it would begin to make its way in the world. It could always challenge comparison with the older conceptions of religion. It would have nothing to conceal, nothing to extenuate, nothing even to explain, whereas the older religions conceal much, extenuate more, and are constantly explaining. It would address every man in very simple terms: "Are you prepared to be true to yourself, to your own best nature? Do you feel in your heart the everlasting distinction between right and wrong? And are you prepared to be loyal to the right, because it is the right? If so, you are on our side already. If not, you had better, for your own sake and society's, try to cultivate a wholesome dread of the divine thunderbolts." A religion in which there are any non-human elements, which sets up standards of judgment to which the heart does not respond, or which either threatens or promises consequences that are not implicit in human conduct itself, cannot be a true searcher of hearts. Take a religion, some of the most solemn prescriptions of which are of a purely ceremonial or formal character, and we see at once that any self-examination which the believer may undertake must turn very largely upon matters of no essential, moral significance; and that just so far as this is the case will the secrets of the moral nature be left undiscovered. But religion, as we are now conceiving it, being embarrassed with no non-human elements, goes straight to every man's heart, and asks him what manner of man he is, not in relation to meats and drinks or the observance of new moons and sabbath days, or attendance at church, or the rigid holding of a creed and the stern disapproval of all heterodox persons, but in relation to love of truth, to charity in thought, word, and deed, to purity of life, to respect for his own nature, physical, intellectual, and moral, to general love of good and hatred of evil. It makes every man judge in his own cause, and leaves him without excuse, if judgment goes against him.

We must, of course, be prepared for the objection that but few would be influenced by this type of religion, and that, were the dread of encountering eternal penalties for temporal sins and the hope of reaping an eternal recompense for temporal righteousness once removed, men could give way without check to their lower impulses. How many, we might ask, by way of reply, are now Christians more than in name? The non-human elements in Christianity, appealing powerfully to men's hopes and fears, to their love of mystery, to their love of authority, to their sense of weakness, to their sense of sin and their desire to find a scapegoat on whom their sins can be laid, have gathered millions into the Christian fold; but, were Christ now to return to the earth, how much faith—as he understood it, not as the theologians understand it—would he find among all those who bear his name? I venture to say that such faith as he found would for the most part be discovered among those to whom the non-human elements of Christianity are of least and the human elements of most account. "The love of Christ constraineth us,"—that is a purely human sentiment, and that is the watchword of all the noblest workers in the ranks of the churches to-day. We, too, could say, "The love of Christ constraineth us"; but we should not have to confine ourselves to that motto. We could say: "The love shown to humanity by all who have ever lived and died nobly in its service constraineth us. The knowledge we possess of the infinite benefits we derive from the organization and consolidation of society constraineth us. The demand which we instinctively make upon our fellow-men for truth and charity in their dealings with us constraineth us. Our innate perception of a lower and a higher constraineth us. The beauty of the world constraineth us; the order of the universe constraineth us; and the consciousness that it is our own thought which interprets the world as beautiful and the universe as orderly constraineth us. We are constrained by the love of Christ. We are constrained also by the limitless sympathy of Gautama. We are constrained by the truth-loving and fearless spirit of Socrates, by the noble dignity and high-mindedness of Plato, by the purity of Sophocles, by the tenderness of Virgil, by the hunger and thirst after righteousness of Marcus Aurelius. The universe is full of voices calling us to choose the path of life, and reminding us that no man either lives or dies to himself. A true philosophy teaches that we are as leaves on the great secular tree of humanity, but that to us it is given to realize, during the brief summer of our existence, our true relation to the parent organism, to feel that by its life-giving currents we are fed and by its mighty strength uplifted to the sun. The voice of philosophy is not a compulsory one: we may refuse to heed it, if we will. Humanity pleads with us in tones rather tender than severe or minatory. It promises nothing but that, if we walk through life nobly, we shall be at peace with ourselves, and that our lives will go to swell the sum of good influence by which others after us will be helped to rise in the scale of being. It threatens nothing but that, if we live to self, we shall be smitten with inward barrenness,—even though our outward estate may be flourishing,—and that our influence will be one to be counteracted by the better efforts of worthier men. It is quite true that some may smile at such promises and laugh at such threats. But what said Christ? "Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." All any teacher can do is to proclaim his doctrine and live it, to sow by all waters and hope for the harvest.

Shall we now press the inquiry respecting the "scientific basis" of this religion of faithfulness to

our highest moral intuitions? What we can say on that subject is this: that the course of nature shows that, in the development of conduct, to use Mr. Spencer's phraseology, a time comes when men more or less habitually seek their happiness through the happiness of others. In certain relations of life, the spirit of self-sacrifice is at times hard to hold in check. This is especially the case in the female sex, in whom the emotional nature is more developed than in man. It is fully understood that man can live no well-developed life apart from society, and that to live happily in society requires more or less subjugation of self. The true laws of individual life are given to us by a study of the laws of society. This was the conclusion arrived at by Comte, and this is the conclusion which Mr. Leslie Stephen iterates in his recent book on the *Science of Ethics*. In other words, we cannot tell what man is adapted for, or how his happiness can best be secured, until we see him in society. That life in others—life enlarged so that the happiness of others gives depth and volume to our own happiness—is the highest kind of life may be said to be abundantly demonstrated. No one at least who has ever tried it has any doubt about it. Those who have doubts about it have never tried it. The course of nature, we may therefore say, makes provision for the highest kind of life; does not force every man to embrace it, but at least places it at the end of a path in which all men's feet are set. Here, then, we may say is a scientific basis—a basis of fact and of law—for a religion such as we have spoken of which consists in obedience to our highest moral impulses, the whole drift of which is toward the subordination of our individual desires to the laws of social well-being.

How much could or can be done toward extending and giving efficacy to this conception of religion, through individual or corporate efforts, remains to be seen. "The foolishness of preaching" did much in a certain age of the world; and it is quite possible that preaching, which some would regard as foolish, would do much to-day. Certain it is that to-day, as ever, the people perish for lack of knowledge. The shadow of Angro-Mainyu, or the darkened intelligence, is upon the world. Men do not know the vocation wherewith they are called. They do not know what harmonies of life are possible to them. They do not know how much of idle struggle they might cast aside, and how much of co-operation and good-will they might put in its place. They do not know how powerfully intelligence is aided by simple goodness, or what an unsealing of the eyes it brings once honestly to desire to know the truth. They do not know how rich, how life-giving, how sustaining are the moral forces of humanity. In a thousand ways, men do not know the advantages that are their birthright, the privileges that belong to them as men. They do not know that, buried in the heart of each, is an image of the perfect human type, and that the true glory of the individual, his true redemption from the bondage of self, lies in becoming more and more conscious of that image, and setting it up as a pattern for the life. This is the thought which penetrates in many places through the verse of that great artist-soul, Michel Angelo; but nowhere more distinctly than in lines that have been most felicitously translated for us by the skilful hand of a member of this Association. You will allow me, I am sure, the pleasure of quoting them:—

"As, Lady, when we hew away
The rugged outer stone,
A living form is shown,
Which, as the marble wastes, grows more defined;
So does our fleshly hull of clay,

That harsh and rude and savage rind,
Conceal the impulses of right
Of the weak soul that trembles still.
Thou only canst unbind
This veil which hides my inner light;
For I alone have neither strength nor will."

So, too, Matthew Arnold discerns a certain essential purity and truth in the soul of man, in what may be called his generic nature. He speaks, in *Empedocles on Etna*, of

"Our own, only true, deep-buried selves,
Being one with which we are one with the whole world."

"Once read thy own breast right," exclaims *Empedocles* to his friend *Pausanias*,—

"Once read thy own breast right,
And thou hast done with fears;
Man gets no other light,
Search he a thousand years."

Again, in the language of confession:—

"Who can say: I have been always free,
Lived ever in the light of my own soul?
I cannot! I have lived in wrath and gloom,
Fierce, disputatious, ever at war with men,
Far from my own soul, far from warmth and light."

It seems to me, therefore, that, if long centuries ago the Buddhist missionaries could go abroad, preaching with zeal and devotion the doctrine of the misery of human life and of escape therefrom by the annihilation of desire, earnest men might to-day take up the nobler theme of the regeneration of human nature through knowledge and love. It is a true gospel; and, rightly presented, it will stir men's souls. As Emerson said, we have disputed long enough: the time has come for simple "manifestation of the truth."

"Thus the apostles tamed the Pagan breast:
They argued not, but preached; and conscience did the rest."

The appeal is not to human pride. Rather is it to each man's sense of the poverty of his individual life, unless fed continually from a larger and richer life. The facts of nature are on our side; the aspirations of the heart, the whisperings of conscience, are on our side. Why should we not go boldly forward, and speak the word and do the deeds that the times require?

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE MATERIALIZATION OF SPIRITS."

Editors of The Index:—

Prof. Ernst Haeckel, that great force in the scientific world, has written of our time as the "age of natural science," and has given proofs that he has rightly named the era. As the materialization of spirits is offered as an attraction to the curious, the credulous, and the ignorant, who are willing to hire a seat at a séance or accept an invitation to attend, as one would for the theatre or a lecture, with the reserved privilege to pass either written or verbal opinion thereon, it is only natural that an earnest scientific mind should bring that high intent of purpose—even in an investigation of "A Dark Séance"—which Prof. Huxley has powerfully expressed in these words, "In scientific inquiry, it becomes a matter of duty to expose a supposed law to every possible kind of verification, and to take care, moreover, that this is done intentionally, and not left to a mere accident."

In the first chapter of Prof. Haeckel's *History of Creation* is written: "It no longer occurs to physicists, chemists, mineralogists, or astronomers to seek to find in the phenomena which continually appear before them in their scientific domain the action of a Creator acting for a definite purpose. They universally, and without hesitation, look upon the phenomena which appear in their different departments of study as the necessary and invariable effects of physical and chemical forces which are inherent in matter. Thus far, their view is purely materialistic, in a certain sense of that word of 'many meanings.' When a physicist traces the phenomena of motion in electricity or magnetism, the fall of a heavy body or the undulations in the waves of light, he never, in the whole course of his research, thinks of looking for the

interference of a supernatural power." Perhaps some of the "public mediums" or "their friends" might find, through a study of Charles Darwin's works or of the writers of the above-quoted passages, that they have assumed more than it proved by science, and if they will patiently consider the words of scientific men to best widen their knowledge, they must grasp the force of the statement, "*Where faith commences, science ends.*"

Among the writer's well-wishers are many who claim to be Spiritualists, and their beliefs are as varied as their temperaments. One among them looks upon "materialization" as phenomena below a truly spiritual nature; another claims to see "spirit forms" in her own home; and one even hears the spirits rattling in vases too small to hold a newly born child. At the risk of sending a compilation to *The Index*, I cannot forbear quoting directly from men whose words are so simple and trustworthy that to act as interpreter to them seems to lessen their demand upon the consideration of those unacquainted with the truths which they have advanced. The greatest German scientist has said: "Natural science teaches that matter is eternal and imperishable, for experience has never shown us that even the smallest particle of matter has come into existence or passed away. Where a natural body seems to disappear, as, for example, by burning, decaying, evaporation, etc., it merely changes its form, its physical composition, or chemical combination. . . . But never yet has an instance been observed of even the smallest particle of matter having vanished, or even of an atom being added to the already existing mass." The slowly changing forms of matter must be considered by all who zealously claim affinity with matter, even by those who strive to prove Spiritualism through materialization; and there is no known scientific basis on which to found the belief that a man having ceased to perform his organic function, and dissolving in the water or in the earth or crematory, can in any one of these conditions assume "the same figure like the king that's dead," though a Bernardo and a Marcellus—and too many such there are—proclaim it in every street of every city. Their kind can only spur imagination and baffle reason. They cannot give a convincing proof to the scientist any more than a goat can cause an earthquake. It is admitted that the animal can cause a commotion above ground, and exhaust himself. A conscientious, studious, and reflective man, Charles Bray, said, "If it were possible for the mind's identity to be continued after death with a different body, it would not constitute the same person, as our identity or personality is made up of our body and mind." Is it not time, when an enlightened man, a lover of truth and justice, attempts to prove that reason should be guided by research, not by imagination, that those capable of denouncing error and pleading for the right self-government of each individual should take a stand by the side of such a man, though he possess strength of purpose, bent of mind, and other qualities fitting him to stand alone in whatever cause he feels is the right one? He dared to say what he believed, and pray let there be added another name to that too small list, though it be less known.

JOHN KOBOLD.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; or, The Revelation of the Mission of Christ. By a Woman. Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 39 Arch Street. 1885. pp. 525.

The author's aim in this volume is to show that the Christ symbolizes the divine spirit of man, and to prove from the historical and epistolary records of the New Testament that the mission of Jesus of Nazareth was consecrated to the most pure and perfect liberty, that the purpose of his life was to break down creed and caste, to establish fraternity, to reveal to the multitude the power of the soul, and to illustrate profound spiritual truths which had everywhere been secretly or dimly recognized, but never before so fully embodied in the life of man. He represented the spiritual forces of the planet in their perfection, unveiled the esoteric mysteries of the old religions, and revealed in his own unique personality the immortal strength and power of the human soul. He was the prophecy of the coming race, when "the interior life will have become perfect and in harmony with the divine laws,"—the "one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves."

The mother of Jesus "was chosen for her pure and psychic organization," and her motherhood was the motherhood of inspiration. "No man was sufficiently interiorly developed to become the father of the child. The parentage was immortal, and expressed a divine power which exists in that rare marriage not of earth, in which the masculine and feminine souls are one spirit. The sustaining friendship of Joseph was necessary to protect the virgin mother around whom beautiful influences circled, and who was kept apart from the world." All this being assumed, the author proceeds to explain many of the teachings and actions of Jesus, claiming that those so-called "miracles" which seem to us so incredible were performed in accordance with spiritual laws. Thus, after stating the case of the daughter of Jairus, the author says: "How many, after a severe illness, might have been rescued from premature interment through the use of interior vision, such as that possessed by Christ!" In the case of the widow's son at Nain, it is observed "that the body was that of a young person whose vital forces had not been slowly exhausted by old age, but arrested in their action by some curable disease; secondly, that, although the spirit had left the form, it was still in close connection with it; thirdly, that there is no evidence that the body had succumbed to the disintegration of corruption, which would resolve it into decaying matter and into the active condition of death." The process of decay after the death of Lazarus, the author says, "must have been arrested by some natural force, on which a coming science will throw a perfect light, and the nature of the illness must have been such as to have left the form in a condition to be thus acted upon."

What Jesus did all men might do, did they possess his spiritual insight and purity. The evolution of man's spiritual power will go on in the future. For a long time yet, highly spiritualized organizations will be born through superior unions; but the transition of the spirit from the body will in time cease to be a struggle, and be merely a translation. Then will occur those incarnations and unions of the dual soul which defy space and time, and are eternal. There will be no suffering in child-birth: the body of the infant will be, not internally developed, but "materialized from that wonderful laboratory of nature which will be the building chamber of soul as well as matter; and motherhood will be the hope, joy, and desire of womanhood." "The survival of the fittest" will mean the survival of the most spiritual man,—the man in harmony with nature's inner forces, capable of "breathing the very soul of the atmosphere," and living on "the sun-ripened fruits and grains." "His blood will be a spiritual essence, his substance as pure as that of a spirit, his body free from waste and rejection, since nothing will be absorbed into it but what is transmuted into living particles. He will be completely liberated: it will be the completion of the journey from the lost paradise of unconscious repose to the paradise regained, which is the conscious rest of Love and Wisdom."

Man has a fourfold expression of being, the writer claims: first, the physical body; second, the astral soul, the product of the body which it resembles, which is possessed by animals, and is subject to disintegration, although it may survive bodily dissolution for a considerable period; third, the "immortal soul," which is dual, and may be incarnated in two forms outwardly expressing itself as man and woman; fourth, the divine spirit, which is "the eternal, informing, and angelic agent, which, in close union with the soul, elevates it above all that is material, endows it with the strength of its age-long upward struggle, memory, and experience, and inspires it with all that is godlike." "Hence, the conscious union of the two-in-one lifts marriage to a plane in which the life and light of the Eternal has the power of direct operation, and is not only able to sustain, strengthen, redeem, and illuminate the twain thus united, but to generate truth and regenerate offspring. It is the 'holy spirit' and the 'immaculate conception' scientifically developed." This is not entirely clear.

The author says that "the elemental, elementary, astral, immortal, and angelic spirits" are "variously attracted to various individuals and conditions," and that the spirits of darkness at times assume the names and forms of the spirits of light. The seer, in proportion as he is developed, is able to distinguish between these spirits. How "a woman" found out all these things, and what proof in support of them she has to

offer the sceptical mind, cannot be learned from these pages.

In her expressions of dissatisfaction with some of the laws and usages of the existing social order, the author is very pronounced. For woman, she asks greater freedom. "The freedom she demands is something more than that which confers a vote, sits in a presidential chair, wears a crown, or studies art, literature, or science. It is the freedom of maternity in a marriage which may celebrate its honorable social custom, but refuses to be bound by legal obligations. Nothing else, and nothing less, will liberate womanhood. Nothing else, and nothing less, will liberate the human race and inaugurate the age of the soul." The children of such unions should, she says, be "legally registered, provided for, and named; but the woman should, at all costs, be sovereign over her own being," etc. But she says, "Believe not those who teach that mankind can be regenerated or even benefited by passion and its free expression; for true love, which is of the soul, is continent, and its liberty is of a pure order, which recoils from miscellaneous caresses."

The author seems to live in an ideal world, and has apparently given but little attention to the practical difficulties in the way of realizing some of her social theories in a world like this. But, in spite of its vagaries, the work is characterized by an earnest and candid spirit and by purity of purpose; and on almost every page is enjoined an elevated, spiritual life. Although the theories are generally mystical, the style is usually clear, and the work has considerable literary merit. It is the work of a person of deeply religious nature and philanthropic disposition, who believes she has discovered valuable truths, and is desirous to make them known, but who, unfortunately, is so devoid of the scientific spirit and disregardful of the scientific method that she fails to distinguish between propositions that admit of proof and mere theories and fancies that we have no means of verifying.

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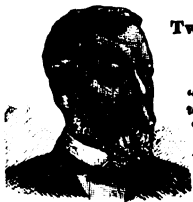
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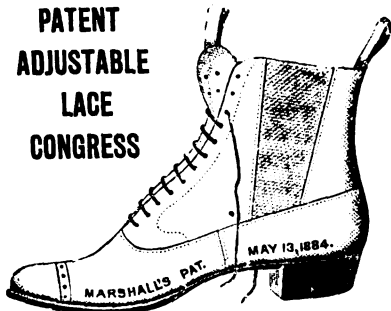
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CURRENT TOPIOS.

BY B. F. U.

THE General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, at Topeka, Kan., on the 3d inst., declared that "the Grand Army of the Republic is a secret organization, and an oath and an obligation are taken. We think it wise and proper to counsel the members of the United Presbyterian Church to stand aloof from this and similar organizations."

EX-MINISTER ASTOR says that the only unpleasant question between Italy and the United States is that relating to our duty of thirty per cent. on foreign pictures. Italy declines to retaliate, hoping that Congress will soon remove the ridiculous duty, against which American artists generally protest. Ours is the only civilized nation that levies a tax on art.

SAID Henry Ward Beecher, in a recent sermon: "I used to love to go to church, because I did enjoy walking down the half mile of street, and hearing birds and hearing the winds in the trees; and, when I got into church, I didn't dare stir, and so I went to sleep largely, with an occasional rap of grace on my head. But the church was always cold and unsympathetic to my young nature,—the old Litchfield church, mounted on that high hill standing in the middle of the green, a hill on which all the winds swept, and swept always from every direction apparently,—that great, old, shackling building whose pulpit is now in the Brooklyn Historical Society, and in which my father used to preach. I can't remember one single thing in my young history inside of that church that ever touched either my imagination or my heart, except the flying in of swallows once in a while, that would come in of a summer when the windows were open: that was a means of grace to me."

In an editorial entitled "The Constitution," our German weekly, *Bostoner Rundschau*, remarks: "Those who receive their education here—equally the natives and early immigrants—go out into public life with the uniform idea that all men are born free and equal. This idea is the cornerstone of the American Constitution, and was undoubtedly conceived and declared by the fathers of this republic, in their old, pious honesty, as

something infallible. But these fathers had thereby most assuredly suggested that *men* signifies not only *homines*, but *viri*, and that each individual also must acquire, that he may possess, both freedom and equality through conduct worthy of man. . . . The immigrants have to put their entire care upon the preservation of life; and, even in times of prosperity, only a few are willing to sacrifice their share, that they may, at their death, leave the land better than they found it. All enjoy the freedom of speech, press, and commerce; but, as a rule, it is overlooked, how those treasures, won only through most persistent struggles, are being forfeited through general passiveness."

THE *Banner of Light* refers rather deprecatingly to "societies" that are "slowly plodding their way with great reluctance toward a conclusion they see to be inevitable, but which, dreading to approach, they are belaboring their brains to devise, if possible, some means to avoid," and, by way of contrast, says that "twelve men with no scientific prestige, sworn to render a verdict in strict accordance with the testimony presented them, have, by their acquittal of Mr. J. H. Mott, on May 2, declared the materialization of spirit forms to be a fact; in this, on the principle that the greater includes the less, other spirit phenomena are also pronounced true." Our contemporary is here in error as to facts. There was no acquittal by twelve men. The case did not come before a jury at all. The trial was merely a preliminary examination before a justice of the peace to determine whether there was legal ground on which the defendant could be held to await the action of the grand jury. Mr. Clayton, the justice of the peace before whom the examination took place, simply discharged the defendant on the ground that the false pretence of the medium was not relied upon by the party claiming to have been defrauded as true. In his opinion, which is printed nearly in full in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of the 20th, from which the above facts are taken, Justice Clayton said that the parties who made the exposure "demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt that defendant was a fraud"; but he added: "All of the witnesses testified that they believed him a fraud from the first, and disbelieved his representations made to them at defendant's house, where they went of their own free will, and not on any solicitation by the defendant. Taking the law and applying it to the evidence, the court is of the opinion that no offence has been committed. The defendant will, therefore, be discharged." In view of the above facts and quotations, our neighbor even must see that, whatever be the character of Mott's performances, his "acquittal" cannot be fairly adduced as a virtual declaration, by twelve men "sworn to render a verdict in strict accordance with the testimony presented them," of the "materialization of spirit forms to be a fact."

A two and a half column letter recently appeared in the *London Times* entitled "Mental Healing in Boston." In the same paper appeared an

editorial of a column and a half on the same subject. Some of the Boston journals treat these articles as though they were without any foundation in truth. They certainly do contain exaggerations which amount in some instances to downright misrepresentation, but they contain also a large amount of truth. The *Boston Evening Traveller* of May 18 said: "No subject, probably, has been the theme of so much discussion in Boston during the past few months as the new school of healers who profess to treat their patients by many methods, but to all of which the popular fashion of generalizing has applied the comprehensive term the Mind Cure." This "new school of healers" may be divided into different classes, known as Mind Curers, Faith Curers, Christian Scientists, Metaphysical Healers, etc.; but they all claim to heal without the use of medicine,—that is, without giving any physic to be taken internally or applying to the skin any lotions, ointments, or plasters. In spite of the fact that there are many who are quite ready to discredit all statements made in regard to the results of the mind cure method, the article in the *Traveller* says: "Boston is coming to be quite full of honest people who say very positively that they have been cured in this way of very serious and painful afflictions. The volume of their testimony increases daily, so that, on every hand, the inquiring man, who seeks to try all things and hold fast that which is true, meets men and women who say not only that these strange feats of healing can be done, but that they have in their own persons seen and felt them performed. . . . Certain it is that such witnesses are multiplying fast in this city; and, in the spirit of investigation simply, a *Traveller* representative has been looking into their statements a little." Then follows a lengthy statement in regard to the method and work of Dr. E. J. Arens of Boston, "to the success of whose treatment a large number of our citizens, many of them well known and highly respected, bear personal witness." This Dr. Arens is author of a work entitled *Old Theology in its Application to Healing of the Sick, the Redemption of Man from the Bondage of Sin and Death and his Restoration to an Everlasting Life*. He claims that the power to heal the sick may be exercised to-day as it was by Jesus and his disciples, by those who understand the relations between God and man as taught in the Bible. He has classes which he instructs in his philosophical and theological doctrines and in his methods of curing disease, and his rooms are thronged by applicants for "treatment." He is but one of many. These healers are not agreed in their theories. Indeed, some of them laugh at the philosophy expounded by others who are as successful as themselves in effecting cures. [That there is a modicum of truth in the claims made by or in behalf of the "mind curers," and an essential and important principle in their methods, we do not doubt. But the object of this paragraph is only to show that there is a large amount of truth in the article in the *London Times* in regard to belief in, and the practice of, "mental healing" in this city, whatever be the significance of the facts.

A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR RELIGION.

The two notable essays that were given at the morning session of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association on the question, "Is a Scientific Basis for Religion Possible?" have now been put before the readers of *The Index*, and deserve a careful perusal. They arrive at essentially the same conclusion, though by quite different pathways. No two writers, perhaps, could have been chosen who would have so entirely complemented without overlapping each other's treatment of the theme. Each essay is complete in itself: each of the writers conceived a distinct method of argument, and logically pursued it; yet it requires both essays to cover the great question, and both together do cover it very fully.

Mr. Savage took up the question in the most obvious popular interpretation of its meaning, and considered the bearings of the progress of natural science upon religion. His argument, with its clean-cut definitions and logically mortised paragraphs, went to show that the wonderful modern advance in natural science does, indeed, make immense havoc in the theological creeds that have been commonly regarded as necessary to the existence of religion, but that it not merely leaves unharmed, but directly substantiates certain fundamental conceptions which are the germs of all essential religious beliefs and institutions. He does not, however, though thus specially considering the relations of religion to the discoveries of science in the popular significance of the word, fall into the common error of limiting science to material phenomena. He distinctly declares that science must also take account of such facts as emotion, aspiration, the moral sense, or "the whole psychical life of man," as well as of the metamorphoses of matter; and it is psychical facts that appear especially in the domain of religion.

Mr. Le Sueur scarcely alludes to science, in the narrow, technical sense of the word, except under the general terms of knowledge and advancing reason. But, evidently assuming the word to have that wide meaning to which Mr. Savage refers in a single paragraph,—that is, as covering the psychical life of man as well as material nature,—he chose for his line of procedure the development of religion in its human aspects, as traced in the intellectual and moral perceptions of mankind, and as expressed especially in literature. The very facts, emotional, mental, spiritual, to which Mr. Savage briefly alluded as facts with which science must necessarily deal in order to be a whole science, were the facts to which Mr. Le Sueur directed his entire attention, in an essay not wanting in logic, but replete with learning and with discriminating, subtle thought. Though having nothing to say of the great work of science in the material world, or of its consequent bearing upon theological cosmogonies, his essay was none the less a strict application of the scientific method to the problem he had in hand.

This unity in respect to method and result between the two essays, though the treatment was so different, will be especially evident by a single illustration. Mr. Savage, in his definitions, says: "By anything's having a scientific basis, we mean that it is found, on investigation, to be in accord with the discovered nature of things." And Mr. Le Sueur's final point, after having arrived through his historical survey at what he calls the essential nature of religion, is to consider "the support which religion, in the sense so arrived at, derives from the constitution of nature." These statements mean substantially the same thing, and

show the two essayists agreed on the important point of what constitutes a scientific basis for religion.

In saying that the two essayists came also to the same result, we mean simply that they both gave an affirmative answer to the question, Is a scientific basis for religion possible? They might not wholly agree in specification of the separate points which each would include in his idea of essential religion. Here, Mr. Le Sueur shows much more reserve than Mr. Savage. The latter draws out into a series of definite propositions the substance of the religious beliefs which science, as he has defined it, seems to him to justify. Most of these, probably, Mr. Le Sueur would have no hesitation in accepting, while at some of them he might demur. But, in any event, he is evidently more inclined to identify essential religion with man's moral ideal of perfection, and to be content with that as both the simplest and the most comprehensive description of religion. He says, "The only possible way of making the idea of God a moral one is by absolutely identifying it with man's highest nature." To theism in the Kantian sense or in the Emersonian sense, he does not object. Such a theistic principle, he thinks, the essential idea of religion might include. Yet he is apprehensive of the dogmatic habit even on this point; and, when he comes to the conclusion of his argument, derived from his wide survey of the phenomena of religious history, he states it thus: "The course of nature, we may therefore say, makes provision for the highest kind of life; does not force every man to embrace it, but at least places it at the end of a path in which all men's feet are set. Here, then, we may say, is a scientific basis—a basis of fact and of law—for a religion such as we have spoken of, which consists in obedience to our highest moral impulses, the whole drift of which is toward the subordination of our individual desires to the laws of social well-being." And this conclusion is almost identical with one of the most important of Mr. Savage's propositions. The latter says: "Since the laws of this universe are now known to be the laws of human life, prosperity, and progress, it is seen that what Religion has called 'the kingdom of God' is identical with what scientific philanthropy would call 'the kingdom of man.' In the light of modern knowledge, we are justified in hoping for such a kingdom here on earth."

There are two common errors in discussing the relations of religion to science, which both of these able essays avoid. The first error is that of the theologians who affirm that the truths of religion are revealed to faith, and are not amenable to the method of science: which is equivalent to saying that the truths of religion are not capable of becoming systematized knowledge; and, without this quality, it might be asked how religious truths can possibly be adapted to the orderly sequences of man's rational and moral life. The second error is that of those materialistic thinkers who affirm that, because science has overturned most of the theological doctrines which have been associated with religion, it has therefore overturned religion itself; which is not unlike saying that, because modern science has destroyed astrology, it has put out the stars. Both of these errors originate in a too narrow view of science, and in a corresponding misapprehension of what is meant by a scientific basis of religion. Some persons appear to imagine that those who use this phrase are expecting to find a basis for religion in the stratified formation of the earth or in a chemist's retort. They seem to forget that man himself—and man in his mental and moral development—presents a subject for scientific study quite as much as the earth on

which he dwells or the atmosphere by which he physically lives. There can be no possible fact whatever, whether a fact of matter or a fact of thought and feeling, which does not come within the domain of science; that is, is not a proper subject on which man may attempt to observe, and to increase, rectify, and systematize his knowledge. And, however inimical and destructive science may be to theological systems which have appeared in the past, there are certain facts of relation between man and the universe which remain and are incontrovertible. These facts are the substratum of all religious thought, feeling, and institutions. To give a rational interpretation of them is to create the Science of Religion. But the facts exist before the Science, and do not depend upon it for validity. What the scientific mind does is to ascertain whether a given interpretation of the facts is in accord with the known "nature of things" or with "the constitution of nature" in general. If so, such interpretation may be rightly said to have a scientific basis.

WM. J. POTTER.

THE ORDER OF THE ARTS.

Strange that the word Art, which now suggests the names of Raphael and Brunelleschi, Shakspeare, Michelangelo, and Beethoven, is from a root which either means to plough or to put two things together! But there is no highest thing in all the range of civilization which has not had an origin as humble. Wherever there is the direction of energy to an end, be it the building of a fire or the building of a cathedral, so that the end inspires the action consciously, there is art. The most popular division of the infinite variety through which the arts of man have ranged is into the useful arts and the fine arts. It is valid enough, though it requires considerable qualification. Of the arts considered useful, the most humble can be fine. Are there not tonsorial artists? Did not George Herbert sing,—

"Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine?"

There are many useful arts that have a fine-art side. The useful arts in general are those by which men are sheltered, fed, and clothed. What one of them cannot take on an aspect ulterior to the immediate necessity? Witness our domestic architecture and domestic furniture, which would often be more useful if it were not so fine. Witness the caterer's appeal to the æsthetic eye. Witness the meeting of two ladies, one of whom has a new bonnet, and the other says: "What a horrid little fright it is! Do you suppose I could get one like it?" It may be doubted whether there is any art we now consider fine, which was not originally useful. Architecture has never lost its useful implication. Sculpture and painting were evidently language arts at first, their object not æsthetic, but to record events. The first poetry was a mnemonic artifice. It was easier to remember the rhythmic form. So, nowadays, we set geography to rhyme.

"Singapore, Singapore,
One and a third, a hundred and four."

There is one bit of latitude and longitude fixed in my memory forever. The origin of music was, no doubt, merely utilitarian. On the other hand, the fine arts are often useful: orators, when the orations of Demosthenes make men say not merely "What a fine oration!" but "Let us go and fight Philip"; music, when it sustains the soldier on the weary march or bears him on its tide into the surge of battle; poetry, when it

"Softlier on the spirit lies
Than tired eyelids upon tired eyes";

painting, when its archæological fidelity brings back to us the aspect of the past; sculpture, when it instructs the coming generations not only how our great men looked, but what intolerably ugly clothes they wore.

Distrusting very much my own ability in such a delicate matter, I fall back on Mr. Sidney Colvin, a writer upon art matters second to no other of our time. His definition of the Fine Arts is: those, among things done by men only because they like, whose results afford to many permanent and disinterested delight, and whose performance, calling for premeditated skill, is capable of regulation up to a certain point, but, that point passed, has secrets beyond the reach and a freedom beyond the restraint of rules. If this definition does not strike us at first as being sufficient or as being over-nice, I am persuaded that the more we think of it, the more we shall incline to absolute approval. But, the fine arts once defined, a new difficulty arises in determining which they are and their relative order and value. It is generally agreed that they are architecture, painting, sculpture, music, and poetry. These are the primary fine arts. The secondary are dramatic art and allied forms correlated with poetry; vocal and instrumental music correlated with music; drawing and painting from the round; and copying in the round correlated with sculpture. The secondary art of painting has an immense variety of forms,—engraving, woodcutting, lithography, etc.; and all architecture is a secondary art, where there is no wide departure from some previous development.

The most obvious omission in these classifications is that of prose composition and oratory. These are related to each other, I am obliged to think, as a primary and secondary art. If they are so, it would seem to follow that the standing of a primary art does not determine the standing of its secondary concomitant. I should not hesitate to accord to poetry the highest rank as a primary art. And yet I must consider oratory, which is secondary to prose composition, as a much higher art than the dramatic, which is secondary to poetry. Even Mr. Irving's acting of Louis XI. seems to me a very little thing in comparison with Mr. Gladstone's recent speech upon the Russian complication. To this, one may object that, in the case of Gladstone, the primary and secondary arts were both united in a single personality. Therefore, the final truth would seem to be that oratory is a composite speaking art, always uniting a primary and secondary aspect in the same individual. As such, its place among the arts is near the highest. What it lacks is persistency. It is for the hour. No report of it can reproduce the first impression or a thousandth part of it. To repeat the music of an organ out of church were easier than to report a great oration.

As for the five arts we commonly enumerate as fine, a better classification than any that should fix their relative values would be one that should distinguish their particular functions. And there is no single classification that is able to do this. They can be classified as speaking and as shaping arts, as imitative and non-imitative, as serviceable and non-serviceable. The shaping arts are architecture, sculpture, and painting. The speaking arts are poetry and music. This classification, which again is Mr. Colvin's, seems to be much superior to Mr. Ferguson's, in his *History of Architecture*. The imitative arts are painting, sculpture, and poetry. The non-imitative arts are architecture and music. The serviceable art *par excellence* is architecture, unless we declare with some that, in so far as it is serviceable, it is not an art. It is plain that architecture is, of all the fine

arts, most closely allied to the useful arts. It is clearly differentiated from all the other arts in this respect. It is very seldom art for art's sake.

Seizing upon a single point in any of the great arts and keeping every other out of sight, it is easy to make out a case for each in turn as the highest art of all. It is true of every one that it has its special advantages. As Mr. Hamerton has shown of the graphic arts, that even the feeblest of them can do one thing or another which is denied the greatest, so is it here. Painting and sculpture, especially, have the defects of their qualities. The directness and completeness of their imitations narrow their possible range. A thousand and ten thousand avenues are open to poetry that are closed to sculpture and painting. It has a million-fold suggestiveness beyond the limits of its imitative sphere. On these accounts and because of its persistency, I must place it in the foremost rank, and next to it prose composition. The *French Revolution* of Carlyle is the most epic production since *Paradise Lost*. A million epics like the *Henriade* of Voltaire, albeit in verse, would not be commensurate with it or with the *Decline and Fall* of Gibbon. Oratory might well dispute the second place with prose composition, were it not for its intrinsic evanescence. Music would come next in a hierarchy of my own construction. It can express no thought, however much may go to the construction of the score; but it can express and it can excite emotion as can no other art, oratory alone excepted. When it is married to the noblest words,—a rare occurrence,—the emotions born of such a union are almost intolerably sweet.

Next, painting, and, next, sculpture. The relations of these arts to poetry, once so confused, were declared by Lessing in his *Laocoon* so clearly that they can never be again confused. If architecture must bring up the rear, it is not as if there were not many a church and temple which excites more pleasurable emotions than any pictures or statues, except such as rank with the most beautiful of all.

Shall we finally declare that the only standards in these matters are subjective? For each, that art is highest which yields for him the most enjoyment. No, not the most, but the *highest*; and by this sign the subjective standard falls. We are sent back to discover which is the highest by objective standards.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

CHRISTIANITY AND LEGISLATION.

I.

"The end of all political struggle," says Emerson, "is to establish morality as the basis of all legislation." It seems like a mere truism to say that, upon the whole, Christianity represents, and always has represented, the strongest moral impulses of its time; and, moreover, that the law is the code of practical rules in which the State enforces its views of right and wrong. Our legislation, then, should be the embodiment of Christian morality. That seems to follow directly. And yet it is not and it has not been, and we are not trying to make it so. That is the puzzling fact to which I am going to call attention, throwing upon it what light I can by a review of the effect which Christianity has had upon law in the past.

And, first, I must say a word of definition. Both the words "law" and "Christianity" are used in many meanings. By law, I mean the rules of conduct which are enforced by the State, excluding not only natural laws, but customs and instincts. By Christianity, I mean, in the same way, what actually was accepted as such at the times of which I shall speak, and not of what ought to have

been. For most of the purposes of common speech, it is better, no doubt, to use the name in a broader sense, and make it cover all righteousness, not only such of Christ's teachings as have been urged by the Church, but all the other truths that we believe he would have sanctioned, if he had sought to meet our modern needs.

That is a more unsectarian and more vivifying use of the word; but, for these historical researches, that is quite too vague. It would mix the whole subject up inextricably.

With every precaution, it is not easy to say just what part of legislation is due to our religion. It will not do to assume that every step of progress in Christian countries has been due to Christianity. This, evidently, is unreasonable; for many of them would have taken place any way. And it would be equally unreasonable to treat Christianity as a constant impediment, only powerful at *autos-da-fé*. The main line of distinction between those legal changes produced by Christianity and those not due to it must, I think, be drawn by selecting those alterations which the Church urged or educated public opinion to urge, as distinguished from the general tendencies of the time.

Since the birth of Christ, four great systems of legislation have taken a definite shape,—the Roman, the Mohammedan, the Feudal, and the Common Law.

The Roman law had, it is true, reached a considerable degree of development before Christianity became very influential. It had passed out of the barbarous condition, and become a business law, suited to regulate the rich commerce of the mistress of the world. Under the influence of luxury, the gentile system of groups of relatives and the patriarchal family system had both weakened, and a concentrated despotic government had become necessary to control her vast possessions. Still, great changes took place after the Christian era, both by way of development and by the incoming of the barbarian; and the code was not drawn up until some centuries after Constantine's conversion had made Christianity the State religion, so that there was room enough for interaction. Compared with other departments of Roman work, her law took an extraordinarily scientific and beautiful shape, because it was mainly the work of experts. The Romans did not share our *penchant* for going over the whole code every year or two. Their feeling was more akin to that of the Locrians, who made the proposer of a new law wait in the market place with a rope about his neck, so that speedy justice might be done him, if the law was rejected. A primitive nation always likes to keep to the customs of its forefathers, and Rome did. But she was helped out of this rut by the endeavor of her prætors to adapt her laws to her foreign dependencies through the fertile, philosophical fiction of an underlying law of nature common to all races; and they united with this the all-important principle of precedent, moving forward by extending to new cases the principles involved in prior decisions. The philosophy of Aristotle had a great influence upon Rome; and Stoicism had far more, the Stoical doctrine of a law of nature involving self-sacrifice and human brotherhood appealing to the Roman lawyers strongly. But the influence of Christianity upon them, previous to Constantine, was almost nothing. They looked upon the new religion with contempt. They were Romans, and felt a general repugnance to Oriental cults. They were aristocrats, and felt a special dislike to the humble character of the new zealots. Among the marked characteristics of the new faith were: doctrines of non-resistance, which would

have depleted her armies; community of property and refusal of interest on money, which would have arrested her trade; asceticism, which would have undermined her society; and humanitarianism, which would have destroyed the slavery upon which her system rested. Neither of these views of war or trade or society met with any sympathy in Roman lawyers. But the power of the new faith could not be neglected. Constantine adopted it; and, in the splendid outburst of enthusiasm that followed, the millennium seemed for a time at hand. When this had settled, it was found that it was Christianity, and not the Roman law, that had been altered by the union. The Church became autocratic in form; and, as her courts received State support, they adopted the Roman law as a basis. The opposition to war was abandoned speedily by the Church, and the measures adopted looked to strengthening her power and increasing her revenue. Her doctrine of celibacy came forward to increase the public dislike to marriage and parenthood, which emperor after emperor tried in vain to stem. For many generations, the family tie had been weakening under more luxurious customs. It had been singularly close in primitive Rome, when the family was a unit with the paterfamilias at the head, owning all the property, and clothed with the power of life and death. The institution had its savage side; but, as long as it kept its full vigor, there was no divorce. The population was kept up, simple ways of living prevailed, and despotism was prevented by the resistance of these powerful social units. Its decay, like that of the earlier organization upon the basis of blood relationship in the gens, had nothing to do with Christianity; but it brought free divorce and a long string of other evils, which the Church was quite powerless to arrest. The legislation increased against divorce, illegitimacy, infanticide, and those hideous forms of sensualism which nowadays we do not even name; but it was a dead letter, for the social disease grew fatal, the better class decayed, and the slave class grew. Charity increased, but it was a distinctly debauching influence in Rome, fostering the idle at the expense of the industrious, until all work was left to slaves; and slavery seemed incurable. Both Stoicism and Christianity opposed it, but neither had any very important effect, for, to the end of the empire, the marriage of a slave was impossible; his evidence was admitted only under torture, and he could be whipped to death by his master with impunity.

On certain minor points, the Church was successful. She increased the observance of religious holidays to a degree which would have been excessive, if it had applied to the working class. She diminished suicide. She put down the cruel sports in the arena, which exhausted the treasury and debauched the public with a fierce lust for blood, unknown to all but the Pomeroyes of modern civilization. But, on the other hand, she gratified the same cruel passion by persecuting for religious opinion, which was previously unknown. As the disease spread, the principle of human brotherhood disappeared from law. Sects massacred each other for trifling differences of opinion about the election of bishops or the light that shone from Calvary, and heresy was death. Simony prevailed; and the rule of clerical celibacy, which had come in soon after the establishment, brought a frightful train of vices, one of which was met in Italy by forbidding priests to visit unmarried women. The outburst of asceticism made the breaking of family ties so frequent and so vicious that laws were passed to restrict the separation; and further laws had

to be passed, regulating death-bed gifts to the Church. The period of the greatest extension of the Church was a period of legal decay. In spite of high hopes and noble aspirations, society fell to pieces from its vicious construction; and a period of the most hideous anarchy and debauchery ensued, in which law was forgotten and history stopped. And it must be acknowledged that Christianity, which had influenced Roman society greatly, both for good and evil, had left almost no mark on its law, which was to the end despotic, military, according no rights to strangers, encouraging marriage and divorce and money-making and slavery. The fatal defects of the Roman constitution Christianity had not corrected.

H. W. HOLLAND.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

BY B. F. U.

A NUMBER of valuable articles are crowded out this week, to make room for Dr. R. Heber Newton's eloquent paper on "The Religious Aspect of Socialism," which, although longer than is usually printed in *The Index*, we are confident our readers would not wish divided, but will, when they commence reading it, read through to the end.

MR. AND MRS. SCOVELL, formerly of Columbus, Kansas, have assumed editorial charge of the *Liberal*, published at Liberal, Mo. "In the new phase of editorial management of the *Liberal*," the number of June 11 says, "it will be the desire of those connected with the paper to represent the higher element of Rationalism in its columns; and we hope to receive sufficient encouragement to warrant us in the work to be done."

REV. E. P. POWELL, a "broad-gauge" minister, in a discourse given at Utica, N.Y., which we find printed in the *Olive Branch*, says: "The reformer of or against a book always was denounced as an enemy of the gods. He is to-day. But Robert Ingersoll is no more an atheist than Dr. Talmage. He has as many gods—that is, ideals—as the rest, and is a stout defender of them. The secret of his terrible lectures is that he is defending his gods. And he believes, as I believe, that his gods are better than those he tumbles down. . . . He is to be, above all, pitied who knows no saints less than five hundred years dead; and no God but one that he never sees, and whose voice is heard only in the conflict of warring preachers."

It gives the *Spiritual Offering* much satisfaction to be able to say: "The so-called exposés have, in almost every case, added to the popularity of the medium; for every noted medium has hundreds of friends ready to testify to the genuineness of his or her mediumship." This statement is quite correct. The exposure of mediums, however fraudulent their performances, usually adds to their reputation and their business. It does not disturb the faith of any considerable number who believe in the spiritual character of their doings, and helps advertise them among thousands of credulous people, who, but for the exposure, would never hear of them. By not a few, they come to be regarded as martyrs. We are not among those who regard all the phenomena of Spiritualism, so called, as either fraudulent or fanciful, or all mediums as dishonest; but, of those that are such beyond reasonable doubt, "the so-called exposés have, in almost every case, added to the popularity of the medium; for every noted medium has hundreds of friends ready to testify to the genuineness of his or her mediumship."

REV. GEORGE L. CHANEY, of Atlanta, Ga., in a discourse on "Unitarianism in the South," printed in the *Christian Register*, after saying that "Dr. Channing's sermons are more frequently called for and more gratefully acknowledged than any other publications of the association," and that "the word that lifted Boston, fifty years ago, out of its bondage to the letter and the institution, is the word which to-day is called to do the same uplifting and emancipating service at the South," adds:—

But I question if Channing himself could have stated his belief in terser or truer shape than one of these up-country Georgia farmers has put it: "I believe in one God, and no more. I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe the equality of man. I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy." "Therefore," he says, "my neighbors call me an infidel." (This is the usual name at the South for all who do not accept some conventional, evangelical creed.) But, says our Georgia Protestant, "My understanding is that an infidel is one who proposes to believe in a thing he does not believe." (Could there be a finer definition?) "Therefore," he shrewdly adds, "there are more infidels in the Church than out. They subscribe to a creed they do not believe, and one-half do not know what they do subscribe."

It is not strange that "one of these up-country Georgia farmers" is called an "infidel" by his neighbors. The man whose words he uses to express his religious belief has been characterized as an "infidel" by all the Christian sects, the Unitarians included, for nearly a century, and is so spoken of generally to-day, not only "at the South," but in the East and throughout Europe as well as America. The writings of men outside of and in advance of all the Churches, like Paine, have contributed to modify theological creeds wonderfully; and the more radical of the Unitarian ministers to-day occupy substantially the same position that Paine did a century ago, although able, of course, to trace and interpret religious systems in the light of historic and scientific knowledge which no writer possessed at that time. Would it not be well for the Unitarian Association to republish, or to obtain from Mr. Mendum of the *Investigator*, a cheap edition of the first part of *The Age of Reason*, and circulate it as the work of a heretofore unrecognized representative of Unitarianism?

"I BELIEVE in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy. . . . I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish Church, by the Roman Church, by the Greek Church, by the Turkish Church, by the Protestant Church, nor by any church I know of. My own mind is my own church. . . . Infidelity does not consist in believing or in disbelieving: it consists in professing to believe what one does not believe. . . . Nothing that is here said can apply even with the most distant disrespect to the *real* character of Jesus Christ. He was a virtuous and amiable man. The morality that he preached and practised was of the most benevolent kind; and though similar systems of morality had been preached by Confucius and by some of the Greek philosophers many years before, by the Quakers since, and by good men in all ages, it has not been exceeded by any."—*The Age of Reason*.

In proportion as a man is brought into conjunction with heaven, the superior parts of faculties belonging to his mind are opened, he sees what insincerity and injustice are: and, in proportion as he sees them, they are capable of being removed from him; for it is impossible for any evil to be removed till after it was seen.—Swedenborg.

The Index.

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

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

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For The Index.

The Religious Aspect of Socialism.

A Paper read before the Free Religious Association at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, May 29, 1885.

BY DR. R. HEBER NEWTON.

A more appropriate phrasing of my topic would, to most minds, be "The Irreligious Aspect of Socialism." The ordinary notion of Socialism is that of a revolt of fools and madmen against the order of society, a conspiracy against the sacred rights of property. If religion be the recognition of the bonds of a Divine Order and the obedience thereto, then to those who identify our existing human system with that Divine Order there would seem to be little of religion in the chaos which apparently opens before us in Socialism.

Socialism presents itself to many minds as the direct outgrowth of a decay of religion. Dr. Draper, in an article on "The Political Effect of the Decline of Faith," places it among the *sequelae* of unbelief: "What is it that has given birth to the Nihilist, the Communist, the Socialist? It is the total extinction of religious belief. With no spiritual prop to support them, no expectation of an hereafter in which the inequality of this life may be adjusted, angry at the cunningly devised net from which they have escaped, they have abandoned all hope of spiritual intervention in their behalf, and have undertaken to right their wrongs themselves."* In that remarkable book, *Underground Russia*, Stepiak inclines to the same conclusion: "Absolute atheism is the sole inheritance that has been preserved intact by the new generation, and I need scarcely point out how much advantage the modern revolutionary movement has derived from it."†

There can be no question that, as socialistic ideas spread, workingmen experience an aliena-

tion from the recognized forms of religion. Senator Blair, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, told me that it was the almost uniform testimony of such representatives of the labor movement as came before his committee that the workingmen of this country were becoming increasingly estranged from the churches. This, I believe, is the conclusion of most of those who have studied the problem of the attitude of labor toward religion, in our own country or in other lands. There is even apparent, on the part of socialistically inclined workingmen, a positive antipathy toward every traditional form of religion. The more out-spoken representatives of the movement violently, and even blasphemously, repudiate all religious faith. One of the most radical of the socialistic papers of our country, in an article upon the "Fruits of the Belief in God," exclaims: "Religion, authority, and State are all carved out of the same piece of wood. To the devil with them all!"* The extreme wing of Socialism—that represented by Bakounine—gives utterance to similar delightful sentiments: "The old world must be destroyed. . . . The beginning of all those lies which have ground down this poor world in slavery is God."

It is not necessary for me to argue before this Association that such language does not prove any real anti-religiousness, or even any real irreligiousness; that it may simply signify a needlessly violent reaction from the false forms of religion, a shockingly coarse protest against the corruption and perversion of the faiths which it would sweep off the earth. There is oftentimes manifested in such language a feeling as of a suppressed bitterness toward a supposed friend that has proven faithless,—as when a certain socialist declared, "We are not atheists, we have simply done with God." The miseries and wrongs of the existing order appear, to those who suffer from them, to deny the reality of a Divine Providence; and the fading out from so many minds of the belief in immortality seems to rob them of the one hope of reward for the toils and privations of the life on earth. When Paradise looks to such sufferers like the hope of a future held forth to keep them patient under their present hopelessness, it is not wonderful that such a paper as the *San Francisco Truth* should cry out, "Heaven is a dream invented by robbers to distract the attention of the victims of their brigandage."† The very violence of the denunciations of religion may, then, simply prove the depth of feeling which has been outraged, the intensity of the loss which appears to have been sustained.

He who rightly gauges the depth of the religious nature in man will not believe it possible that any class of men can be experiencing an exhaustion of this sacred life. What seems to be such an exhaustion must to him appear simply as the winter that follows summer and autumn, only to make ready for another spring. This very movement which appears to have divorced itself so completely from religion, and to have arrayed itself so inimically toward that ancient spirit, is already manifesting the action of forces which are not distinguishable from the forces of the religious sentiment. Among the ignorant, this feeling takes some curious expressions. German workingmen, who had ceased to go to church, developed a generation ago a *cultus* of Lassalle; and a belief was for a while quite wide-spread that their great champion, who had lost his life in a duel, had died for them, and that he was to return again to save them. Among the more intelligent classes of labor, the old religious senti-

ment seems to be renewing its action in the passion of enthusiasm which inspires them as with the ardor of a new hope and a new faith.

The earlier forms of modern Socialism were very strikingly characterized by a religious spirit. There was a glow and fire of enthusiasm, a sweep and reach of imagination, a pure and lofty passion of idealism, in which none could fail to recognize the essential spirit of religion. Saint-Simon saw in his teaching the long-awaited-for realization of essential Christianity. His doctrines were to constitute "the New Christianity." One who visited the communistic organizations of Paris in 1850 would have found in many of their halls a picture of a sacred form labelled "Jesus Christ, the First Representative of the People." The little communistic societies which dot our own shores were mostly founded in a spirit of simple and devout piety. Whatever success has attended any of them, with one or two exceptions, has been due to the force of the religious inspiration working in them. The members of Brook Farm felt, as one of the community wrote, "a more exquisite pleasure in effort from the consciousness that we are laboring, not for personal ends, but for a holy principle."*

Even that Jacobin of Socialism, Proudhon, closed his *mémoire* on property with this noble invocation: "O God of liberty! God of equality! Thou God, who hast placed in my heart the sentiment of justice before my reason comprehended it, hear my ardent prayer! Thou hast formed my thought, thou hast directed my studies, thou hast separated my spirit from curiosity and my heart from attachment, in order that I should publish the truth before the master and the slave. I have spoken as thou hast given me the power and talent: it remains for thee to complete thy work. Thou knowest whether I may have sought my interest or glory. O God of liberty! may my memory perish, if humanity may but be free; if I may but see in my obscurity the people finally instructed, if noble instructors but enlighten it, if disinterested hearts but guide it! . . . Then the great and the small, the rich and the poor, will unite in one ineffable fraternity; and all together, chanting a new hymn, will re-erect thy altar, O God of liberty and equality!"†

The later forms of Socialism, whose origin is found in Germany, however lacking they may be in the conventional expressions of religion, are not without marks which betray the workings of the old force. The German is naturally religious; and, when that religiousness turns aside from ecclesiasticism, it does but breathe out secularism with a spirit not to be distinguished from religion. That spirit pours itself into art and philosophy, and gives us, in Beethoven or in Hegel, music and metaphysic which are intensely religious. It pours itself into social science, and gives us a socialism which, without knowing it, is fervently religious. Lassalle had all the fiery enthusiasm of a new crusader. He closed his famous lecture upon "The Workingman's Programme" with such a passage as this: "You are the rock on which the Church of the present is to be built. It is the lofty moral earnestness of this thought which must, with devouring exclusiveness, possess your spirits, fill your minds, and shape your whole lives, so as to make them worthy of it, conformable to it, and always related to it."‡ Even amid the horrors of Nihilism, which is at once a political revolt and a social revolution, there is a lurid light as of the kindling of those mystic forces which have so often burned, like the fire

* *Princeton Review*, January, 1879, p. 83.

† *Underground Russia*, p. 7.

* Quoted in *Recent American Socialism*, R. T. Ely, p. 32.

† *Recent American Socialism*, p. 32.

* *Recent American Socialism*, p. 15.

† *Works of P. J. Proudhon*, I., 287.

‡ *The Workingman's Programme*, p. 57.

upon Abraham's altar, in clouds of smoke, shaping dreadful visions.

In such self-abnegating enthusiasm there breathes the essential spirit of religion, however unconscious it may be of its own nature. That this enthusiasm may pass very rapidly into the consciousness of its own religiousness we may see strikingly illustrated in the remarkable work of Mr. Henry George. *Progress and Poverty* fairly glows throughout with the passionate conviction which the author thus expresses toward the close of the book: "It will be read by some who in their heart of hearts have taken the cross of a new Crusade."* This passion of justice has resolved itself in the author's soul into the newly kindled fires of religion. The book is a cry of the soul as much as an argument of the mind. That singular conclusion to a work on political economy, the chapter on Immortality, is a fitting end to a book which breathes throughout the aspiration of a noble nature after social righteousness. Those who know Mr. George personally, know the deep and genuine religiousness of the man, and are aided in interpreting the social movement, which he has so mightily quickened, from his personal experience, as he passes out from the traditional forms of the religious life, thinking that he has lost religion itself, only to find it once more awaiting him at the conclusion of his studies of social science, in the enthusiasm of humanity enkindled in his soul as the very love of God.

What, then, are the elements in Socialism gendering this passionate aspiration, which takes on the tones as of a new inspiration? We must needs define Socialism. Socialism is not to be identified with any special form which it assumes. Its essential idea is larger than any specific theory of a particular writer or than any platform of a local movement. It is not to be shut up to its French or German or Russian translation. It is more than the Phalansterianism of Fourier, the People's Banks of Proudhon, the Political Organization of Labor of Lassalle, the elaborate system of Political Economy shaped by Karl Marx, the Anarchism of Elise Reclus or Bakounine, the Communal Proprietorship of the land which is exercised by the Mir, the Land Naturalization of Henry George, or the State Ownership of the Means of Production of the German school. Each of these systems and theories and institutions forms a variety of the species Socialism, which in turn is a division of the genus Political Economy,—a very black and altogether heterodox member of the family, but still a legitimate scion of the stock.

What is there, then, that is found in these various forms of Socialism which is common to them all, which is therefore to be considered its essential idea? Speaking generally, it may be said that Socialism is the "ism" of a more social society, the "ism" which seeks an industrial order that shall be a real commonwealth, and which seeks that order rather through social action than through individual action; which finds the radical evil of our present system in its excessive development of individualism, and which proposes to correct that evil by the alternative of a larger mutualism; which would balance the unregulated action of free competition by some co-ordinating power, either from great industrial and trade associations or through such agencies from the State; which would ensphere private property within a vast body of common property, whether vested in huge co-operative societies or in the State itself; which would guard against the evils of our present system by holding the raw material of wealth, land, and the means of production of wealth, machinery,

* p. 499.

as the common property of the labor which is to create that wealth. Socialism is not anarchism, nor yet is it communism. It does not propose simply to overturn the existing order and let civilization lapse back again into chaos. It does not dream of unwinding the mainspring of society, individualism, and of abolishing private property. It believes, whether rightly or wrongly, that it is endeavoring to carry on the social organization higher, to hasten sorely needed developments of the historic progress of industry, to lead up our most imperfect system into more perfect forms, to master the anarchic disorders of the industrial world and to bring thereout a real order, to push forward the political revolution of the eighteenth century into the economic revolution of the nineteenth century, to crown the government of the people by the people and for the people in an ownership of the people by the people and for the people. The leaders of Socialism do not expect to find a speedy realization of these aims, though the rank and file of their followers may doubtless lose the time-perspective and look in the foreground for the scenes that really lie in the shadowy background of their alluring vision. Rodbertus allowed five hundred years for the realization of his ideas. Lassalle distinctly warned his followers against the illusion that the social revolution could be precipitated immaturely upon civilization. A sane Socialism expects to realize its dream only through the slow evolution of society. The co-operative State is to be the flower of the process of integration that is now going on in society; the government's necessitated co-ordination of the associative action which is developed voluntarily among the people on an increasingly large scale; the ultimate generalization from co-operative trade and industrial organizations; the body of public property growing around the public spirit fostered in the reign of "the Commons"; the republic which is to be a commonwealth governing itself.

In such a dream, whether it be an illusion or a true prophetic vision, we can readily enough discern the forces which are feeding this new and somewhat strange manifestation of the old religious spirit.

Socialism is thus seen to be a protest against the injustices of our existing system, an indignant repudiation of the sophisms which have been palmed off on men as exculpating the disorders that abound to-day, a cry of those who feel themselves oppressed and wronged for justice. It is not merely the private protest of individuals: it is the protest of a large class, whose members feel themselves drawn into a living fellowship as they rise to assert their common rights. The sense of fellowship is most real, even though the rights sought may be more or less unreal. In this new-found community, the political boundaries of the earth disappear, and men of mutually hostile nations and races find themselves bound in a solidarity of interests. This glowing sense of a common life sublimates all mere selfish instincts into a generous ardor, an unselfish devotion to a commanding cause. Nor is this new-found solidarity merely that of a class, however large. The cause of labor seems to these laborers, rightly or wrongly, the cause of humanity, the cause of civilization. To their eyes, the worst evils which are found among all classes of society are bred by the existing industrial order. To it, they attribute not only the characteristic vices and crimes of poverty, but the characteristic vices and crimes of wealth. All these evils they expect to disappear, one after another, as the industrial system is changed. It is thus no less glorious a vision than that of a perfected humanity which allures them on in aspiration and endeavor. It is no wonder

that such a vision calls forth the most ardent enthusiasm, the most entire self-abnegation.

Lecky tells us that "it is always extremely important to trace the direction in which the spirit of self-sacrifice is moving; for upon the intensity of that spirit depends the moral elevation of an age, and upon its course the religious future of the world."* He who is familiar with the thrilling examples of heroic self-abnegation, of complete self-sacrifice, which the annals of Nihilism record, will not wonder that Stepniak declares of the earlier period of this appalling revolt: "It rather resembled a religious movement, and had all the contagious and absorbing character of one. People not only sought to attain a distinct, practical object, but also to satisfy an inward sentiment of duty, an aspiration toward their own moral perfection."† He, indeed, thus characterized only the earlier period of Nihilism; but, in his own record of the continuance of these lofty impulses to enthusiastic self-sacrifice, we find that which compels us to question his characterization of the later Nihilist as having "no longer any religious feeling in his disposition." Stepniak writes concerning these men of whom we are accustomed to think as simply assassins: "Everything that is noble and sublime in human nature seems concentrated in these young men. Inflamed, subjugated by their grand idea, they wish to sacrifice not only for it their lives, their future, their position, but their very souls."‡ He gives us a graphic picture of the millionaire Demetrius Lisogub passing to his execution: "At last, he could satisfy his ardent desire to sacrifice himself for his cause. It was perhaps the happiest moment of his unhappy life."§ He tells us how, before the heroism of these monsters, as we think them, the cry was wrung from unsympathetic witnesses, "They are saints!" In the sight of such scenes, we recall those other words of Lecky: "The very men who would once have been conspicuous saints are now conspicuous revolutionists; for, while their heroism and disinterestedness are their own, the direction these qualities take is determined by the pressure of the age."||

In seriously setting itself to correct the disorders of the earth, Socialism affirms its faith in the reality of a true order, and in the possibility of realizing it. He who struggles deliberately against a wrong declares therein his conviction that it can be righted; he who tries to transform a chaos confesses that he believes in a cosmos. If it be impossible to establish an order upon earth, why should one essay the thankless task of grappling with the disorders of earth? However little consciousness of the fact there may be in the breasts of Socialists, their fundamental conviction—a conviction which is unquestioningly held, which is expressed in childlike simplicity of confidence, a faith which literally removes mountains—is none other than the ancient belief in God. Mr. Mill characterized the socialists as having "moral conceptions in many respects far ahead of the existing arrangements of society."¶ They have caught sight of the ideal social order. Its beauty has inflamed their souls. Its splendors have dazzled their eyes, until they no longer can see some hard, prosaic facts of earth. In shirt-sleeved Jack and barefoot Tom there glows the vision which was in the soul of a Plato. The best exposition of German Socialism in the English tongue, *The Co-operative Commonwealth*, by Laurence Gronlund, strikingly illustrates this characteristic of the move-

* *History of Rationalism in Europe*, II., 224.

† *Underground Russia*, p. 23. ‡ *Underground Russia*, p. 27.

§ *Underground Russia*, p. 100.

|| *History of Rationalism*, II., 225.

¶ *Principles of Political Economy*, Book IV., ch. vii., § 7.

ment. It is in reality almost as ideal a sketch as the Utopia of Sir Thomas More; yet it is seriously written as an outline of the actual changes which are to result shortly, through the transfer of the ownership of the means of production from a few hands to many hands. With a pathetic simplicity of faith, the author expects the regeneration of all things, the transformation of human nature itself, to follow an economic rearrangement of society which, though greater in degree, is not different in kind from the rearrangements which have been gradually taking place through several centuries,—not indeed without substantial benefits to mankind, but without dispossessing the old Adam from the race. When surplus profits are done away and labor owns its tools, the millennium is to open! One who desires such a change in industry and who believes that it is coming, surely though slowly, cannot but sigh, while he smiles, at this invincible belief of the human soul in “the good time coming,”—always just round the corner. We can all readily enough see through the illusion of Socialism, but we must none the less allow for the full force of the illusion when cherished as a faith. Illusions have had far more power over man than facts. They have sustained men in efforts on which they would not have ventured, but for this kindly craft of Mother Nature. Illusions are the guides to revolution. The force of this particular illusion of Socialism is nothing less than the power of the mightiest aspiration, the most irrepressible hunger which has ever stirred in the human soul. It is the very force which fired the soul of the Hebrew prophets, which fashioned the vision of the great unknown who wrote the Revelation of St. John the divine, which opened before the soul of Augustine the city of God, which breathes in the peaceful war song of the Societies for Ethical Culture, “The City of Light,”—the passion of human nature for justice, the longing of the soul of man after the ideal order.

We have thus reached a point where we can see another phase of the religious features of Socialism. It is not alone wage-workers, nor those who would own themselves socialists, who are feeling the forces of the new enthusiasm which is rising in this movement as the ground swell of a mighty ocean. Men in all callings, men who would disavow any affiliation with Socialism, sympathize more or less strongly with this movement, and are conscious themselves of the glow of a new and holy passion in the ardor wherewith they espouse the cause of social reform. The fathers of Socialism have been men who had nothing to gain through it. Owen was a rich manufacturer. Lassalle was a luxurious German gentleman, whose brilliant opportunities promised him, even when he was “das Wunderkind,” a distinguished career. Karl Marx was of a family whose social standing was excellent in Germany, and life opened to him fine political prospects. Elise Reclus is a famous *savant*. The leading spirits of Nihilism are men and women of rank and wealth. In every land in which Socialism is working upward through the lower social strata, from the upper crust of society there is a motion toward it, though often unconscious of its aim. Along every line of life, men of high power and character are being resistlessly drawn into the currents of this social movement. Ruskin has for many years been preaching a thorough-going Socialism with the fire of a new faith. Carlyle was the prophet of this Titanic upheaval. Matthew Arnold is uttering, in his aristocratic manner, the most unaristocratic sentiments concerning our present civilization. William Morris, painter and poet and manufacturer, has thrown himself heart and soul into Socialism, and is lecturing to the West End on the redemption of art

through an industrial reorganization, while he is spreading through the East End leaflets containing his impassioned Chants of the Revolution, and is preaching in his shirt-sleeves to gatherings of hard-fisted artisans the gospel of Labor. Alfred Russell Wallace leads the movement in England for the nationalization of land. Renan, whose calm superiority to all illusions allows of no such folly as enthusiasm, evidently looks forward through the winding up of the era of individualism to an era wherein some life in common may be possible upon our earth. He writes:—

The Psalm, “Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell in unity,” has ceased to be ours. But, when modern individualism has borne its last fruits; when humanity, dwarfed, dismal, impulsive, shall return to great institutions and strong discipline; when our paltry shopkeeping society—I say, rather, when our world of pygmies—shall have been driven out with scourges by the heroic and idealistic portion of humanity,—then life in common will be realized again.*

These men are not simply puzzling exceptions among mankind. Their tendencies are more than the erratic movements of genius. Back of these illustrious figures there is a large following of men who are pressing on after them, in line with the social movement,—men who have come under the spell of this new enthusiasm, whether it be a good spell or a most bad spell. A magazine in London, of a very radical character, is edited by young Oxford men. Practical men, men of affairs, millionnaires, are avowing their sympathy with this movement. Only the other evening, in New York, one of our first citizens gave the inaugural address before a newly formed institute of social science, whose principles were so radical as to win the hearty applause of leaders of labor organizations who had come in a spirit of captious criticism. And this lecture was pervaded by a lofty spirit of enthusiasm, by a noble idealism, whose religious fervor was unmistakable. Next week, in a Western university, an oration is to be given by one of the foremost men of the Republican party, in which, with clear, strong thought and with frank, out-spoken words, the Industrial Problem will be discussed in a way which is likely to furnish food for thought to politicians and the press. The speaker, himself a successful man of affairs, told me lately how his study of the social problem had drawn him to the conclusion that there was but one solution of it, that which is known as Christian Socialism,—which is to say, the spirit of Brotherhood and of Justice, the Law of the Golden Rule.

“Amateur economists,” some one will say, “all of them; sentimental tyros in a science whose masters know no such pretty dreams!” Well, precisely the most surprising aspect of this trend, which is making itself felt through all cultivated circles, is the fact that political economy is pouring a very perceptible and steadily rising current of thought into this stream of tendency. No conservative priest could feel more aghast at some of the utterances of your Association than many learned professors must do at the wild radicalism that is broached in the sacred name of political economy. John Stuart Mill’s posthumous chapters on “Socialism” showed clearly, that which his great work had hinted, that this set of our age was strongly working in him. Cairnes has avowed his sympathy with the general aim of Socialism as an ideal. Thornton long ago planted himself squarely on the side of Labor in its contest with Capital. Thorold Rogers, from his chair in aristocratic Oxford, unmistakably reveals his profound interest in the essential principles of the movement, challeng-

* Quoted in the *Christian Socialist*, October, 1883.

ing the very axioms of the Manchester school, and denouncing the present state of things most roundly. Even Fawcett—heroic struggler with a cruel fate—forgot his own book when he became the head of the postal department, and managed that department as though the function of the State was not to do as little as possible, but to do all that was necessary for the welfare of the people, as fanatics had taught. On the Continent, the socialists of the chair have been, for well nigh a generation, inculcating the general aims of Socialism and instilling its essential principles. Even now Laveleye is engaged in an interesting tussle with Herbert Spencer over the question whether the socialistic idea of the State involves the slavery or the freedom of mankind. In Germany, the school which is coming to the forefront in political economy has so far lapsed from orthodoxy as to draw upon it that last crowning argument of scorn from all professors who are “sound in the faith,” with which it is disposed of forever in the crushing sentence, “Sentimentalism!” Such men as Schäffle and Wagner are not likely, however, to be silenced thus summarily. These masters are finding no less influential a pupil than Bismarck, who is already reducing some of their theories to practice in an astonishing manner. From Johns Hopkins University, an able disciple of the new school is turning his attention to the study of Socialism in a fashion which shows plainly enough the working of this new spirit. The change in political economy is nothing less than a revolution. The time has come when Sissy Jupe would not need to tremble over her stupid mistake as to the thundering question, What is the first principle of political economy? She should answer again, “To do unto others as ye would they should do to you.”

The careful observer need not then be surprised at noting the further fact that the fresh religious forces of our age are rekindling the enthusiasm of social regeneration as a sacred passion. This is notably the case within the lines of Orthodoxy. Mr. Rae has clearly pictured this trend of life in the Catholic Church upon the Continent. I have seen lately letters from prominent prelates of Ireland, which show them in complete sympathy with the anti-rent agitation of that country. It need surprise no one who has watched the developments now going on within this mighty Church, and who knows the sagacity with which it has generally met great crises, to see it step to the forefront of the social movement, and avow itself the champion of the people. A similar movement is quietly going on within Continental Protestantism. In England, the sympathy of a large section of the National Church is very strongly with the efforts at social reform; and an earnest fraction is heartily working for the social revolution. A generation ago, Maurice and Kingsley threw themselves into the uprising of labor, and called themselves “Christian Socialists.” They led off in the co-operative movement, imparting to it a religious spirit which it has never thoroughly outgrown, which breathes still strongly in men like Thomas Hughes and Vansittart Neale. “There is no fraternity,” said Maurice, “without a common father.” Within a half decade, in the land where Socialism was deemed an impossibility, a serious socialistic movement has developed; and, running parallel with its rapid spread among the working classes of England, there has been an equally remarkable change among the cultivated classes. The old name of the *Christian Socialist* reappears upon a little paper which avows the principles of Karl Marx. The *Church Reformer* agitates nearly as thorough-going measures in the name of the English Church. Mr. George told me that, during his late tours through Great Britain, he attended

many large meetings of clergymen of the Established Church, which were full of enthusiasm concerning his book. In more than one instance, ritualistic clergymen are known to be in the habit of gathering classes of workingmen on Sunday evenings, in order to expound to them the principles of *Progress and Poverty*.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of this country manifests less radical, but no less earnest tendencies in the direction of social reform. At a congress of that Church held four years ago, very out-spoken opinions were met most cordially; and, in the last congress at Detroit, stirring appeals to the Church to champion the wrongs of labor were received with profound feeling, so that, as a result of the congress, in that city there has been a perceptible drawing of the workingmen toward this supposed aristocratic Church. In the city of New York, next fall, most of the leading churches of that denomination are to unite in a series of parish services, having as one of their chief aims the awakening of public interest and the education of public opinion upon the responsibility of capital toward labor.

The same movement shows itself in other churches. The *Christian Union* has had lately a series of very remarkable editorials, presenting an impassioned indictment of our present industrial system, prophesying a social revolution, and with the fire of a holy enthusiasm appealing to the Christian Church to lead this revolution into peaceful success. The new theology is unmistakably making in the direction of Christian Socialism.

We thus seem to be at the meeting of the waters, the movement from below and the movement from above uniting in a current which is setting in the direction of Socialism, and which is speeding forward with the rush and sweep of a religious enthusiasm. That pregnant word of Mazzini finds a remarkable realization,—“Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question is as rapidly becoming a religious question.”

II.

Had this stream of tendency come now for the first time to the surface of society, we might well suspect the depth of the springs from whence it issues, the force of the current which it is setting in motion. It is, however, a very ancient trend of thought and feeling. When we go below the surface of history, we find, in the far back past, these same springs welling up as from the deep heart of religion, a stream which has always set in this direction. In every new creative period of religion, we discover a movement similar to that which we observe in society to-day. Let us take a bird's-eye view of some of the leading epochs of religion, especially of such as have had a place in the line of progress up through which our own historic evolution has proceeded.

Outside of Christianity and Judaism, this phenomenon shows itself. When Buddhism arose in India, society had stereotyped, under Brahmanical influences, into hard, rigid castes. The high-born Brahmin held himself aloof with proud superiority from all other castes, while he looked down upon the Sudra with a scorn and contempt which is hard even for us to realize, which it is impossible for us to feel toward any human being. No human relationship could be open between the son of heaven and the accursed children of earth. Their very touch was pollution. The poor Sudra, thus humiliated before the spiritual Brahmin, was ground into the dust by the temporal Powers. The courts of the Rajahs swallowed up most of his hard-earned profits of farming, and the merciless

rack-renting of the Zemindars completed the solution of the problem. On how little can the peasant live? The customary daily wage of the laborer was then, as it is now, an incredibly small pittance, a day's wage of a skilled artisan here representing well-nigh a month's pay of the human beast of burden in India. So nigh to starvation did the mass of men live that every few years a famine would sweep them off like flies before an autumnal frost.

Amid such an inhuman society arose the saintly Buddha; and, when through terrible struggles he won the secret of peace himself, he turned to breathe it upon his brothers of India. It proved not only a gospel for the individual soul, but a gospel for society. The mighty tide of religious life which, drawn by his great soul, rose over India, swamped for a while the abhorrent social castes, and mingled all men in a common Brotherhood, in which there was neither Brahmin nor Sudra, high nor low caste, but Humanity was all and in all. Around the holy Master gathered a vast order, a true Brotherhood, in which, renouncing all earthly possessions, men gave themselves up to the service of mankind, and “had all things common.” Wherever these holy brothers went, they carried a gospel of humanity which lifted the poorest to the level of the prince and the pariah to the side of the twice-born son of the skies; while it seated on the throne of the Rajahs, for a while at least, the august form of justice.

We miss the clew to the original Buddhism, unless we keep in mind the fact that it was not only a spiritual revival, but a social enthusiasm.

Turn now to the more familiar story of the great prophetic reformation of Israel. It was a revival of personal religion, which breathed at once a new enthusiasm of social justice, and bodied itself later on in economic institutions of a most radical kind.

When the great prophets arose, the civilization of Israel had already passed through the stages of development common to all early human societies. The earlier Hebrews had been communists. The household, the local community, the tribe, held pastures and fields and woods as the property of the family, the village, the clan. Each separate family received its due share of the soil for cultivation in annual or other periodic distributions, after which all land lapsed back to the commune for redistribution. Such an economic state of society produced its natural good and evil results. Life was simple, peaceful, brotherly. There was no poverty and no strife. But there was also no development. One generation remained pretty much where its predecessor had been. There was no room for individualism, the force of progress. Man was contented and stupid, virtuous and uninteresting. Nature, which works the growth of man even through moral evil, began the usual process by which ambition, selfishness, and greed gradually broke up this primitive communism in ways we can well enough understand, if we choose to study the enclosure of the ancient common lands of England by her nobility, and the gobbling up of the people's land by great corporations in our own country. By the time of Isaiah and Micah, the whole face of early Hebrew society had changed. Land had passed into private property. The free and sturdy yeomanry of ancient Israel had been dispossessed from their homesteads, which had been run together into big estates or turned into sheep-walks. They had thus come to be tenants under landlords instead of being independent peasant proprietors. They had gradually deposited, at the bottom of society, the sediments of their class, a stratum of lawless, helpless, shiftless people, a veritable proletariat. Powerful barons had arisen, lordling it in a high-handed manner on their big estates; while great traders had amassed in the

cities huge fortunes, of which the mass of the people got the crumbs which fell from their tables. In the midst of this state of things, with its oppression of the mass of mankind, the great prophets arose to revive religion by touching the conscience and by opening the senses of the soul to the eternal realities. They were “men of the spirit,” who, out of their profound inward experiences, came forward, preaching a spiritual gospel to the worshippers before the “bloody shambles” of the Hebrew heathenism. They were men of mind, who felt the forces of the intellectual renaissance opening upon Israel, the forces of the mental awakening which led to the development of Hebrew literature; and they brought to the birth a new thought of God, and opened the age of reason in religion. But they were also, for the most part, men of the people, who felt the undercurrents of social dissatisfaction, whose hearts heaved in sympathy with the unrest of the poor, whose moral natures revolted against the thoughtlessness and greed of the talent and wealth and power of the nation. Upon these conscious or unconscious oppressors of the people, they poured out the vials of their righteous indignation, in words too familiar to need repeating.

Their spirit of enthusiasm for humanity breathed itself into the better natures of the nation, and charged the reformed religion which they awakened. When this Reformed Religion came into power as the established religion of Israel under Josiah, it sought to bring in many changes looking toward the correction of the exaggerated individualism of society, as we see in the confession of faith which it then put forth,—the Book of Deuteronomy. When, much later on, the Reformed Religion, elaborately organized into an ecclesiastical institution, fell heir to the Hebrew State, whose independence was lost in the overthrow of Judah by the Babylonian Empire, it developed the most remarkable social legislation of which we have any record in history. That legislation was a genuine socialism. It naturalized the land of Israel, and vested the title in Jehovah. Leases ran for fifty years, when they were all to revert to the State, to be by it reissued. Interest, as intrinsically unethical and unbrotherly and as always tending to reduce the debtor class to slavery, was prohibited by law. All debtors were in the same jubilee year to pass through an act of bankruptcy; and those who had, according to the ancient custom, fallen into bondage by debt were to go forth free men.

By such sweeping measures, bodied in laws and institution, did the Reform Religion of Israel seek radically to guard against any monopoly of land and any tyranny of capital, and thus to emancipate and ennoble labor. Whether this remarkable legislation was ever carried into operation or whether it was ignored by the nation, it shows very strikingly the socialistic character of Hebrew Prophetism.

After this somewhat full outline of the Hebrew Religious Socialism, it is unnecessary to do more than point out briefly the similar character of original Christianity. As a scion of Judaism, it must needs have followed in the footsteps of its parent. We miss the secret of original Christianity, if we do not find back of that mighty spiritual revival as mighty a social aspiration. We have perhaps suspected the truth before our day; but we are now getting light—as yet dim enough, however—upon the inner character of this social movement which was aroused by the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom of God.

Christianity arose in an age when the mass of men led a wretched life. In Rome, the encroachment of the patricians upon the ancient common

lands of the State had broken up the old free farm life of Italy; while the steady growth of vast landed estates had, in their turn, destroyed the prosperity of the tenant farmers and revolutionized the social system. Crowds of dispossessed peasants flocked to the imperial city to swell the vast host that bade against each other in the labor market, and to become more dependent and helpless with each new generation. So great had become the pauperism of Rome that, to keep the vast host of discontented from open outbreak, a system of State alms on a gigantic scale had grown up. Slave labor was introduced upon the farms of Italy in place of the old free labor; and slaves from every country under heaven filled the palaces of Rome,—the absolute chattels of their patrician lords, whose heads might be forfeit for the breaking of a dish, who might be thrown into the fishpond in the garden court to feed the carps, if they chanced to wait upon their mistresses awkwardly. Throughout the Empire, the state of things was quite as bad in other ways. The Provinces were used by Rome, mainly, as so many feeders of the patrician coffers. The subject-peoples were taxed unmercifully, exhaustingly. Their revenues were farmed out to court favorites and influential politicians; and every agent in the long line, from the Emperor down, having his own special profits to look after, had his own private extortion to add to the official tariff. The industry of the Empire was prostrated, its poor were plunged in debt.

In Judea, it was as elsewhere. The demands of the Roman State were heavy. The Emperor had his private levies. Every procurator felt that his fortune had to be made quickly before his office should be lost. Herod the Great had carried out a gigantic series of so-called improvements at enormous cost, and his court was lavish in the extreme. Each war—and there was war all the time somewhere—laid its extortionate tax upon the people. The land-tax alone equalled one-tenth of the corn. There were also extra imposts when scarcity prevailed, and tolls on bridges and roads and markets. All these taxes were farmed out, yielding huge profits to their collectors. As a consequence, the poor staggered under crushing burdens. These economic conditions of society have to be taken into consideration in trying to understand the attitude of Jesus toward the civilization of his day. Such oppressions must have aroused his keenest sympathies. That they did so is evident from the gospel records. Making all needed allowance for the Essenist tendencies of the Gospel which bears the name of Luke, the fact remains that Jesus followed in the line of "the goodly fellowship of the prophets" in their socialistic tendencies. The general tone of his teachings upon this point is unmistakable. His life confirmed his words, as he established a little peripatetic communism among his disciples. Prince of idealists as he was, he taught the principles of the unworldly, unselfish life in common, and exemplified their practice, never pausing to care about their applicability to the average man in the existing stage of social development. He felt that it was for him to embody the human ideal, and leave it to work slowly through the ages. The folly of translating an ideal into a law, ethical principles into an economic scheme, was not his mistake, but that of his followers.

The inspiration of such a life naturally stirred the social aspiration, which for a brief moment triumphed over every lower force, and created that joyous life of the first Christian community, a religious socialism, where "all that believed had all things common."

In that waking dream, we see the natural expression of the social spirit of the new religion.

If we ever find access to the buried records of original Christianity, there is little doubt that we shall come upon traces of many such Christian communities, embodying a religious socialism,—that is, a socialism not of theory, but of brotherly impulse. One secret of the rapid spread of Christianity lay in this character of the new religion. The oppressed free laborer and the dishonored slave laborer of the Empire were alike restless and discontented. Aspirations that found no vent heaved the souls of myriads of men. Secretly, with fear and trembling, under cover of the night, in out-of-the-way places, in cellars and catacombs, these oppressed and despairing men came together, as by instinct, seeking the fellowship of societies and orders, in which they should feel themselves brother-men, out of which they should draw present help and hope of future redress. Secret brotherhoods sprang up as by magic through the Empire, forming burial-clubs, securing some simple mutual assurance, celebrating a common meal,—world-old symbol of the life in common. Amid this yeasty mass of social aspiration, the ideas and ideals of Christianity entered, with quick and astonishing results. In those strange subterranean gatherings was whispered the good news told by certain Jews of one Christus, a carpenter's son, a Son of God, who had taught men to live as brothers,—the children of one good and gracious All-Father, sharing with one another his bountiful gifts,—and had bidden them to prepare for the speedy coming down upon the weary earth of the kingdom of heaven. A Brotherhood of the All-Father, knowing no want in the community wherein the rich shared their wealth with the poor,—this was the secret good news which, below the surface, shot electric thrills throughout a suffering world. Into these Brotherhoods flocked the slave and the poor freeman, the outcast and the oppressed, everywhere. The ancient vision of "a good time coming," a millennium of peace, prosperity, and plenty opened from the clouds over earth. The city of God hung low above the wretched Roman world, as though coming down out of the skies at last.

The taunt of the cultured classes of Pagan Rome is explained to us. Christianity was the social aspiration raised by the leaven of the gospel of the kingdom of God at hand, a socialism whose inspiration was religion. We have forgotten the origin of our own Christianity, which, winning success, became the Church of the wealthy and the noble, and buried behind it the records of its own obscure birth.

Were there time, I might trace the working of this religio-socialistic tendency through the after periods of Christianity,—in the monasticisms of the Middle Ages, in the societies and orders that rose through Europe with the first stirrings of the new spirit which was awakening to the Reformation,—one and all seeking to embody a life in common. I might trace, along each line of the Reformation period, the inevitable tendency of the new religious forces into a new social movement. Our late studies of Wiclif and Luther must have cleared before our eyes the fact of a convergence of religious and social forces in England and in Germany five hundred and three hundred years ago, similar to that which we are now witnessing in our own age. Lollardism and Protestantism found a social revolution progressing, and from natural sympathy drew into the currents of those movements, feeding their forces with the fervor of religious enthusiasm.

From the age of the Hebrew Prophets down to our own day, every fresh creative period in the evolution of religion has witnessed a renewed action of the social forces toward a better and

nobler order. Every revival and renaissance has tended to a reformation or a revolution. "And all have failed," coolly observes the sarcastic practical man. "Yes," I reply, "as the rash blossoms fail when tempted out in April by some summer days; proving thereby not that they were no prophets of the autumn's fruitage, but only that they were in too much of a hurry." The ideal is to be approached only through slow, successive steps. We cannot leap into the good time coming. The kingdom of heaven is not to be precipitated upon a worldly society. Civilization must ripen gradually into the sweetness of a Brotherhood. We cannot force Nature's seasons. Society is a growth, and only through patient evolution can an order be outworked in which kings shall reign in righteousness and princes decree equity; in which truly free peoples shall lift to the throne of earth the holy form of Justice. One and all, these revolutions came to naught or but reached to partial reforms, and so they failed; but, renewing themselves again and again, they have surely taught us to see in them true efforts of human nature, and to recognize back of them, in the deep life of man out of which they have sprung, the resistless impulse which is none other than the will of God, sure one day of success. Under crude forms, the soul of man was dreaming a true dream; through mistaken methods, it was seeking a real ideal. The kingdom of God is not an illusion, but the Divine Order slowly coming forth upon our human society. The aspiration for it is none other than the deepest inspiration of religion. Religion does indeed lay its foundations, deep and firm, in a scientific basis: it towers also into a high and noble social ideal, toward which its life must forever strain as the plant strains toward its flower.

III.

Again that prophetic word of Mazzini rings in our ears, as repeated through the lips of Renan,— "The political problem is, in our own time, inseparable from the social problem; and the social problem is a religious one."* The historic tendency of the social aspiration to kindle into a religion is flaming forth once more with an intensity never known before, at the very moment when the historic tendency of the fresh, free forces of religion toward the social ideal is reasserting itself with an unprecedented emphasis. The social movement which is now mounting into a tidal wave of reform or of revolution, according as it finds yielding channels or resisting dikes, is the cresting of a billowy agitation which has been long gathering force in the "vast deep" of humanity. The political movement in the last century burst the barriers which had through ages restrained and repressed the social agitation. Labor now has in our land the political freedom and power which are the essential conditions of a successful struggle for economic improvement and for social elevation. The scientific transformation of industry and trade has precipitated upon our generation the inevitable crisis that might otherwise have been much longer delayed. The greatest economic reconstruction and the most important social uplifting which the world has yet experienced are unquestionably now preparing. The Fourth Estate is coming into power. Our institutions will have to readjust themselves to the change.

Our age is also the period in which the river of the water of life is at length finding its natural outlet from the artificial channels which antiquity dug for it, and is seeking to spread itself over into the broad fields of the secular life as the fertilizing, purifying, reconstructing force under which

* Preface to *Life of Jesus*.

the desert is to blossom as the rose. Religion must find some sphere of action for its forces. So mighty a power cannot be inactive. In the realm of thought, religion has overflowed the dikes of Biblical revelation, and no longer narrows itself to speculations upon the contents of a book. It pours itself into the revelation of nature, and busies itself with the contents of creation. Religious thought is found to-day wherever truth is learned, and, being learned, leads man upon his knees in worship of the Infinite Power and Wisdom. In the sphere of action, religion is no longer shut up within the narrow confines of an ecclesiastical kingdom of God. With the falling away of those ancient walls which separated the Church from the State, religion pours itself into secular affairs, flooding them with fresh inspirations, tiding through every sluggish current the aspiration after the divine ideal of politics and industry. The spirit which of old moved upon the face of the waters is once more brooding over chaos, to bring forth a beautiful order. This action of religion is to be seen now wherever honest and earnest effort is being made to lift the life of the brute-man into the life of the spirit-man; to rank the forces of the flesh by the forces of the soul; to bring economics under the authority of ethics; to reveal above the natural laws ruling in the Market the spiritual laws of the Mount; to lead competition on into co-operation; to conclude the long strife of capital and labor in the peace of industrial partnership; and to end the irresponsible tyrannies of the reign of Supply and Demand in the sovereignty of conscience.

The inspiration to this transformation of society is the mission of religion. What a grave and weighty task! How delicate and difficult a mission! On the one hand, this labor is clogged and thwarted by the mighty *vis inertiae* of civilization. Traditional notions, conventional theories, social prejudices, vested interests, sacred rights of property,—these well-nigh omnipotent forces of society form an unholy alliance, and array themselves against such a transformation. The institutions of religion are maintained by the very classes whose interests are identified with the existing order. How great the danger that the prophet's lips may be silenced by the hand of the priest before the altar! The sincerest minds, under such circumstances, cannot fail of being more or less affected in their judgments quite unconsciously. Religion may in good faith encourage an unjust conservatism, and thus abet wrongs and endanger its own hold upon the heir to the throne, now coming of age, and already none too well disposed toward the spiritual power. Here is the opportunity for that free religion which in the past of our country proved ready to speak forth the unpopular word when the churches were timorously silent, and which may once more fulfil its prophetic function, and rouse the priesthood of our land to the duty pressing upon it. But, if the prophet would call the priest up to this task, he must be in a hurry, or he may find his slow-going brother already wide awake and at his work.

On the other hand, there is at least an equal danger for religion in the opposite direction. From the fact that religion has such natural sympathy with the social movement, and that its own forces of enthusiasm and aspiration are the very forces which are unconsciously working in Socialism,—from this fact it is in danger of losing itself in this movement, of being lifted off its feet and carried away by the popular current instead of keeping its poise and aiding to guide the seething waters into the channels where they may prove a blessing and not a blight, enriching civilization rather than impoverishing it, becoming a system

of irrigation in place of a freshet. It does not follow that, because the aspirations of Socialism are high, its theories must be sound; that, because its aim is noble, its methods cannot but be wise; that, because its ideal is true, its schemes for realizing that ideal are practicable. It was the noblest of our idealists who reminded us that the inspired man may be "the fool of ideas." Inspired fools,—ah! we may well kneel before them in reverence, but we may not follow them unquestioningly in practical affairs. Even inspiration has its dangers. The head must be kept level while the soul glows. Of the highest prophet it is ever true:—

"The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
The spirit of *wisdom* and *understanding*,
The spirit of *counsel* and *might*,
The spirit of *knowledge* and of the fear of the Lord."

The ever-recurring problem is how to surrender one's self to the ideal, with childlike trust in its reality, and yet not let one's self be made "the fool of ideas"; how to be obedient to the heavenly vision, and yet preserve the cool judgment and the calm wisdom of the practical man who will not run after the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow. History leaves us in no doubt that the finest enthusiasms and the noblest aspirations may work mischief in society, if they lack the guidance of practical wisdom. Even conscience must not take the bit in its teeth and plunge ahead blindly. Simply to go ahead in the right direction too fast is to derail progress and block the road with the debris of ruined hopes, even if a frightful catastrophe be escaped. Nature moves slowly, one step at a time. When there is an eruption such as the French Revolution, it always means that there has been some enforced arrest of progress, some stoppage of the natural outlet of the volcanic forces of society. It is only the ice blockade which makes the mountain gorge a source of danger. The secret of safety is steady motion.

As of old, in pathetic reiteration, so again the social movement may wreck itself, if it is in too much of a hurry, if it mistakes an ideal for a reform bill, if it loses the time-perspective and rushes ahead to reach the millennium in a spurt. Its sense of high inspiration must not cause it to spurn the cold counsels of science. Though its eye be on the heavenly vision, let its ear be open to the voice of experience; and, while its head fronts the skies, let its feet keep hard hold of the solid earth.

With you, I rejoice to believe that man is rapidly moving forward into a truly free religion,—a religion whose energies are being quite fast enough emancipated from the tasks of building card-houses of dogma only to be knocked over as soon as builded, and of constructing sheep-folds which, far from keeping the flocks from getting mixed, only prompt them to jump the fences; a religion whose thought is to be always at home to new knowledge, and whose forces are to follow their natural impulse to action in the great world's affairs, as therein discharging the true and only service of God. In this liberation of the mighty forces of religion for the inspiration of a nobler civilization lies the hope of earth. That hope, however, casts its shadow in a fear. Will religion be wise enough to recognize its own limitations? While it inspires man to mount after the social ideal, will it hearken to science as it coldly points man to the steps he must cut, one after another, in the glacier up which he is to climb toward the mountain crest? Then may it trust its inspirations fully, and cheer the weary toilers with its song of "the good time coming." Then may it fearlessly summon the ethical forces of man to rouse for the toilsome ascent; wakening conscience, quickening the sense of justice, stirring discontent,

stimulating aspiration, and fearing no ill from the action of these unchained genii of the soul. Then *must* it even thus call upon the soul of man, if it is to be true as well as free. For what other work has it to do in the world than to bring in the kingdom of God, to throne above the forces of the world the eternal laws of right, to make our earth an order, beautiful, divine? In the preamble to the articles of association of the great industrial company at Guise, whose fame is world-wide, Mr. Godin makes his confession of faith,—the Golden Rule as the law of the heavenly Father for the human brothers. To affirm this revelation with her most solemn sanctions, to persuade men really to believe it, and to induce men to act upon it,—this is the mission of Religion to-day. By whatever name it may be called, the religion which is to lead the future is that which will give effect to the faith which great-hearted Thomas Hughes lately professed, and up to which he has so bravely lived,—“We have all to learn, somehow or other, that the first duty of man in trade, as in other departments of human employment, is a following after the Golden Rule.” If it can inspire this faith, religion may contentedly leave to political economy the task of adjusting the relationships of industry to this eternal law. Thus will humanity move safely after that ideal whose alluring vision feeds the social movement with its religious aspiration, climbing, step by step, out of the valley where the chill shadows lie and the noxious vapors stifle, toward the mountain brow, over which will be seen, through the clouds, the city of God coming down out of heaven upon earth.

No man of our race better types the spirit of our age than Mr. Matthew Arnold. The roots of his religion run back into the faiths of his father, up from which he sucks to-day unsuspected juices, while, in the upper air, he shakes out his branching thoughts to every wind of heaven, free as those winds themselves. We may well look to him to find the characteristic fruitage of religion in these strange days; and, so looking, we cannot mistake its nature. He writes: “The great popular ideal is an immense renovation and transformation of things, a far better and happier society in the future than ours is now. Mixed with all manner of alloy and false notions this ideal often is; yet, in itself, it is precious, it is true. And let me observe it is also the ideal of our religion. It is the business of our religion to make us believe in this very ideal. It is the business of the clergy to profess and to teach it. . . . This gospel (the fundamental matter of the primitive gospel, the ‘good news’ which Jesus himself preached) was the ideal of popular hope and longing, an immense renovation and transformation of things, the kingdom of God. . . . Whoever reverts to it reverts to the primitive gospel, which is the good news of an immense renovation and transformation of this world by the establishment of what the Sermon on the Mount calls ‘God’s Righteousness and Kingdom.’” And, thus, Religion may apply to Socialism the words he wrote to a friend concerning Republicanism:—

“God knows it, I am with you! If to prize
Those virtues, prized and practised by too few,
But prized, but loved, but eminent in you,
Man’s fundamental life; if to deprecise

“The barren optimistic sophistries
Of comfortable moles, whom what they do
Teaches the limit of the just and true
(And for such doing they require no eyes);

“If sadness at the long heart-wasting show
Wherein earth’s great ones are disquieted;
If thoughts, not idle, while before me flow

“The armies of the homeless and unfed,—
If these are yours, if this is what you are,
Then I am yours, and what you feel I share.”

* *Essays on Church and Religion*, p. 170.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ORTHODOXY AT SEA.

Editors of *The Index* :—

Never has the faith of the Fathers appeared in a more unfavorable light than during the last trip of the good ship "Catalonia," of the Cunard line; for we had seven ministers aboard, and we had a fair chance of seeing exactly what Orthodoxy meant.

We had over two hundred steerage passengers, and among them some of the strangest faces and the saddest stories that ever crossed the sea. There were men returning to the "old country" who had made a failure of life in America, and women going home to find shelter with the friends of their childhood. There was a party of mill hands from Worcester, Mass., consisting of some twenty-two women (nearly all English), who were going across to revisit their old homes, for a summer vacation. They were all neighbors in Worcester, and members of the Episcopal church, good singers, and well-mannered folk. The Irish were well represented; and the Romish element was very strong, though the dominant faith seemed to be a careless Methodism. Everybody aboard seemed to be familiar with Moody's and Sankey's hymns, and we were soon at home with one another on that basis.

We left Boston Harbor on Saturday afternoon; and on Sunday nearly everybody was seasick, saints and sinners alike. Preachers and people all seemed under the curse, with a few sinful exceptions.

Early in the week, however, thanks to a smooth sea, the sickness passed away, appetites returned, and we began to enjoy ourselves. We played all sorts of games, got up a dance on deck, and did the best we could for one another; but no preacher ever put in a word,—no word of prayer, no grace before meat, no sign of Christianity, and only one "outward and visible sign" in the shape of a white necktie, to tell of the ministers were bearing across to preach to the English people. I found that several of these preachers were going across under the auspices of the Advent Church; and they appeared to be fair representatives of the craze that had the people, with white robes on, waiting on the hillsides, in the State of Maine, a few weeks ago,—for they were as ignorant and crude as men could be. One of them was a brown-whiskered little man, with a long leg and a short one, and a celluloid collar which had once been white; but long service had turned it yellow and cracked its once fair surface. As the sailors knew naught of celluloid, they said it was a "second-hand paper collar"; and, as he wore no necktie with it, he had a most unkempt, corner-loafer look. Another one looked like a burly Western farmer; while a third was like one of those gaunt sea captains one meets round Nantucket, who has had command of a schooner in the far-away past, and has lived ever since on that glory. Poor, gray, gaunt, old man! Another was a dark faced man, who wore glasses, and seemed to carry the brains of the crowd; but he had a thin, tin-whistle sort of a voice, that was exceedingly disagreeable. Another was a quiet, gray-bearded old man, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who was going to his native country for his health. Then we had Brooke Herford, too, who was the man who wore a white tie, and was the only clerical-looking man aboard. How many of these people were "Advents," we never found out; but one thing we did discover, and that was that they hated each other, with a perfect hatred; and, though they soon discovered my lack of "faith," and some of them "strove with" me, yet the "Advents" informed me in strict confidence that the "Orthodox" hated them more than they did such as I. Soon, I found that, while the Romanists were willing to bear with me, they hated the preachers heartily, and would very willingly have burned every one of them; but, alas! the days of burning the heretic have passed away, even though the spirit still lingers with us. When it came to Wednesday, and we had tried a great many schemes to pass the time, it seemed advisable that we should have some preaching, especially as many of the poor steerage passenger women seemed anxious for it, and said bitter things against the parsons for their neglect. So I said to the little man with the celluloid collar what I thought concerning the neglect of the clergy; and he made a great many excuses, but said he would willingly preach the "Word" on the morrow, if I would first give a lecture on science.

I agreed to that, and invited the parsons down to the "intermediate" cabin, where we had as pleasant and attentive an audience as any man could desire. At the close, we had a kind of a concert, and the very jolliest sort of an evening. The parsons were so delighted that they beamed all over, and promised to preach whenever we would let them. The next night, we had a full house; for we invited the steerage passengers as well as the saloon, and the preachers were there in force. I led the singing and acted as usher, enjoying the position. The little celluloid preacher then "opened the Word," and gave us one of the most diaphanous sermons to which I ever listened. To say it was *thin* fails to express it; for it was both ungrammatical and illogical, the production of an ignorant mind and the outcome of a false and foolish creed.

At the close, I said, "We have seven preachers aboard, and this meeting has shown them how willing every one is to hear the gospel preached, so we will have preaching on deck at three o'clock to-morrow afternoon," to which the preachers assented; but they soon showed the cloven hoof by putting it to the vote as to whether we would prefer it in the intermediate cabin or on deck. I spoke for the company, and said we wanted no more preaching in our cabin at present, but, when we did, we would send for them. Whereupon, they attacked me with a virulence worthy of the Middle Ages, and called me terrible names. One of them accused me of being an "infidel," which seems to be a terrible epithet to the ignorant mind; but it amused the intelligent part of the community, and I offered to fight the matter out on its merits on deck, and the "intermediates" hurrahed. So the parsons retired, and we were masters of the situation. We resolved, almost unanimously, that we would have no more preaching in our cabin; and we kept the resolution, too. We had concerts and lectures and little "tea-parties," but no more preaching. The next day, the parsons were all very civil. So I offered to help them hold services on deck. The girls from Worcester made an excellent choir, and all who desired to hear gathered round; and the first service on deck was a great success.

Fancy the grandeur of the opportunity! A great steamer ploughing her way through the rippling, emerald sea; overhead, a cloud-bespangled blue sky; and all around us the ring where sky and sea meet, with its voiceless suggestion of infinity,—while the thought would come to every one that only an iron plate stood between us and eternity, that only the thin shell of the steamer was between us and the fathomless depths of the broad Atlantic. Surely, no preacher could desire a more fitting place to preach the gospel which tells of a life beyond this life, of time and a place when death and sorrow should be no more; for in no place in the world are human hearts more susceptible to the supernatural than on the sea, for there man feels his utter helplessness and his littleness. For the sea and sky proclaim their vastness; and the ship, which seemed so large and powerful as it lay beside the works of man in the harbor, dwindles to a mere cockle-shell tossed on the restless sea and measured by the sun and the sky.

There we sat, then, to hear the "old, old story"; and never could preacher find a better field on which to sow good seed, inasmuch as there were weary men and women there to whom life had proved a blank, and for whom earthly things seemed to have lost their charm. They were far from friends and home, far from the lures and pitfalls of daily life, and surrounded by every influence which would lead them toward the "gospel of God." The men and women sat quietly around on chairs and stools, on hatches and "spare spars." Some sat or reclined on the clean white deck, while the little children tossed and tumbled and crowded all among them; and even the Romanists, with their degraded faces and the mark of the priest in their sneer, came and stood quietly round to hear what these men had to say, and they missed their opportunity!

Instead of preaching that "everlasting gospel" which appeals to all hearts, and has forever appealed to mankind, both "Greek and barbarian, bond and free," they preached their poor little creed, and talked about the vision of Daniel and the bear that carried its own ribs in its mouth, and of the dyspeptic vision of John after he had eaten the book, and the fashion of this world after it shall have been "renewed," and we shall all have gotten new forms on the recooked earth. Never, surely, was so grand an opportunity thrown so wilfully away! They have tried

several meetings since, and I have led the singing, for I am willing that all should have a good time in their own way; but, from that time, we have had very poor meetings, for ignorant people have an instinct which makes them keen critics of a sermon. So the parsons have about come to the conclusion which a parson's wife expressed. Her husband had not been asked to "speak his piece," and a man asked her why her husband didn't preach, and she answered that he didn't want to "cast pearls before swine." Which saying has gone forth amid the "swine" and has done more harm than all the preaching has done good. Now, it would seem that the most godless people on the ship were the best-hearted and the truest; for, while the "people of God" have made it hot for one another, the "sons of Belial" have grown to love the little children aboard, and have tried to make it pleasant for everybody, and the "infidels" came out of the ordeal of a sea trip with the cleanest records. And the net results of the voyage of the good ship "Catalonia" seem to have proven that the less creed a man has, the better neighbor will he be. I can honestly say that the best-hearted, truest, noblest men I met aboard that steamer were the men who had the least of what is commonly called religion; and the meanest were among the self-styled followers of the "lowly Nazarene."

PETER ANNET.

For *The Index*.

RESPICE FINEM!

[Addressed to the recent Papal Encyclical against Socialism.]

What is threat of death to him
Who hath conquered dragons dim?
What charms in thine idle words
Stay the wings of wandering birds?
Life is won of battle's fire,
Law is wrought of chaos dire:
Rose of fields unkempt of man
Hath its orbit in the plan.
On and on, unshaken, real,
Lights of wiser-motive steal;
Ages go, and prophets last
Smiling on the dangers past:
What is threat of death or hate
To the children loved of fate?
Thou, O Chant, couldst wiser hail
Time to change its written tale!
Every hour of cosmic pain
Man hath turned to sweeter gain
Bids thee hold thy peace, and find
Lessons in the days behind!

HORACE L. TRAUHEL.

THE *Popular Science Monthly* for July opens with "A Great Winter Sanitarium for the American Continent," by Prof. E. B. Trankland, F.R.S. The other articles are, "Recent Progress in Aerial Navigation," by Prof. W. Le Conte Stevens (illustrated); "Archaeological Frauds," by Charles C. Abbott, M.D.; "Railroads, Telegraphs, and Civilization," by Herr C. Herzog; "Diet in Relation to Age and Activity," by Sir H. Thompson; "An Experience with Opium," by S. T. Morton; "Some Self-made Astronomers," by E. Lagrange; "On Leaves," by Sir John Lubbock (illustrated); "Earthquake Phenomena," by Ralph S. Tarr; "Curiosities of Star-fish Life," by F. A. Fernald (illustrated); "Ethics and the Development Theory," by Georg von Gitzky; "Moths and Moth-catchers," II., by Augustus R. Grote, A.M.; "Hygiene of the Aged," by L. H. Watson, M.D.; "The Oldest Air-breathers" (illustrated); "Sketch of Prof. S. P. Langley," by Edward S. Holden (with portrait); "Editor's Table," literary notices, popular miscellany, notes.

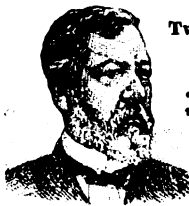
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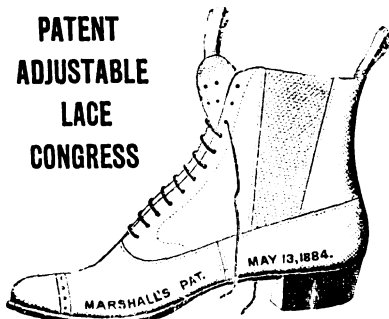
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